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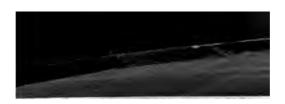
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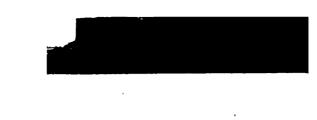
OLIVER CROMWELL'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES

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THOMAS CARLYLE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

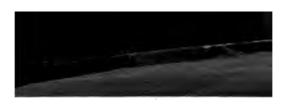


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OLIVER CROMWELL'S

LETTERS AND SPEECHES:

WITH ELUCIDATIONS.

BY

THOMAS CARLYLE.

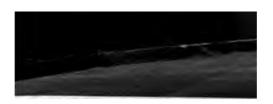
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VOL. III.

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OLIVER CROMWELL'S

LETTERS AND SPEECHES.

PART VI.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

1650-1651.

(Continued.)

LETTERS CL.—CLXI.

HASTE and other considerations forbid us to do more than glance, timidly from the brink, into that sea of confusions in which the poor Scotch people have involved themselves by soldering Christ's Crown to Charles Stuart's! Poor men. they have got a Covenanted King; but he is, so to speak, a Solecism Incarnate: good cannot come of him, or of those that follow him in this course; only inextricability, futility, disaster and discomfiture can come. There is nothing sadder than to see such a Purpose of a Nation led on by such a set of persons; staggering into ever deeper confusion, down, down, till it fall prostrate into utter wreck. Were not Oliver here to gather up the fragments of it, the Cause of Scotland might now die; Oliver, little as the Scots dream of it, is Scotland's Friend too, as he was Ireland's: what would become of Scotch Puritanism, the one great feat hitherto achieved by Scotland, if Oliver were not now there! Oliver's Letters out of Scotland, what will elucidate Oliver's footsteps and utterances there, shall alone concern us at present. For sufficing which object, the main features of these Scotch confusions may become conceivable without much detail of ours.

The first Scotch Army, now annihilated at Dunbar, had been sedulously cleared of all Hamilton Engagers and other Malignant or Quasi-Malignant Persons, according to a scheme painfully laid down in what was called the Act of Classes . - a General-Assembly Act, defining, and classifying such men as shall not be allowed to fight on this occasion, lest a curse overtake the Cause on their account. Something other than a blessing has overtaken the Cause: - and now, on rallying at Stirling with unbroken purpose of struggle, there arise in the Committee of Estates and Kirk, and over the Nation generally. earnest considerations as to the methods of farther struggle; huge discrepancies as to the ground and figure it ought henceforth to take. As was natural to the case. Three Parties now develop themselves: a middle one, and two extremes. Official Party, Argyle and the Official Persons, especially the secular portion of them, think that the old ground should as much as possible be adhered to: Let us fill up our old ranks with new men, and fight and resist with the Covenanted Charles Stuart at the head of us, as we did before. This is the middle or Official opinion.

No answers an extreme Party. Let us have no more to do with your covenanting pedantries; let us sign your Covenant one good time for all, and have done with it; but prosecute the King's Interest, and call on all men to join us in that. almost openly declared Malignant Party this; at the head of which Lieutenant-General Middleton, the Marquis of Huntly and other Royalist Persons are raising forces, publishing manifestos, in the Highlands near by. Against whom David Lesley himself at last has to march. This is the one extreme; the Malignant or Royalist extreme. The amount of whose exploits was this: They invited the poor King to run off from Perth and his Church-and-State Officials, and join them; which he did, - rode out as if to hawk, one afternoon, softly across the South Inch of Perth, then galloped some forty miles: found the appointed place, - a villanous hut among the Gram-



1650.]

LETTER CL., LINLITHGOW.

3

pian Hills, without soldiers, resources, or accommodations, "with nothing but a turf pillow to sleep on:" and was easily persuaded back, the day after; making his peace by a few more — what shall we call them? — poetic figments; which the Official Persons, with an effort, swallowed. Shortly after, by official persuasion and military coercion, this first extreme Party was suppressed, reunited to the main body; and need not concern us farther.

But now, quite opposite to this, there is another extreme Party; which has its seat in "the Western Shires," from Renfrew down to Dumfries: - which is, in fact, I think, the old Whiagamore Raid of 1648 under a new figure; these Western Shires being always given that way. They have now got a "Western Army." with Colonel Ker and Colonel Strahan to command it: and most of the Earls, Lairds, and Ministers in those parts have joined. Very strong for the Covenant; very strong against all shams of the Covenant. Colonel Ker is the "famed Commander Gibby Carre," who came to commune with us in the Burrow-Moor, when we lay on Pentland Hills: Colonel Strahan is likewise a famed Commander, who was thought to be slain at Musselburgh once, but is alive here still; an old acquaintance of my Lord General Cromwell's, and always suspected of a leaning to Sectarian courses. These Colonels and Gentry having, by sanction of the Committee of Estates, raised a Western Army of some Five-thousand, and had much consideration with themselves; and seen, especially by the flight into the Grampians, what way his Majesty's real inclinations are tending, - decide, or threaten to decide, that they will not serve under his Majesty or his General Lesley with their Army, till they see new light; that in fact they dare not; being apprehensive he is no genuine Covenanted King, but only the sham of one, whom it is terribly dangerous to follow! On this Party Cromwell has his eye; and they on him-What becomes of them we shall, before long, learn.

Meanwhile here is a Letter to the Official Authorities; which, however, produces small effect upon them.

^{4 4}th-6th October, Balfour, iv. 113-15.

PART VI. WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

4

9 Oct.

LETTER CL.

For the Right Honourable the Committee of Estates of Scotland, at Stirling, or elsewhere: These.

RIGHT HONOURABLE, Linlithgow, 9th October 1650.

The grounds and ends of the Army's entering Scotland have been heretofore, often and clearly, made known unto you; and how much we have desired the same might be accomplished without blood. But, according to what returns we have received, it is evident your hearts had not that love to us as we can truly say we had towards you. And we are persuaded those difficulties in which you have involved yourselves. by espousing your King's interest, and taking into your bosom that Person, in whom (notwithstanding what hath 'been' or may be said to the contrary) that which is really Malignancy and all Malignants do centre; against whose Family the Lord hath so eminently witnessed for bloodguiltiness, not to be done away by such hypocritical and formal shows of repentance as are expressed in his late Declaration; and your strange prejudices against us as men of heretical opinions (which, through the great goodness of God to us, have been unjustly charged upon us), - have occasioned your rejecting these Overtures which, with a Christian affection, were offered to you before any blood was spilt, or your People had suffered damage by us.

The daily sense we have of the calamity of War lying upon the poor People of this Nation, and the sad consequences of blood and famine likely to come upon them; the advantage given to the Malignant, Profane, and Popish party by this War; and that

reality of affection which we have so often professed to you, - and concerning the truth of which we have so solemnly appealed, - do again constrain us to send unto you, to let you know, That if the contending for that Person be not by you preferred to the peace and welfare of your Country, the blood of your Peoples, the love of men of the same faith with you, and (in this above all) the honour of that God we serve. -Then give the State of England that satisfaction and security for their peaceable and quiet living beside you, which may in justice be demanded from a Nation giving so just ground to ask the same, - from those who have, as you, taken their enemy into their bosom, whilst he was in hostility against them: 'Do this;' and it will be made good to you. That you may have a lasting and durable Peace with them, and the wish of a blessing upon you in all religious and civil things.

If this be refused by you, we are persuaded that God, who hath once borne His testimony, will do it again on the behalf of us His poor servants, who do appeal to Him whether their desires flow from sincerity of heart or not. I rest.

Your Lordships' humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL. §

The Committee of Estates at Stirling or elsewhere debated about an Answer to this Letter; but sent none, except of civility merely, and after considerable delays. A copy of the Letter was likewise forwarded to Colonels Ker and Strahan and their Western Army, by whom it was taken into consideration; and some Correspondence, Cromwell's part of which is not yet altogether lost, followed upon it there; and indeed

§ Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 98).

Cromwell, as we dimly discover in the old Books, set forth towards Glasgow directly on the back of it, in hopes of a closer communication with these Western Colonels and their Party.

While Ker and Strahan are busy "at Dumfries," says Baillie, "Cromwell with the whole body of his Army and can-"non comes peaceably by way of Kilsyth to Glasgow." It is Friday evening, 18th October 1650. "The Ministers and Ma-"gistrates flee all away. I got to the Isle of Cumbrae with my "Lady Montgomery; but left all my family and goods to "Cromwell's courtesy, - which indeed was great; for he took "such a course with his soldiers that they did less displeasure "at Glasgow than if they had been in London; though Mr. "Zachary Boyd," a fantastic old gentleman still known in Glasgow and Scotland, "railed on them all, to their very face, "in the High Church;"# calling them Sectaries and Blasphemers, the fantastic old gentleman! "Glasgow, though not "so big or rich as Edinburgh, is a much sweeter place; the "completest town we have yet seen here, and one of their "choicest Universities." The people were much afraid of us till they saw how we treated them. "Captain Covel of the "Lord General's regiment of horse was cashiered here, for "holding some blasphemous opinions." **—This is Cromwell's first visit to Glasgow: he made two others, of which on occasion notice shall be taken. In Pinkerton's Correspondence are certain "anecdotes of Cromwell at Glasgow;" which, like many others on Cromwell, need not be repeated anywhere except in the nursery.

Cromwell entered Glasgow on Friday evening; over Sunday, was patient with Zachary Boyd: but got no result out of Ker and Strahan. Ker and Strahan, at Dumfries on the Thursday, have perfected and signed their Remonstrance of the Western Army; *** a Document of much fame in the old Scotch Books. "Expressing many sad truths," says the Kirk Committee. Expressing, in fact, the apprehension of Ker

<sup>Baillie, iii. 119; Whitlocke, p. 459.
Whitlocke, p. 459; Cromwelliana, pp. 92, 3.
Dated 17th October; given in Balfour, iv. 141-60.</sup>



1650.]

LETTER CLI., EDINBURGH.

7

and Strahan that the Covenanted King may probably be a Solecism Incarnate, under whom it will not be good to fight longer for the Cause of Christ and Scotland; — expressing meanwhile considerable reluctancy as to the English Sectaries; and deciding on the whole to fight them still, though on a footing of our own. Not a very hopeful enterprise! Of which we shall see the issue by and by. Meanwhile news come that this Western Army is aiming towards Edinburgh, to get hold of the Castle there. Whereupon Cromwell, in all haste, on Monday, sets off thitherward; "lodges the first night in a poor cottage fourteen miles from Glasgow;" arrives safe, to prevent all alarms. His first visit to Glasgow was but of two days.

LETTER CLI.

THE Western Colonels have given-in their Remonstrance to the Committee of Estates; and sat in deliberation on their copy of Cromwell's Expostulatory Letter to that Body, the Letter we have just read, — in which these two words, "security" and "satisfaction," are somewhat abstruse to the Western Colonels. They decide that it will not be convenient to return any public Answer; but they have forwarded a private Letter of acknowledgment with "Six Queries:" Letter lost to us; Six Queries still surviving. To which, directly after his return to Edinburgh, here is Cromwell's Answer. The Six Queries, being very brief, may be transcribed; the Letter of acknowledgment can be conceived without transcribing:

"Query 1. Why is 'satisfaction' demanded? 2. What is "the satisfaction demanded? 3. For what is the 'security' "demanded? 4. What is the security ye would have? 5. From "whom is the security required? 6. To whom is the security to be given?" — Queries which, I think, do not much look like real despatch-of-business in the present intricate con-

iuncture!

This Letter, it appears, is, if not accompanied, directly

• Balfour iv. 185.

[25 Oct.

followed by "Mr. Alexander Jaffray" Provost of Aberdeen, and a "Reverend Mr. Carstairs" of Glasgow, two Prisoners of Oliver's ever since Dunbar Drove, who are to "agent" the same.*

'To Colonel Straha

the Western Army: These.'

SIR.

Edinburgh, 25th October 1650.

I have considered of the Letter and the Queries; and, having advised with some Christian friends about the same, think fit to return an Answer as followeth:

'That' we bear unto the Godly of Scotland the same Christian affection we have all along professed in our Papers; being ready, through the grace of God, upon all occasions, to give such proof and testimony thereof as the Divine Providence shall minister opportunity to us to do. That nothing would be more acceptable to us to see than the Lord removing offences, and inclining the hearts of His People in Scotland to meet us with the same affection. That we do verily apprehend, with much comfort, that there is some stirring of your bowels by the Lord; giving some hope of His good pleasure tending hereunto: which we are most willing to comply with, and not to be wanting in anything on our part which may further the same.

And having seen the heads of two Remonstrances, the one of the Ministers of Glasgow, and the other of the Officers and Gentlemen of the West,** we do from thence hope that the Lord hath cleared unto you some things that were formerly hidden, and which we hope may lead to a better understanding. Nevertheless, we

^{*} Baillie, iii. 120.'

^{**}Remonstrance of the Western Army is this latter; the other, very conceivable as a kind of codicil to this, is not known to me except at secondhand, from Baillie's eager, earnest, very headlong and perplexed account of that Business (iv. 120, 122 et seq.).

cannot but take notice, that from some expressions in the same Papers, we have too much cause to note that there is still so great a difference betwixt us as we are looked upon and accounted as Enemies.

And although we hope that the Six Queries, sent by you to us to be answered, were intended to clear doubts and remove the remaining obstructions; which we shall be most ready to do: yet, considering the many misconstructions which may arise from the clearest pen (where men are not all of one mind), and the difficulties at this distance to resolve doubts and rectify mistakes, we conceive our Answer in Writing may not so effectually reach that end, as a friendly and Christian Conference by equal persons 'might.'

And we doubt not we can, with ingenuity and clearness, give a satisfactory account of those general things held forth in the Letter sent by us to the Committee of Estates,* and in our former Declarations and Papers; which we shall be ready to do by a Friendly Debate, — when and where our answer to these particulars may probably tend to the better and more clear understanding betwixt the Godly Party of both Nations.

To speak plainly in a few words: If those who sincerely love and fear the Lord amongst you are sensible that matters have been and are carried by your State so as that therewith God is not well pleased, but the Interest of His People 'is' hazarded, in Scotland and England, to Malignants, to Papists, and to the Profane, — we can, through Grace, be willing to lay our bones in the dust for your sakes; and can, as

and your comfort.

heretofore we have 'said,' still continue to say, That, not to impose upon you in Religious or Civil Interests, not dominion nor any worldly advantage, 'not these,' but the obtaining of a just security to ourselves,* were the motives, and o our consciences, in this Undertaking. ty:' which we believe by this time you r had cause to be sensible was more th l by the carriage of affairs with your it is not success, and more visible clearn ciences arising out of the discoveries Goa of the hypocrisies of men, that hath altereu, alter,' our principles or demands. But we take from thence humble encouragement to follow the Lord's providence in serving His Cause and People; not doubting but He will give such an issue to this Business as will be to His glory

I rest, Your affectionate friend and servant, OLIVER CROMWELL. §

There followed no "Friendly Debate" upon this Letter; nothing followed upon it except new noise in the Western Army, and a straitlaced case of conscience more perplexing than ever. Jaffray and Carstairs had to come back on parole again; Strahan at length withdrew from the concern: the Western Army went its own separate middle road, — to what issue we shall see.

Here is another trait of the old time; not without illumination for us. "One Watt, a tenant of the Earl of Tweedale's "being sore oppressed by the English, took to himself some "of his own degree; and, by daily incursions and infalls on

 [&]quot;securing ourselves" in orig.
 Clarendon State-Papers (Oxford, 1773), ii. 551-2.

"the English Garrisons and Parties in Lothian, killed and "took of them above Four-hundred," or say the half or quarter of so many, "and enriched himself by their spoils." The like "did one Augustin, a High-German," not a Dutchman, "being purged out of the Army before Dunbar Drove," — of whom we shall hear farther. In fact, the class called Mosstroopers begins to abound; the only class that can flourish in such a state of affairs. Whereupon comes out this

PROCLAMATION.

I finding that divers of the Army under my command are not only spoiled and robbed, but also sometimes barbarously and inhumanly butchered and slain, by a sort of Outlaws and Robbers, not under the discipline of any Army; and finding that all our tenderness in the Country produceth no other effect than their compliance with, and protection of, such persons; and considering that it is in the power of the Country to detect and discover them (many of them being inhabitants of those places where commonly the outrage is committed); and perceiving that their motion is ordinarily by the invitation, and according to intelligence given them by Countrymen:

I do therefore declare, that wheresoever any under my command shall be hereafter robbed or spoiled by such parties, I will require life for life, and a plenary satisfaction for their goods, of those Parishes and Places where the fact shall be committed; unless they shall discover and produce the offender. And this I wish all persons to take notice of, that none may plead

ignorance.

Given under my hand at Edinburgh, the 5th of November 1650.

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

[18 Nov.

LETTER CLIL

One nest of Mosstroopers, not far off, in the Dalkeith region, ought specially to be abated.

To the Governor of Borthwick Castle: These.

SIR. Edinburgh, 18th November 1650.

I thought fit to send this Trumpet to you, to let you know, That if you please to walk away with your company, and deliver the House to such as I shall send to receive it, you shall have liberty to carry off your arms and goods, and such other necessaries as vou have.

You have harboured such parties in your House as have basely and inhumanly murdered our men: if you necessitate me to bend my cannon against you, you may expect what I doubt you will not be pleased with.

I expect your present Answer; and rest,

Your servant, OLIVER CROMWELL. §

The Governor of Borthwick Castle, Lord Borthwick of that Ilk, did as he was bidden; "walked away," with movable goods, with wife and child, and had "fifteen days" allowed him to pack: whereby the Dalkeith region and Carlisle Road is a little quieter henceforth.

LETTER CLIII.

COLONELS Ker and Strahan with their Remonstrance have filled all Scotland with a fresh figure of dissension. The Kirk finds "many sad truths" in it; knows not what to do with it. In the Estates themselves there is division of opinion. Men of worship, the Minister in Kirkcaldy among others, are heard to & Russell's Life of Cromwell, ii. 95 (from Statistical Account of Scot-

land.)

"the English Garrisons and Parties in Lothian, killed and "took of them above Four-hundred," or say the half or quarter of so many, "and enriched himself by their spoils." The like "did one Augustin, a High-German," not a Dutchman, "being purged out of the Army before Dunbar Drove," — of whom we shall kear farther. In fact, the class called Mosstroopers begins to abound; the only class that can flourish in such a state of affairs. Whereupon comes out this

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PART VI. WAR WITH SCOTLAND. [18 Nov.

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LETTER CLIIL

ELS Ker and Strahan with their Remois Scotland with a fresh figure of dissens any sad truths" in it; knows not whates themselves there is division of of the Minister in Kirkcaldy among other lit's Life of Cromwell, ii. 95 (from Statistical)

say strange things: "That a Hypocrite," or Solecism Incarnate, "ought not to reign over us; that we should treat with Cromwell, and give him assurance not to trouble England with a "King; that whosoever mars such a Treaty, the blood of the "slain shall be on his head!" "Which are strange words," says Baillie, "if true." Scotland is in a hopeful way. The extreme party of Malignants in the North is not yet quite extinct; and here is another extreme party of Remonstrants in the West,— to whom all the conscientious rash men of Scotland, in Kirkcaldy and elsewhere, seem as if they would join themselves! Nothing but remonstrating, protesting, treatying and mistreatying from sea to sea.

To have taken up such a Remonstrance at first, and stood by it, before the War began, had been very wise: but to take it up now, and attempt not to make a Peace by it. but to continue the War with it, looks mad enough! Such nevertheless is Colonel Gibby Ker's project, -not Strahan's, it would seem: men's projects strangely cross one another in this time of bewilderment; and only perhaps in doing nothing could a man in such a scene act wisely. Lambert, however, is gone into the West with Threethousand horse to deal with Ker and his projects; the Lord General has himself been in the West: the end of Ker's projects is succinctly shadowed forth in the following Letter. From Baillie * we learn that Ker, with his Western Army, was lying at a place called Carmunnock, when he made this infall upon Lambert; that the time of it was "four in the morning of Sunday 1st December 1650;" and the scene of it Hamilton Town, and the streets and ditches thereabouts: a dark sad business, of an ancient Winter morning, - sufficiently luminous for our purpose with it here.

The "treaties among the Enemy" means Ker and Strahan's confused remonstratings and treatyings; the "result," or general upshot, of which is this scene in the ditches at four in the morning.

^{*} iii. 125.

See also Whitlocke, 16th December 1650.

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PART VI. WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

[4 Dec.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

SIR, Edinburgh, 4th December 1650.

I have now sent you the results of some Treaties amongst the Enemy, which came to my hand this day.

The Major-General and Commissary-General Whalley marched a few days ago towards Glasgow. The Enemy attempted his quarters in Hamilton; were entered the Town: but by the blessing of God, by a very gracious hand of Providence, without the loss of six men as I hear of, he beat them out; killed about an Hundred: took also about the same number, amongst whom are some prisoners of quality; and near an Hundred horse, - as I am informed. The Major-General is still in the chase of them; to whom also I have since sent the addition of a fresh party. Colonel Ker (as my Messenger, this night, tells me) is taken; his Lieutenant-Colonel: and one that was sometimes Major to Colonel Strahan; and Ker's Captain-Lieutenant. The whole Party is shattered. And give me leave to say it, If God had not brought them upon us, we might have marched Three-thousand horse to death, and not have lighted on them. And truly it was a strange Providence brought them upon him. For I marched from Edinburgh on the north side of Clyde; 'and had' appointed the Major-General to march from Peebles to Hamilton, on the south side of Clyde. I came thither by the time expected; tarried the remainder of the day, and until near seven o'clock the next morning, apprehending 'then that' the Major-General would not come, by reason of the waters. I being retreated, the Enemy took encouragement; marched all that night; and came upon the Major-General's quarters about

1650.]

two hours before day; where it pleased the Lord to order as you have heard.

The Major-General and Commissary-General (as he sent me word) were still gone on in the prosecution of them; and 'he' saith that, except an Hundred-and-fifty horse in one body, he hears they are fled, by sixteen or eighteen in a company, all the country over. Robin Montgomery was come out of Stirling, with four or five regiments of horse and dragoons,* but was put to a stand when he heard of the issue of this business. Strahan and some other Officers had quitted some three weeks or a month before this business; so that Ker commanded this whole party in chief.

It is given out that the Malignants will be almost all received, and rise unanimously and expeditiously. I can assure you, that those that serve you here find more satisfaction in having to deal with men of this stamp than 'with' others; and it is our comfort that the Lord hath hitherto made it the matter of our prayers, and of our endeavours (if it might have been the will of God), To have had a Christian understanding between those that fear God in this land and ourselves. And yet we hope it hath not been carried on with a willing failing of our duty to those that trust us: — and I am persuaded the Lord hath looked favourably upon our sincerity herein; and will still do so; and upon you also, whilst you make the Interest of God's People yours.

[•] For the purpose of rallying to him these Western forces, or such of them as would follow the official Authorities and him; and leading them to Stirling, to the main Army (Baillie, abi supra). Poor Ker thought it might be useful to do a feat on his own footing first: and here is the conclusion of him! Colonel "Robin Montgomery" is the Earl of Eglinton's Son, whom we have repeatedly seen before.

Those religious People of Scotland that fall in this Clause, we cannot but pity and mourn for them; and we pray that all good men may do so too. Indeed there is at this time a very great distraction, and mighty workings of God upon the hearts of divers, both Ministers and People; much of it tending to the justification of your Cause. And although some are as bitter and as bad as ever; making it their business to shuffle hypocritically with their consciences and the Covenant, to make it 'seem' lawful to join with Malignants, which now they do, - as well they might long before, having taken in the Head 'Malignant' of them: vet truly others are startled at it; and some have been constrained by the work of God upon their consciences. to make sad and solemn accusations of themselves, and lamentations in the face of their Supreme Authority; charging themselves as guilty of the blood shed in this War, by having a hand in the Treaty at Breda, and by bringing the King in amongst them. lately did a Lord of the Session; and withdrew 'from the Committee of Estates.' And lately Mr. James Livingston, a man as highly esteemed as any for piety and learning, who was a Commissioner for the Kirk at the said Treaty, - charged himself with the guilt of the blood of this War, before their Assembly; and withdrew from them, and is retired to his own house.

It will be very necessary, to encourage victuallers to come to us, that you take off Customs and Excise from all things brought hither for the use of the Army.

I beg your prayers; and rest,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

[§] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 94, 5).

This then is the end of Ker's fighting project; a very mad one, at this state of the business. The Remonstrance continued long to be the symbol of the Extreme-Covenant or Whiggamore Party among the Scots; but its practical operation ceased here. Ker lies lamed, dangerously wounded; and, I think, will fight no more.* Strahan and some others, voted traitorous by the native Authorities, went openly over to Cromwell; - Strahan soon after died. As for the Western Army, it straightway dispersed itself; part towards Stirling and the Authorities; the much greater part to their civil callings again, wishing they had never quitted them. "This mis-"carriage of affairs in the West by a few unhappy men," says Baillie, "put us all under the foot of the Enemy. They pre-"sently ran over all the country; destroying cattle and crops; "putting Glasgow and all other places under grievous contri-This makes me," for my part, "stick at Perth; not "daring to go where the Enemy is master, as he now is of all "Scotland south of the Forth." **

It only remains to be added, that the two Extreme Parties being broken, the Middle or Official one rose supreme, and widened its borders by the admission, as Oliver anticipated, "of the Malignants almost all;" a set of "Public Resolutions" so-called being passed in the Scotch Parliament to that end, and ultimately got carried through the Kirk Assembly too. Official majority of "Resolutioners," with a zealous party of "Remonstrants," who are also called "Protesters:" in Kirk and State, these long continue to afflict and worry one another, sad fruit of a Covenanted Charles Stuart; but shall not farther concern us here. It is a great comfort to the Lord General that he has now mainly real Malignants for enemies in this country; and so can smite without reluctance. Unhappy "Resolutioners," if they could subdue Cromwell, what would become of them at the hands of their own Malignants! They have admitted the Chief Malignant, "in whom all Malignity

Other notice of him, and of his unsubduable stiffness of neck, in Thurloe, iv. 480 (Dec. 1655), &c.
 iii. 125 (date, 2d January 1650-1).

does centre," into their bosom; and have an Incarnate Solecism presiding over them. Satisfactorily descended from Elizabeth Muir of Caldwell, but in all other respects most unsatisfactory! -

tion of things, and Sir James Hope of C and the censures th months. But the La still farther in the defeat of Ker, went.

"great distraction, tueses "of divers," "Mr. James I a distinguished family in America.

The "Lord of the Session." who felt startled at this condi-" from it, I take to have been of whom, and whose scruples, ere is frequent mention in these winton, another of the same, went arse; and indeed, soon after this over to Cromwell. "There is very y workings upon the hearts n," the Minister of Ancrum,

has left a curious Life of mmsen: - he is still represented by

LETTER CLIV.

THE next affair is that of Edinburgh Castle. Our Derbyshire miners found the rock very hard, and made small way in it: but now the Lord General has got his batteries ready; and, on Thursday 12th December, after three months blockade, salutes the place with his "guns and mortars," and the following set of Summonses; which prove effectual.

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.

SIR. Edinburgh, 12th December 1650.

We being now resolved, by God's assistance, to make use of such means as He hath put into our hands towards the reducing of Edinburgh Castle, I thought fit to send you this Summons.

What the grounds of our proceedings have been, and what our desires and aims in relation to the glory of God and the common Interest of His People, we have often expressed in our Papers tendered to public

Balfour, iv. 173, 235.

view. To which though credit hitherto hath not been given by men, yet the Lord hath been pleased to bear a gracious and favourable testimony; and hath not only kept us constant to our profession, and in our

a gracious and favourable testimony; and hath not only kept us constant to our profession, and in our affections to such as fear the Lord in this Nation, but hath unmasked others from their pretences, — as appears by the present transactions at St. Johnston.* Let the Lord dispose your resolutions as seemeth good to Hiff: my sense of duty presseth me, for the ends aforesaid, and to avoid the effusion of more blood, To demand the rendering of this place to me upon fit conditions.

To which expecting your answer this day, I rest, Sir, your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

The Governor's Answer to my Lord General's Letter is this:

"For his Excellency the General of the English Forces.

"Edinburgh, 12th December 1650.

"My Lord, — I am intrusted by the Estates of Scotland with this place; and being sworn not to deliver it to any without their warrant, I have no power to dispose thereof by myself. I do therefore desire the space of ten days, wherein I may conveniently acquaint the said Estates, and receive their answer. And for this effect, your safe-conduct for them employed in the message. Upon the receipt of their answer, you shall have the resolution of, — my Lord, your most humble servant,
"W. Dunnas"

The Lord General's Reply to Governor Walter Dundas:

Readmission "of the Malignants almost all;" Earl of Calendar, Duke of Hamilton, &c. (Balfour, iv. 179-203); by the Parliament at Perth, — at "St. Johnston," as the old name is.

LETTER CLV.

For the Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh.

Sir. Edinburgh, 19th December 1650.

It concerns not me to know your obligations to those that trust you. I make no question the apprehensions you have of your abilities to resist those impressions which shall be made upon you,* are the natural and equitable rules of all men's judgments and consciences in your condition; — except you had taken an oath beyond a possibility. I leave that to your consideration; and shall not seek to contest with your thoughts: only I think it may become me to let you know, You may have honourable terms for yourself and those with you; and both yourself and soldiers have satisfaction to all your reasonable desires; and those that have other employments, liberty and protection in the exercise of them.

But to deal plainly with you, I will not give liberty to you to consult your Committee of Estates; because I hear, those that are honest amongst them enjoy not satisfaction, and the rest are now discovered to seek another Interest than they have formerly pretended to. And if you desire to be informed of this, you may, by them you dare trust, at a nearer distance than St. Johnston.

Expecting your present answer, I rest,
Sir, your servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

The Governor's Reply, No. 2, arrives on the morrow, Friday:

^{*} By my cannons and mortars.

"For his Excellency the Lord General of the English Forces in Scotland.

"Edinburgh Castle, 13th December 1650.

"My Lord, — It much concerneth me (considering my obli"gations) to be found faithful in the trust committed to me.
"And therefore, in the fear of the living God, and of His great
"Name called upon in the accepting of my trust, I do again
"press the liberty of acquainting the Estates. The time is but
"short; and I do expect it as answerable to your profession of
"affection to those that fear the Lord. In the mean time I am
"willing to hear information of late proceedings from such as
"he dare trust who is, — my Lord, your humble servant,
"W. Dundas."

The Lord General's Reply, No. 2.

LETTER CLVI.

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.

SIR. Edinburgh, 13th December 1650.

Because of your strict and solemn adjuration of me, in the fear and Name of the living God, That I give you time to send to the Committee of Estates, to whom you undertook the keeping of this place under the obligation of an oath, as you affirm, — I cannot but hope that it is your conscience, and not policy, carrying you to that desire. The granting of which, if it be prejudicial to our affairs, — I am as much obliged in conscience not to do it, as you can pretend cause for your conscience' sake to desire it.

Now considering 'that' our merciful and wise God binds not His People to actions too cross one to another; but that our bands may be,* as I am persuaded they are, through our mistakes and darkness,

^{*} our perplexities are caused.

- not only in the question about the surrendering this Castle, but also in all the present differences: - I have much reason to believe that, by a Conference, you may be well satisfied, in point of fact, of your Estates (to whom you say you are obliged) carrying on an Interest destructive and contrary to what they professed when they committed that trust to you. having made to depart from them many honest men through fear of their own safety,* and making way for the reception of professed Malignants, both in their Parliament and Army: — and also 'that you' may have laid before you such grounds of our ends and aims to the preservation of the interest of honest men in Scotland as well as England, as will (if God vouchsafe to appear in them) give your conscience satisfaction. Which if you refuse, I hope you will not have cause to say that we are either unmindful of the great Name of the Lord which you have mentioned, nor that we are wanting to answer our profession of affection to those that fear the Lord.

I am willing to cease hostility, for some hours, or convenient time to so good an end as information of judgment, and satisfaction of conscience; — although I may not give liberty for the time desired, to send to the Committee of Estates; or at all stay the prosecution of my attempt.

Expecting your sudden answer, I rest,
Your servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL. §

The Governor's Reply, No. 3, comes out on Saturday:

^{*} Swinton, Strahan, Hope of Craighall, &c. § Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 97).

"For his Excellency the Lord General of the English Forces in Scotland: These,

"Edinburgh Castle, 14th December 1650.

"My Lord, — What I pressed, in my last, proceeded from "conscience and not from policy: and I conceived that the few "days desired could not be of such prejudice to your affairs, as "to bar the desired expressions of professed affection towards "those that fear the Lord. And I expected that a small delay "of our own" affairs should not have preponderated the satisfaction of a desire pressed in so serious and solemn a manner for satisfying conscience.

"But if you will needs persist in denial, I shall desire to "hear the information of late proceedings from such as I dare "trust, and 'as' have had occasion to know the certainty of "things. Such I hope you will permit to come alongst at the "first convenience; and during that time all acts of hostility, "and prosecution of attempts, be forborne on both sides. I am, "my Lord, your humble servant,

"W. DUNDAS."

The Lord General's Reply, No. 3:

LETTER CLVIL

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.

SIR, Edinburgh, 14th December 1650.

You will give me leave to be sensible of delays out of conscience of duty 'too.'

If you please to name any you would speak with 'who are' now in Town, they shall have liberty to come and speak with you for one hour, if they will; provided you send presently. I expect there be no loss of time. I rest,

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

 [&]quot;our own," one's own.
 Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 97).

Governor Dundas applies herenpon for Mr. Alexander Jaffray and the Reverend John Carstairs to be sent to him: two official persons, whom we saw made captive in Dunbar Drove, who have ever since been Prisoners-on-parole with his Excellency; doing now and then an occasional message for him; much meditating on him and his ways. Who very naturally decline to be concerned with so delicate an operation as this now on hand, — in the following characteristic Note, enclosed in his Excellency's Reply, No. 4:

LETTER CLVIIL

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.

Sir,

Edinburgh, 14th December 1650.

Having acquainted the Gentlemen with your desire to speak with them, and they making some difficulty of it, 'they' have desired me to send you this enclosed. I rest, Sir, your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

Here is "this enclosed:"

"For the Right Honourable the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.

"Edinburgh, 14th December 1650.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE, — We now hearing that you was "desirous to speak with us for your information of the posture "of affairs, we would be glad, and we think you make no doubt "of it, to be refreshing or useful to you in anything; but the "matter is of so high concernment, especially since it may be "you will lean somewhat upon our information in managing "that important trust put upon you, that we dare not take upon "us to meddle: ye may therefore do as ye find yourselves clear and in capacity; and the Lord be with you. We are, Sir, "your honour's humble servants, wellwishers in the Lord,

"AL. JAPFRAY.
"Jo. CARSTAIRS."

& Newspapers (in Cromwelliana), p. 98.

So that, for this Saturday, nothing can be done. On Sunday, we suppose, Mr. Stapylton, in black, teaches in St. Giles's; and other qualified persons, some of them in red with belts, teach in other Kirks; the Scots, much taken with the doctrine, "answering in their usual way of groans," Hum-m-mrh!— and on Monday, it is like, the cannons and mortar-pieces begin to teach again, or indicate that they can at once begin. Wherefore, on Wednesday, here is a new Note from Governor Dundas; which we shall call Reply No.4, from that much-straitened Gentleman:

"Edinburgh Castle, 18th December 1650. "My Lord, — I expected that conscience, which you pre-"tended to be your motive that did induce you to summon this "house before you did attempt anything against it, should also "have moved you to have expected my Answer to your Demand "of the house; which I could not, out of conscience, suddenly "give without mature deliberation; it being a business of such "high importance. You having refused that little time, which "I did demand to the effect I might receive the commands of "them that did intrust me with this place; and "I" yet not da-"ring to fulfil your desire, - I do demand such a competent "time as may be condescended upon betwixt us, within which "if no relief come. I shall surrender this place upon such "honourable conditions as can be agreed upon by capitulation; "and during which time all acts of hostility and prosecution of "attempts on both sides may be forborne. I am, my Lord, "your humble servant,

"W. Dundas."

The Lord General's Reply, No. 5:

LETTER CLIX.

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.

SIR, Edinburgh, 18th December 1650.

All that I have to say is shortly this: That if you will send out Commissioners by eleven o'clock this night thoroughly instructed and authorised to treat

LETTER CLV.

For the Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh.

Sir, Edinburgh, 12th December 1650.

It concerns not me to know your obligations to those that trust you. I make no question the apprehensions you have of your abilities to resist those impressions which shall be made upon you,* are the natural and equitable rules of all men's judgments and consciences in your condition;— except you had taken an oath beyond a possibility. I leave that to your consideration; and shall not seek to contest with your thoughts: only I think it may become me to let you know, You may have honourable terms for yourself and those with you; and both yourself and soldiers have satisfaction to all your reasonable desires; and those that have other employments, liberty and protection in the exercise of them.

But to deal plainly with you, I will not give liberty to you to consult your Committee of Estates; because I hear, those that are honest amongst them enjoy not satisfaction, and the rest are now discovered to seek another Interest than they have formerly pretended to. And if you desire to be informed of this, you may, by them you dare trust, at a nearer distance than St. Johnston.

Expecting your present answer, I rest,
Sir, your servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

The Governor's Reply, No. 2, arrives on the morrow, Friday:

[.] By my cannons and mortars.

"For his Excellency the Lord General of the English Forces in Scotland.

"Edinburgh Castle, 13th December 1650.

"My Lord, — It much concerneth me (considering my obligations) to be found faithful in the trust committed to me. "And therefore, in the fear of the living God, and of His great "Name called upon in the accepting of my trust, I do again "press the liberty of acquainting the Estates. The time is but "short; and I do expect it as answerable to your profession of "affection to those that fear the Lord. In the mean time I am "willing to hear information of late proceedings from such as "he dare trust who is, — my Lord, your humble servant, "W. Dunda."

The Lord General's Reply, No. 2.

LETTER CLVI.

For the Governor of Edinburgh Castle: These.

Sir, Edinburgh, 13th December 1850.

Because of your strict and solemn adjuration of me, in the fear and Name of the living God, That I give you time to send to the Committee of Estates, to whom you undertook the keeping of this place under the obligation of an oath, as you affirm, — I cannot but hope that it is your conscience, and not policy, carrying you to that desire. The granting of which, if it be prejudicial to our affairs, — I am as much obliged in conscience not to do it, as you can pretend cause for your conscience' sake to desire it.

Now considering 'that' our merciful and wise God binds not His People to actions too cross one to another; but that our bands may be,* as I am persuaded they are, through our mistakes and darkness,

^{*} our perplexities are caused.

, and contrastic, and

their goods, without let or molestation hereby further declare and require all Soldiers of this Army. That they take so no violation be done to any person or pe away their goods, and carrying them to places as to them seemeth fit. And if it out that any Soldier shall be found will fully to do anything contrary hereunto, I death for the same. And if it shall app Officer shall, either through connivance do or suffer 'to be done' anything comagainst the said Proclamation, wherein it his power to prevent or hinder the same, Officer shall likewise suffer death.

Given under my hand the 19th of Dec OLIVER CRO

It is now Thursday: we gain admittance to the Tuesday following, and the Scotch forces m in a somewhat confused manner, I conceive. Dundas and the other parties implicated are co better than traitors, at Stirling: in fact, they a secretly, of the Remonstrant or Protester species well come over to Cromwell; — which at once or most of them do [32].

in one definite body; and he may smite without reluctance. Here is his Letter to the Speaker on this business. After which, we may hope, the rest of his Scotch Letters may be given in a mass; sufficiently legible without commentary of ours.

LETTER CLXL

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

RIGHT HONOURABLE, Edini

Edinburgh, 24th Dec. 1650.

It hath pleased God to cause this Castle of Edinburgh to be surrendered into our hands, this day about eleven o'clock. I thought fit to give you such account thereof as I could, and 'as' the shortness of time would permit.

I sent a Summons to the Castle upon the 12th instant; which occasioned several Exchanges and Replies, which, for their unusualness, I also thought fit humbly to present to you.* Indeed the mercy is very great, and seasonable. I think, I need to say little of the strength of the place; which, if it had not come in as it did, would have cost very much blood to have attained, if at all to be attained; and did tie up your Army to that inconvenience, That little or nothing could have been attempted whilst this was in design; or little fruit had of anything brought into your power by your Army hitherto, without it. I must needs say, not any skill or wisdom of ours, but the good hand of God hath given you this place.

I believe all Scotland hath not in it so much brass ordnance as this place. I send you here enclosed a List thereof.** and of the arms and ammunition, so well

^{*} We have already read them.

^{**} Drakes, minions, murderers, monkeys, of brass and iron, — not interesting to us, except it be "the great iron murderer called Mackle-Mag," already in existence, and still held in some confused remembrance in those Bothern parts.

as they could be taken on a sudden. Not having more at present to trouble you with, I take leave, and Sir. rest.

> Your most humble servant. OLIVER CROMWELL, \$

LETTERS CLXIL-CLXXXI.

THE Lord General is now settled at Edinburgh till the season for campaigning return. Tradition still reports him as lodged, as in 1648, in that same spacious and sumptuous "Earl of Murrie's House in the Cannigate;" credibly enough; though Tradition does not in this instance produce any written voucher hitherto.* The Lord General, as we shall find by and by, falls dangerously sick here; worn down by over-work and the rugged climate.

The Scots lie entrenched at Stirling, diligently raising new levies; parliamenting and committee-ing diligently at Perth; - crown their King at Scone Kirk, on the First of January.** in token that they have now all "complied" with him. The Lord General is virtually master of all Scotland south of the Forth; - fortifies, before long, a Garrison as far west as "Newark," *** which we now call Port Glasgow, on the Clyde. How his forces had to occupy themselves, reducing detached Castles; coercing Mosstroopers; and, in detail, bringing the Country to obedience, the old Books at great length say, and the reader here shall fancy in his mind. Take the following two little traits from Whitlocke, and spread them out to the due expansion and reduplication:

"February 3d. 1650. Letters that Colonel Fenwick sum-"moned Hume Castle to be surrendered to General Cromwell. "The Governor answered, 'I know not Cromwell; and as for

[§] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 99).

• Yes, in fine: Memorie of the Somervilles (Edinburgh, 1815), ii. 428, gives "my Lady Home's Lodging," which is known to signify that same House. (Note of 1867.)

• Minute description of the ceremony, in Somers Tracts, vi. 117.

• Milton State-Papers, p. 84.

"my Castle, it is built on a rock." Whereupon Colonel Fenwick played upon "him" a little "with the great guns." But the Governor still would not yield; nay sent a Letter couched in these singular terms:

"I, William of the Wastle, Am now in my Castle; And aw the dogs in the town Shanna gar * me gang down."

So that there remained nothing but opening the mortars upon this William of the Wastle; which did gar him gang down, more fool than he went up.

We also read how Colonel Hacker and others rooted out bodies of Mosstroopers from Strength after Strength; and "took much oatmeal," which must have been very useful there. But this little Entry, a few days subsequent to that of Willie Wastle, affected us most: "Letters that the Scots in a "Village called Geddard rose, and armed themselves; and set "upon Captain Dawson as he returned from pursuing some "Mosstroopers; - killed his guide and trumpet; and took "Dawson and eight of his party, and after having given them "quarter, killed them all in cold blood." ** In which "Village called Geddard," do not some readers recognise a known place, Jeddart or Jedburgh, friendly enough to Mosstroopers; and in the transaction itself, a notable example of what is called "Jeddart Justice," - killing a man whom you have a pique at: killing him first, to make sure, and then judging um! - However there come Letters too, "That the English oldiers married divers of the Scots Women;" which was an scellent movement on their part; — and may serve as the ncluding feature here.

LETTER CLXII.

THE "Empson" of this Letter, who is now to have a Comy in Hacker's regiment, was transiently visible to us once ady, as "Lieutenant Empson of my regiment," in the

[&]quot;Shand garre" is Whitlocke's reading. 14th February 1650 (Whitlocke, p. 464).

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Skirmish at Musselburgh, four months ago. * Hacker is the well-known Colonel Francis Hacker, who attended the King on the scaffold; having a signed Warrant, which we have read, addressed to him and two other Officers to that effect. The most conspicuous, but by no means the most approved, of his military services to this Country! For which one indeed, in overbalance to many others, he was rewarded with death after the Restoration. A Rutlandshire man; a Captain from the beginning of the War; and rather favourably visible, from time to time, all along. Of whom a kind of continuous Outline of a Biography, considerably different from Caulfield's and other inane Accounts of him, ** might still be gathered, did it much concern us here. To all appearance, a somewhat taciturn, somewhat indignant, very swift, resolute and valiant man. He died for his share in the Regicide; but did not profess to repent of it; intimated, in his taciturn way, that he was willing to accept the results of it, and answer for it in a much higher Court than the Westminster one. We are indeed to understand generally, in spite of the light phrase which Cromwell reprimands in this Letter, that Hacker was a religious man; and in his regicides and other operations, did not act without some warrant that was very satisfactory to him. For the present he has much to do with Mosstroopers; very active upon them; - for which "Peebles" is a good locality. He continues visible as a Republican to the last; is appointed "to raise a regiment" for the expiring Cause in 1659, — in which, what a little concerns us, this same "Hubbert" here in question is to be his Major. ***

To the Honourable Colonel Hacker, at Peebles or elsewhere: These.

Edinburgh, 25th December 1650.

I have 'used' the best consideration I can, for the present, in this business; and although I believe Cap-

Letter CXXXV., vol. ii, 306.
 Caulfield's High Court of Justice, pp. 88-7; Trials of the Regicides; &c.
 Commons Journals, vii. 669, 675, 824.

tain Hubbert is a worthy man, and hear so much, yet, as the case stands, I cannot, with satisfaction to myself and some others, revoke the Commission I had given to Captain Empson, without offence to them, and reflection upon my own judgment.

I pray let Captain Hubbert know I shall not be unmindful of him, and that no disrespect is intended to him. But indeed I was not satisfied with your last speech to me about Empson, That he was a better preacher than fighter or soldier, — or words to that effect. Truly I think he that prays and preaches best will fight best. I know nothing 'that' will give like courage and confidence as the knowledge of God in Christ will; and I bless God to see any in this Army able and willing to impart the knowledge they have, for the good of others. And I expect it be encouraged, by all the Chief Officers in this Army especially; and I hope you will do so. I pray receive Captain Empson lovingly; I dare assure you he is a good man and

Your loving friend,

ÖLIVER CROMWELL. §

LETTER CLXIII.

a good officer; I would we had no worse. I rest,

LETTER Hundred-and-sixty-third relates to the exchange of three Prisoners whom we saw taken in Dunbar Drove, and have had an occasional glimpse of since. Before reading it, let us read another Letter, which is quite unconnected with this; but which lies, as we may see, on the Lord General's table in Moray House in the Canongate while he writes this;—and indeed is a unique of its kind: A Letter from the Lord General's Wife.

[§] Harris, p. 516; Lansdowne MSS., 1236, fol. 99, contains the address, which Harris has omitted.

"My Lord Chief Justice" is Oliver St. John, known to as: this long while; "President" is Bradshaw; "Speaker" in Lenthall: high official persons; to whom it were better if the Lord General took his Wife's advice, and wrote occasionally.

"The Lady Elizabeth Cromwell to her Husband the Lord General at Edinburgh.

" 'Cockpit, London,' 27th December 2000.

"My Dearest, — I wonder you should blame me for writing "no oftener, when I have sent three for one: I cannot but "think they are miscarried. Truly if I know my own heart, "I should as soon neglect myself as to 'omit' the least "thought towards you, who in doing it, I must do it to myself." But when I do write, my Dear, I seldom have any satisfactory. "answer; which makes me think my writing is alighted; as "well it may: but I cannot but think your love covers my "weakness and infirmities.

"I should rejoice to hear your desire in seeing me; but I "desire to submit to the Providence of God; hoping the Lord, "who hath separated us, and hath often brought us together "again, will in His good time bring us again, to the praise of "His name. Truly my life is but half a life in your absence, "did not the Lord make it up in Himself, which I must acknow-

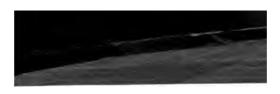
"ledge to the praise of His grace.

"I would you would think to write sometimes to your dear "friend, my Lord Chief Justice, of whom I have often put you "in mind. And truly, my Dear, if you would think of what I "put you in mind of some, it might be to as much purpose as "others; "" writing sometimes a Letter to the President, and "sometimes to the Speaker. Indeed, my Dear, you cannot "think the wrong you do yourself in the want of a Letter, "though it were but seldom. I pray think on; "" and so rest, "— yours in all faithfulness, "ELIZABETH CROMWELL." +

[.] Word torn out.

The grammar bad; the meaning evident or discoverable, — and the bad grammar a part of that!
*** "think a" is the Lady's old phrase.

 [&]quot;think of" is the Lady's old phrase.
 Milton State-Papers, p. 40.



17 Jan. 1651.] LETTER CLXIII., EDINBURGH.

This Letter, in the original, is frightfully spelt; but otherwise exactly as here: the only Letter extant of this Heroine: and not unworthy of a glance from us. It is given in Harris too, and in Noble very incorrectly.

And now for the Letter concerning Provost Jaffray and his

two fellow-prisoners from Dunbar Drove.

For the Right Honourable Lieutenant-General David Lesley: These.

Edinburgh, 17th January 1650.

I perceive by your last Letter you had not met with Mr. Carstairs* and Mr. Waugh, who were to apply themselves to you about Provost Jaffray's and their release, 'in exchange' for the Seamen and Officers. But I understood, by a Paper since shown me by them under your hand, that you were contented to release the said Seamen and Officers for those three Persons. - who have had their discharges accordingly.

I am contented also to discharge the Lieutenant, 'in exchange' for the Four Troopers at Stirling, who

hath solicited me to that purpose.

I have, here enclosed, sent you a Letter,** which I desire you to cause to be conveyed to the Committee of Estates; and that such return shall be sent back to me as they shall please to give.

I remain, Sir,

Your humble servant. OLIVER CROMWELL. §

Here is a notice from Balfour: *** At Perth, "22d November 1650 (Rege præsente," the King being present, as usually after that Flight to the Grampian Hills he is allowed to be), "the

§ Thurloe, i. 172. Laigh Parliament House.

⁴⁴ The next Letter.

Alexander Jaffray, as we know already, is: deen: a leading man for the Covenant from of rally the Member for his Burgh in the Scotel these years. In particular, he sits as Commis deen in the Parliament that met 4th January which this disastrous Quarrel with the Engl was famed afterwards (infamous it then meant first of the Scotch Quakers; he, with Barcla other lesser Fallen-Stars. Personal intercou well, the Sectary and Blasphemer, had mu notions of Mr. Alexander Jaffray. Baillie info months ago, he and Carstairs, then Prisonerssent Westward by Cromwell "to agent the Ren to guide towards some good issue the Ker-andtiation; which, alas, could only be guided her ditches at Hamilton before daybreak, as we sat afterwards in the Little Parliament: was an in Scotland, ** and one of Cromwell's leading 1

Carstairs, we have to say or repeat, is one of Glasgow; deep in the confused Remonstran Controversies of that day; though on which sid does not altogether know, perhaps he himse gether knew. From Baillie, who has frequent it is clear he tends strongly towards the Cromany things; yet with repugnancies, anti-sect difficult for frail human nature. How he me

very celebrated among the Scotch Whigs in King William's time. He gets home to Glasgow now, where perhaps we shall

see some glimpses of him again.

John Waugh (whom they spell Vauch and Wauch, and otherwise distort) was the painful Minister of Borrowstounness, in the Shire of Linlithgow. A man of many troubles, now and afterwards. Captive in the Dunbar Drove: still deaf he to the temptings of Sectary Cromwell; deafer than ever. In this month of January 1651, we perceive he gets his deliverance; returns with painfully increased experience, but little change of view derived from it, to his painful Ministry; where new tribulations await him. From Baillie * I gather that the painful Waugh's invincible tendency was to the Resolutioner or Quasi-Malignant side; and too strong withal; - no level sailing, or smooth pilotage, possible for poor Waugh! For as the Remonstrant, Protester, or Ker-and-Strahan Party, having joined itself to the Cromwellean, came ultimately to be dominant in Scotland, there ensued for straitlaced clerical individuals who would cling too desperately to the opposite Resolutioner or Quasi-Malignant side, very bad times. There ensued in the first place, very naturally, this, That the straitlaced individual, who would not cease to pray publicly against the now Governing Powers, was put out of his living: this; and if he grew still more desperate, worse than this.

Of both which destinies our poor straitlaced Waugh may serve to us as an emblem here. Some three years hence we find that the Cromwellean Government has, in Waugh's, as in various other cases, ejected the straitlaced Resolutioner, and inducted a loose-laced Protester into his Kirk; — leaving poor Waugh the straitlaced to preach "in a barn hard by." And though the looselaced "have but fifteen," and the straitlaced "all the Parish" it matters not; the stipend and the Kirk go with him whose lacing is loose: one has nothing but one's barn left, and sad reflections. Nay in Waugh's case, the very barn, proving as is likely an arena of too vehement discourse, was taken away from him; and he, Waugh, was lodged in Prison,

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in the Castle of Edinburgh.* For Waugh "named the King in his prayers," he and "Mr. Robert Knox" even went that length! In Baillie, under date 11th November 1653, is a most doleful inflexible Letter from Waugh's own hand: "brought "to the top of this rock," as his ultimate lodging-place; "having my habitation among the owls of the desert, because "of my very great uselessness and fruitlessness among the "sons of men." Yet he is right well satisfied, conscience yielding him a good &c. &c. — Poor Waugh, I wish he would reconsider himself. Whether it be absolutely indispensable to Christ's Kirk to have a Nell-Gwynn Defender set over it, even though descended from Elizabeth Muir; and if no other, not the bravest and devoutest of all British men, will do for that? O Waugh, it is a strange camera-obscura the head of man!—

LETTER CLXIV.

Ws have heard of many Mosstroopers: we heard once of a certain Watt, a Tenant of the Earl of Tweedale's, who being ruined-out by the War, distinguished himself in this new course; and contemporary with him, of "one Augustin a High-German." To which latter some more special momentary notice now falls due.

Read Balfour's record, and then Cromwell's Letter. "One "Augustin, a High-German, being purged out of the Army before Dunbar Drove, but a stout and resolute young man, "and lover of the Scots Nation, — imitating Watt, — in October or November this year, annoyed the Enemy very much; "killing many of his stragglers; and made nightly infalls "upon their quarters, taking and killing sometimes twenty, "sometimes thirty, and more or less of them: whereby he both enriched himself and his followers, and greatly damnified the Enemy. His chief abode was about and in the "Mountains of Pentland and Soutra." — And again, from

^{*} Baillie, iii. 248, 253, 228.

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Perth, 19th December 1650: "Memorandum, That Augustin "departed from Fife with a party of Six-score horse; crossed "at Blackness on Friday 13th December; forced Cromwell's "guards; killed eighty men to the Enemy; put-in thirty-six "men to Edinburgh Castle, with all sorts of spices, and some "other things; took thirty-five horses and five prisoners, "which he sent to Perth the 14th of this instant." Which feat, with the spices and thirty-six men, could not indeed save Edinburgh Castle from surrendering, as we saw, next week; but did procure Captain Augustin "thanks from the Lord "Chancellor and Parliament in his Majesty's name," and good outlooks for promotion in that quarter.*

For the Right Honourable the Committee of Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland: These.

MY LORDS, Edinburgh, 17th January 1850.

Having been informed of divers barbarous murders and inhuman acts, perpetrated upon our men by one Augustin a German in employ under you, and one Ross a Lieutenant, I did send to Lieutenant-General David Lesley, desiring justice against the said persons. And to the end I might make good the fact upon them, I was willing either by commissioners on both parts, or in any other equal way, to have the charge proved.

The Lieutenant-General was pleased to allege a want of power from Public Authority to enable him herein: which occasions me to desire your Lordships that this business may be put into such a way as may give satisfaction; — whereby I may understand what rules your Lordships will hold during this sad Contest between the two Nations; 'rules' which may evidence

^{*} Balfour, iv. 166, 210, 214.

the War to stand upon other pretences at least than the allowing of such actions will suppose.

Desiring your Lordships' answer, I rest, My Lords,

Your humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL §

No effect whatever seems to have been produced by this The Scotch Quasi-Malignant Authorities have "thanked" Augustin, and are determined to have all the benefit they can of him, - which cannot be much, one would think! In the following June accordingly we find him become "Colonel Augustin," probably Major or Lieutenant-Colonel; quartered with Robin Montgomery "at Dumfries;" giving "an alarm to Carlisle," but by no means taking it; -"falling in," on another occasion, "with Two-hundred picked men," but very glad to fall out again, "nearly all cut off." In strong practical Remonstrance against which, the learned Bulstrode has Letters in November, vague but satisfactory, "That the Scots themselves rose against Augustin, killed "some of his men, and drove away the rest;" entirely disapproving of such courses and personages. And then finally in January following. "Letters that Augustin the great robber "in Scotland, - upon disbanding of the Marquis of Huntly's "forces," the last remnant of Scotch Malignancy for the present, - "went into the Orcades, and there took ship for Nor-"way." Fair wind and full sea to him! -

LETTER CLXV.

An Official Medallist has arrived from London to take the Effigies of the Lord General, for a Medal commemorative of the Victory at Dunbar. The Effigies, Portrait, or "Statue" as they sometimes call it, of the Lord General appears to be

[§] Thurloe, i. 173. Laigh Parliament House.

Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 104); Whitlocke, 23d November 1651; ib. 14th January 1651-2.

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in a state of forwardness; but he would fain waive such a piece of vanity. The "Gratuity to the Army" is a solid thing: but this of the Effigies, or Stamp of my poor transient unbeautiful Face —? — However, the Authorities, as we may surmise, have made up their mind.

For the Honourable the Committee of the Army 'at London:'
These.

GENTLEMEN. Edinburgh, 4th February 1650.

It was not a little wonder to me to see that you should send Mr. Symonds so great a journey, about a business importing so little, as far as it relates to me; whereas, if my poor opinion may not be rejected by you. I have to offer to that* which I think the most noble end, to wit. The Commemoration of that great Mercy at Dunbar, and the Gratuity to the Army. Which might be better expressed upon the Medal, by engraving, as on the one side the Parliament, which I hear was intended and will do singularly well, so on the other side an Army, with this Inscription over the head of it, The Lord of Hosts, which was our Word that day. Wherefore, if I may beg it as a favour from you, I most earnestly beseech you, if I may do it without offence, that it may be so. And if you think not fit to have it as I offer, you may alter it as you see cause; only I do think I may truly say, it will be very thankfully acknowledged by me, if you will spare the having my Effigies in it.

The Gentleman's pains and trouble hither have been very great; and I shall make it my second suit unto you that you will please to confer upon him that Employment which Nicholas Briot had before him: indeed the man is ingenious, and worthy of encouragement.

^{*} I should vote exclusively for that.

I may not presume much; but if, at my request, and for my sake, he may obtain this favour, I shall put it upon the account of my obligations, which are not few; and, I hope, shall be found ready to acknowledge 'it,' and to approve myself,

Gentlemen,

Your most real servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL. §

Of "Nicholas Briot" and "Mr. Symonds," since they have the honour of a passing relation to the Lord General, and still enjoy, or suffer, a kind of ghost-existence in the Dilettante memory, we may subjoin, rather than cancel, the following authentic particulars. In the Commons Journals of 20th August 1642, it is: "Ordered, That the Earl of Warwick," now Admiral of our Fleet, "be desired that Monsieur Bryatt "may have delivery of his wearing apparel; and all his other "goods stayed at Scarborough, not belonging to Minting and "Coining of Moneys." - This Nicholas Bryatt, or Briot, then, must have been Chief Engraver for the Mint at the beginning of the Civil Wars. We perceive, he has gone to the King northward; but is here stopt at Scarborough, with all his baggage, by Warwick the Lord High Admiral: and is to get away. What became of him afterwards, or what was his history before, no man and hardly any Dilettante knows.

Symonds, Symons, or as the moderns call him, Simon, is still known as an approved Medal-maker. In the Commons Journals of 17th December 1651, we find: "Ordered, That it "be referred to the Council of State to take order that the "sum of 3001. be paid unto Thomas Symonds, which was "agreed by the Committee appointed for that purpose to be "paid unto him, for the Two Great Seals made by him, and "the materials thereof: And that the said Council do take "consideration of what farther recompense is fit to be given "unto him for his extraordinary pains therein; and give order

"for the payment of such sum of money as they shall think fit "in respect thereof."

An earlier entry, which still more concerns us here, is an Order, in favour of one whose name has not reached the Clerk, and is now indicated only by stars, That the Council of State shall pay him for "making the Statue of the General," — doubtless this Medal or Effigies of the General; the name indicated by stars being again that of Symonds. The Order, we observe, has the same date as the present Letter.* The Medal of Cromwell, executed on this occasion, still exists, and is said to be a good likeness.** The Committee-men had not taken my Lord General's advice about the Parliament, about the Army with the Lord of Hosts, and the total omitting of his own Effigies. Vertue published Engravings of all these Medals of Simon (as he spells him) in the year 1753.

The "Two Great Seals," mentioned in the Excerpt above, are also worth a word from us. There had a good few Great Seals to be made in the course of this War: all by Symonds: of whom, with reference thereto, we find, in authentic quarters. various notices, of years long prior and posterior to this. The first of all the "new Great Seals" was the one made, after infinite debates and hesitations, in 1643, when Lord Keeper Lyttleton ran away with the original: Symonds was the maker of this, as other entries of the same Rhadamanthine Commons Journals instruct us: On the 11th July 1643, Henry Marten is to bring "the man" that will make the new Great Seal. and let us see him "tomorrow;" which man it turns out, at sight of him, not "tomorrow," but a week after, on the 19th July, is "Mr. Simonds," *** - who, we find farther, is to have 1001. for his work; 401. in hand, 301. so soon as his work is done, and the other 30 l. one knows not when. Symonds made the Seal duly; but as for his payment, we fear it was not very duly made. Of course when the Commonwealth and Council of State began, a couple of new Great Seals were needed; and these too, as we see above, Symonds made; and is to be paid

Commons Journals, 4th February 1650-1.
 Harris, p. 519.
 Commons Journals iii. 162, 174.

for them, and for the General's Statue; — which we hope he was, but are not sure!

Other new Seals, Great and Not-so-great, in the subsequent mutations, were needed; and assiduous Symonds made them all. Nevertheless, in 1659, when the Protectorate under Richard was staggering towards ruin, we find "Mr. Thomas Symonds Chief Graver of the Mint and Seals." repeatedly turning up with new Seals, new order for payment, and new indication that the order was but incompletely complied with.* May 14th, 1659, he has made a new and newest Great Seal; he is to be paid for that, and "for the former, for which he yet remains unsatisfied." Also on the 24th May 1659, the Council of State get a new Seal from him. Then on the 22d August, on the Rump Parliament's re-assembling, he makes a "new Parliament Seal;" and presents a modest Petition to have his money paid him: order is granted very promptly to that end; "his debt to be paid for this Seal, and for all former work done by him;" - we hope, with complete effect.***

The Restoration soon followed, and Symonds continued still in the Mint under Charles II.; when it is not very likely his claims were much better attended to; the brave Hollar, and other brave Artists, having their own difficulties to get life kept-in, during those rare times, Mr. Rigmarole!—Symonds, we see, did get the place of Nicholas Briot; and found it, like other brave men's places, full of hard work and short rations. Enough now of Symonds and the Seals and Effigies.

LETTER CLXVI.

Along with Symonds, various English strangers, we perceive, are arriving or arrived, on miscellaneous business with the Lord General in his Winter-quarters. Part of the Oxford Caput is here in Edinburgh, with "a very high testimony of

[·] Commons Journals vii. 654.

⁴⁴ Ibid. vii. 663.

^{***} Ibid. vii. 654, 663, 765.

respect;" whom, in those same hours, the Lord General dismisses honourably with their Answer.

We are to premise that Oxford University, which at the end of the First Civil War had been found in a most broken. Malignant, altogether waste and ruinous condition, was afterwards, not without difficulty, and immense patience on the part of the Parliament Commissioners, radically reformed. Philip Earl of Pembroke, he of the loud voice, who dined once with Bulstrode in the Guildhall; * he, as Chancellor of the University, had at last to go down in person, in the Spring of 1648: - put the intemperate Dr. Fell, incorrigible otherwise, under lock and key; left the incorrigible Mrs. Dr. Fell, "whom the soldiers had to carry out in her chair," "sitting in the quadrangle;" appointed a new Vice-Chancellor, new Heads where needful. - and, on the whole, swept the University clean of much loud Nonsense, and left some Pietv and Sense, the best he could meet with, at work there in its stead.** At work, with earnest diligence and good success, as it has since continued actually to be, - for the contemporary clamours and Querelas about Vandalism, Destruction of Learning, and so forth, prove on examination to be mere agonised shricks, and unmelodious hysterical wind, forgettable by all creatures. Not easily before or since could the Two Universities give such account of themselves to mankind, under all categories, human and divine, as during those Puritan years.

But now Philip of Pembroke, the loud-voiced Chancellor of Oxford, is dead; and the reformed University, after due consultation, has elected the Lord General in his stead; to which "high testimony" here is his response. - "Dr. Greenwood." who I think has some cast about his eyes, is otherwise

^{*} Antea, vol. ii. p. 141.

** Act and Visitors' names in Scobell, i. 116 (1st May 1647); see Commons Journals, v. 83-142 (10th February — 15th April 1647): 8th March 1647-8, Chancellor Pembroke is to go (Neal, ii. 307; Walker, i. 133); makes report, and is thanked, 21st April 1648 (Commons Journals, v. 538). Copious history of the proceedings, from the Puritan side, in Neal, ii. 390-314; and from the Royallst side, in Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, i. 124-142, which leaster and the temperature from the harmonic state of the company of the clergy. letter, smid its tempestuous froth, has many entertaining traits.

a most recommendable man: "Bachelor, then Doctor of "Divinity, sometimes Fellow of Brasenose College," says Royalist Anthony," "and lately made Principal of the said "College by the Committee and Parliamentary Visitors; a "severe and good Governor, as well in his Vice-Chancellor-"ship as Principality; continued till the King's return, and "then"—

To the Reverend Dr. Greenwood, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and other Members of the Convocation.

HONOURED GENTLEMEN, Edinburgh, 4th Febr. 1650.

I have received, by the hands of those worthy Persons of your University sent by you into Scotland, a Testimony of very high respect and honour, in 'your' choosing me to be your Chancellor. Which deserves a fuller return, of deep resentment, value and acknowledgment, than I am any ways able to make. Only give me leave a little to expostulate, on your and my own behalf. I confess it was in your freedom to elect, and it would be very uningenious in me to reflect upon your action; only (though somewhat late) let me advise you of my unfitness to answer the ends of so great a Service and Obligation, with some things very obvious.

I suppose a principal aim in such elections hath not only respected abilities and interest to serve you, but freedom 'as' to opportunities of time and place. As the first may not be well supposed, so the want of the latter may well become me to represent to you. You know where Providence hath placed me for the present; and to what I am related if this call were off, **— I being tied to attendance in another Land as

Wood's Fasti, ii. 157 (in Athense, iv.), of July 1649.
 Lord Lieutenant of Ireland "for three years to come" (Commons Journals, vi. 239), 22d June 1649.

much out of the way of serving you as this, for some certain time yet to come appointed by the Parliament. The known esteem and honour of this place is such, that I should wrong it and your favour very much, and your freedom in choosing me, if, either by pretended modesty or in any unbenign way, I should dispute the acceptance of it. Only I hope it will not be imputed to me as a neglect towards you, that I cannot serve you in the measure I desire.

I offer these exceptions with all candour and clearness to you, as 'leaving you' most free to mend your choice in case you think them reasonable, and shall not reckon myself the less obliged to do all good offices for the University. But if these prevail not, and that I must continue this honour, — until I can personally serve you, you shall not want my prayers That that seed and stock of Piety and Learning, so marvellously springing up amongst you, may be useful to that great and glorious Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ; of the approach of which so plentiful an effusion of the Spirit upon those hopeful plants is one of the best presages. And in all other things I shall, by the Divine assistance, improve my poor abilities and interests in manifesting myself, to the University and vourselves.

Your most cordial friend and servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL. §

On the same Tuesday, 4th February 1650-1, while the Lord General is writing this and the former Letter, his Army, issuing from its Leith Citadel and other Winter-quarters, has marched westward towards Stirling; he himself follows on the

[§] From the Archives of Oxford University; communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss.

morrow. His Army on Tuesday got to Linlithgow; the Lord General overtook them at Falkirk on Wednesday. Two such days of wind, hail, snow and rain as made our soldiers very uncomfortable indeed. On Friday, the morning proving fair, we set out again; got to Kilsyth; — but the hail-reservoirs also opened on us again: we found it impossible to get along; and so returned, by the road we came; back to Edinburgh on Saturday, *— coated with white sleet, but endeavouring not to be discouraged. We hope we much terrified the Scots at Stirling; but the hail-reservoirs proved friendly to them.

LETTER CLXVII.

THE Oxford Convocation has received the foregoing Letter, "canting Letter sent thereunto," as crabbed Anthony designates it, "dated at Edinburgh on the 4th of February," and now at length made public in print; they have "read it in Convocation," continues Anthony, "whereat the Members made "the House resound with their cheerful acclamations;" **— and the Lord General is and continues their Chancellor; encouraging and helping forward them and their work, in many ways, amid his weighty affairs, in a really faithful manner. As begins to be credible without much proof of ours, and might still be abundantly proved if needful.

Here however, in the first blush of the business, comes Mr. Waterhouse, with a small recommendation from the Lord General; "John Waterhouse of Great Greenford in Middlesex, "son of Francis Waterhouse by Bridget his wife," if anybody want to know him better; *** — "a student heretofore for eighteen years in Trinity College, Cambridge," a meritorious Man and Healer since; whom one may well decorate with a Degree, or decorate a Degree with, by the next opportunity.

[•] Perfect Diurnal (in Cromwelliana, p. 100).

^{••} Fasti, II. 159.
•• Ibid. 163: "created Doctor of Physic by virtue of the Letters of Oliver Cromwell, General" (18th March 1650-1).

To my very worthy Friend Dr. Greenwood, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

SIR. Edinburgh, 14th February 1650.

This Gentleman, Mr. Waterhouse, went over into Ireland as Physician to the Army there; of whose diligence, fidelity and abilities I had much experience. Whilst I was there, he constantly attended the Army: and having, to my own knowledge, done very much good to the Officers and Soldiers, by his skill and industry;— and being upon urgent occasion lately come into England, 'he' hath desired me to recommend him for the obtaining of the Degree of Doctor in that Science. Wherefore I carnestly desire you that, when he shall repair to you, you* will give him your best assistance for the obtaining of the said Degree; he being shortly to return back to his charge in Ireland.

By doing whereof, as you will encourage one who is willing and ready to serve the Public, so you will also lay a very great obligation upon,

Sir, your affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

LETTER CLXVIII.

COLONEL ROBERT LILBURN, a stout impetuous soldier, as both his Brothers were, and steady to his side as neither of them was, had the honour, at a critical time, in the Summer of 1648, while Duke Hamilton and his Scots were about invading us, to do the State good service, as we transiently saw;**—to beat down, namely, and quite suppress, in Lancashire a certain Sir Richard Tempest and his hot levyings of "1000 horse," and indeed thereby to suppress all such levyings on behalf of the

[&]quot;that you" in the hasty original.
From the Archives of Oxford University; communicated by Rev. Dr. Biles.

^{**} Antes, vol. ii, p. 9.

said Duke, in those Northern parts. An important, and at the time most welcome service. Letter of thanks, in consequence; reward of 1000 l. in consequence, — reward voted, never yet paid, nor, as would seem, likely soon to be. Colonel Robert will take Delinquents' lands for his 1000 l.; will buy Bear Park, with it and with other debentures or moneys: Bear Park, once Beaurepaire, a pleasant manor near native Durham, belongs to the Cathedral land; and might answer both parties, would the Committee of Obstructions move.

To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These.

SIB. Edinburgh, 8th March 1650.

I am informed that Colonel Robert Lilburn is like to be damnified very much, in relation to his purchase of the Manor of Bear Park in the County of Durham, by being employed in the service of the Commonwealth in* Scotland: — which business (as I understand), upon his Petition to the Parliament, was referred to the Committee of Obstructions, and a Report thereof hath lain ready in the hands of Mr. John Corbet, a long time, unreported.

I do therefore humbly desire that the House may be moved to take the said Report into speedy consideration, that so Colonel Lilburn may have redress therein, according as you think fit; and that his readiness and willingness to return to his charge here, and leave his own affairs to serve the Public, may not turn to his disadvantage. I doubt not but those services he hath done in England and here will be a sufficient motive to gratify him herein; which shall be acknowledged by,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

Committee of Obstructions, "a Committee for removing Obstructions to the Sale of Dean-and-Chapter Lands," does accordingly bestir itself; and on Tuesday 18th March, the due order is given.* To which, we doubt not, as the matter then drops, effect was given, — till the Restoration came, and ousted Colonel Robert and some others. Whether the Colonel personally ever lived at Bear Park, or has left any trace of his presence there, the County Histories and other accessible records do not say.

LETTER CLXIX.

HERE next, from another quarter, is a new University matter, — Project of a College at Durham; emerging incidentally like a green fruitful islet from amid the dim storms of War;

agreeably arresting the eye for a moment.

Concerning which read in the Commons Journals of May last: "A Letter from the Sheriff and Gentlemen of the County "of Duresme, dated 24th April 1650; with a Paper" or Petition of the same date, "'delivered-in by the Grand Jury at the "Sessions of the Peace holden at Duresme the 24th of April "1650, To be presented to the Honourable Parliament of this "Nation,'—were this day read. Ordered, That it be referred "to the Committee of Obstructions for Sale of Dean-and-"Chapter Lands, to consider these Desires of the Gentlemen "and others of that County, touching the converting some of "the Buildings at Duresme called the 'College,' which were "the Houses of the late Dean and Chapter, into some College "or School of Literature; to state the business, to," **—in short, to get on with it if possible.

This was some ten months ago, but still there is no visible way made; and now in the wild Spring weather here has been, I suppose, some Deputation of the Northern Gentry riding through the wild mountains, with humane intent, to represent the matter to the Lord General at Edinburgh; from whom, if

Commons Journals, vi. 492 (7th November 1650), his "Petition," referred to in this Letter; ib. 549 (18th March 1650), due "redress" to him.
 Commons Journals, vi. 410 (8th May 1650).

he pleased to help it forward, a word might be very furthersome. The Lord General is prompt with his word; — writes this Letter, as I find, this and the foregoing, in some interval of a painful fit of sickness he has been labouring under.

To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England: These.

SIR. Edinburgh. 11th March 1650.

Having received information from the Mayor and Citizens of Durham, and some Gentlemen of the Northern Counties, That upon their Petition to the Parliament, "that the Houses of the late Dean and Chapter in the City of Durham might be converted into a College or School of Literature," the Parliament was pleased in May last to refer the same to the Committee for removing Obstructions in the sale of Dean-and-Chapter Lands, "to consider thereon, and to report their opinion therein to the House:"* Which said Committee, as I am also informed, have so far approved thereof as that they are of an opinion That the said Houses will be a fit place to erect a College or School for all the Sciences and Literature, and that it will be a pious and laudable work and of great use to the Northern parts; and have ordered Sir Arthur Haselrig to make report thereof to the House accordingly: And the said Citizens and Gentlemen having made some address to me to contribute my assistance to them therein:

To which, in so good and pious a work, I could not but willingly and heartily concur. And not knowing wherein I might better serve them, or answer their desires, than by recommending the same to the Parliament by, Sir, yourself their Speaker, — I do there-

^{*} Commons Journals, ubi supra.

fore make it my humble and earnest request that the House may be moved, as speedily as conveniently may be, To hear the Report of the said Committee concerning the said Business, from Sir Arthur Haselrig; that so the House, taking the same into consideration, may do therein what shall seem meet for the good of those poor Countries.

Truly it seems to me a matter of great concernment and importance; as that which, by the blessing of God, may much conduce to the promoting of learning and piety in those poor rude and ignorant parts: - there being also many concurring advantages to this Place, as pleasantness and aptness of situation, healthful air, and plenty of provisions, which seem to favour and plead for their desires therein. And besides the good, so obvious to us, 'which' those Northern Counties may reap thereby, who knows but the setting on foot this work at this time may suit with God's present dispensations; and may, - if due care and circumspection be used in the right constituting and carrying on the same, - tend to, and by the blessing of God produce, such happy and glorious fruits as are scarce thought on or foreseen!

Sir, not doubting of your readiness and zeal to promote so good and public a work, I crave pardon for this boldness; and rest,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

Whereupon the Committee for removing Obstructions does bestir itself; manages, in three months hence (for we do nothing rashly), to report* by "Sir Arthur Haselrig, touching Baker MSS. XXVIII. 456: printed also in Hutchinson's History of Durham; and elsewhere.

* Commons Journals (vi. 589), 18th June 1651.



PART VI. WAR WITH SCOTLAND. [24 March

"Duresme College-Buildings to be converted to a College or "School for all the Sciences of Literature: That" — that — And, in brief, History itself has to report that the pious Project, thanks mainly to furtherance by the Lord General, whose power to further it increased by and by, did actually, some seven years hence, take effect; "— actually began giving Lessons of human Grammar, human Geography, Geometry, and other divine Knowledge, to the vacant human mind, — in those once sleepy Edifices, dark heretofore, or illuminated mainly by Dr. Cosins's Papistical waxlights or the like: and so continued, in spite of opposition, till the Blessed Restoration put a stop to it, and to some other things. In late years there is again some kind of Durham College giving Lessons, — I hope, with good success.

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LETTER CLXX.

By that tempestuous sleety expedition in the beginning of February, my Lord General caught a dangerous illness, which hung about him, reappearing in three successive relapses, till June next; and greatly alarmed the Commonwealth and the Authorities. As this to Bradshaw, and various other Letters still indicate.

To the Right Honourable the Lord President of the Council of State: These.

My LORD, Edinburgh, 24th March 1650.

I do with all humble thankfulness acknowledge your high favour, and tender respect of me, expressed in your Letter, and the Express sent therewith to inquire after one so unworthy as myself.

Indeed, my Lord, your service needs not me: I am a poor creature; and have been a dry bone; and am

^{*} Protector's Letters-Patent of 15th May 1657, following up his Ordinance in Council of the previous Year: Hutchinson's History of the County Palatine of Durham (Newcastle, 1785), 1.514-30. See Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, 1814. 473 (Cambridge Petition against it: 18th April 1659). "Throve apace," says Hutchinson, "till" &c.

still an unprofitable servant to my Master and you. I thought I should have died of this fit of sickness; but the Lord seemeth to dispose otherwise. But truly, my Lord, I desire not to live, unless I may obtain mercy from the Lord to approve my heart and life to Him in more faithfulness and thankfulness, and 'to' those I serve in more profitableness and diligence. And I pray God, your Lordship, and all in public trust, may improve all those unparalleled experiences of the Lord's wonderful Workings in your sight, with singleness of heart to His glory, and the refreshment of His People; who are to Him as the apple of His eye; and upon whom your enemies, both former and latter, who have fallen before you, did split themselves.

This shall be the unfeigned prayer of,
My Lord, your most humble servant,
Oliver Cromwell. 8

From Edinburgh, of date 18th March, by special Express we have this comfortable intelligence: "The Lord General is "now well recovered: he was in his dining-room today with "his Officers, and was very cheerful and pleasant." And the symptoms, we see, continue good and better on the 24th. "So that there is not any fear, by the blessing of God, but our "General will be enabled to take the field when the Provisions "arrive." "Dr. Goddard" is attending him. Before the end of the month he is on foot again; sieging Blackness, sieging the Island of Inchgarvie, or giving Colonel Monk directions to that end.

[§] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 101) • Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 100, 1).

LETTER CLXXI.

THE following Letter brings its own commentary:

For my beloved Wife Elizabeth Cromwell, at the Cockpit:
These.

My DEAREST, 'Edinburgh,' 18th April 1651.

I praise the Lord I am increased in strength in my outward man: But that will not satisfy me except I get a heart to love and serve my heavenly Father better; and get more of the light of His countenance, which is better than life, and more power over my corruptions: — in these hopes I wait, and am not without expectation of a gracious return. Pray for me; truly I do daily for thee, and the dear Family; and God Almighty bless you all with His spiritual blessings.

Mind poor Betty of the Lord's great mercy. Oh, I desire her not only to seek the Lord in her necessity, but in deed and in truth to turn to the Lord; and to keep close to Him; and to take heed of a departing heart, and of being cozened with worldly vanities and worldly company, which I doubt she is too subject to. I earnestly and frequently pray for her and for him. Truly they are dear to me, very dear; and I am in fear lest Satan should deceive them, — knowing how weak our hearts are, and how subtle the Adversary is, and what way the deceitfulness of our hearts and the vain world make for his temptations. The Lord give them truth of heart to Him. Let them seek Him in truth, and they shall find Him.

My love to the dear little ones; I pray for grace for them. I thank them for their Letters; let me have them often.

Beware of my Lord Herbert's resort to your house. If he do so, it may occasion scandal, as if I were bargaining with him. Indeed, be wise, - you know my meaning. Mind Sir Henry Vane of the business of my Estate. Mr. Floyd knows my whole mind in that matter.

If Dick Cromwell and his Wife be with you, my dear love to them. I pray for them: they shall, God willing, hear from me. I love them very dearly. -Truly I am not able as yet to write much. I am weary; and rest, Thine.

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

"Betty" and "he" are Elizabeth Claypole and her Husband; of whom, for the curious, there is a longwinded intricate account by Noble. * but very little discoverable in it. They lived at Norborough, which is near Market Deeping, but in Northamptonshire; where, as already intimated, the Lady Protectress, Widow Elizabeth Cromwell, after the Restoration, found a retreat. "They had at least three sons and daughters." Claypole became "Master of the Horse" to Oliver; sat in Parliament; made an elegant appearance in the world: - but dwindled sadly after his widowership; his second marriage ending in "separation," in a third quasimarriage, and other confusions, poor man! But as yet the Lady Claypole lives; bright and brave. "Truly they are dear to me, very dear."

"Dick Cromwell and his Wife" seem to be up in Town on a visit; — living much at their ease in the Cockpit, they. Brother Henry, in these same days, is out "in the King's County" in Ireland; doing hard duty at "Ballybawn," and elsewhere. ** - the distinguished Colonel Cromwell. And Deputy Ireton, with his labours, is wearing himself to death. In the same house, one works, another goes idle.

"The Lord Herbert" is Henry Somerset, eldest son of the

[§] Cole MSS. EXEVIII. 87: a Copy; Coples are frequent.

• ii. 375, &c.

• Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 102).

now Marquis of Worcester, — of the Lord Glamergan whom we knew slightly at Bagland, in underhand "Irish Treaties" and such like; whose Century of Inventions is still slightly known to here and there a reader of Old Books. "This Lord Herbert," it seems, "became Duke of Beaufort after the Restoration." For obvious reasons, you are to "beware of his resort to your house at present." A kind of professed Protestant he, but come of rank Papists and Malignants; which may give rise to commentaries. One stupid Annotator on a certain Copy of this Letter says, "his Lordship had an intrigue with Mrs. Claypole;" — which is evidently downright stupor and falsehood, like so much else.

LETTER CLXXII.

Upon the Surrender of Edinburgh Castle, due provision had been made for conveyance of the Public Writs and Registers to what quarter the Scotch Authorities might direct; and "Passes," under the Lord General's hand, duly granted for that end. Archibald Johnston, Lord Register, we conclude, had superintended the operation; had, after much labour, bundled the Public Writs properly together into masses, packages; and put them on shipboard, considering this the eligiblest mode of transport towards Stirling and the Scotch head-quarters at present. But now it has fallen out, in the middle of last month, that the said ship has been taken, as many ships and shallops on both sides now are; and the Public Writs are in jeopardy: whereupon ensues correspondence; and this fair Answer from my Lord General:

'To the Honourable Archibald Johnston, Lord Register of Scotland: These.'

My Lord,

Edinburgh, 12th April 1651.

Upon the perusal of the Passes formerly given for the safe passing of the Public Writs and Registers of the Kingdom of Scotland, I do think they* ought to

^{*} The Writs and Registers.

be restored: and they shall be so, to such persons as you shall appoint to receive them; with passes for persons and vessels, to carry them to such place as shall be appointed: — so that it be done within one month next following.

I herewith send you a Pass for your Servant to go into Fife, and to return with the other Clerks; and rest.

Your servant

OLIVER CROMWELL.§

Warriston's answer, written on Monday, the 12th being Saturday, is given also in Thurloe. The Lord General's phrase, "perusal of the Passes," we now find is prospective, and means "reperusal," new sight of them by the Lord General; which, Archibald earnestly urges, is impossible; the original Passes being now far off in the hands of the Authorities, and the Writs in a state of imminent danger, lying in a ship at Leith, as Archibald obscurely intimates, which the English Governor has got his claws over, and keeps shut up in dock; with a considerable leak in her, too: very bad stowage for such goods.* Which obscure intimation of Archibald's becomes lucid to us, as to the Lord General it already was when we read this sentence of Bulstrode's, under date 22d March 1650-1: "Letters that the Books and Goods belonging "to the" Scotch "King and Register were taken by the Par-"liament's ships; and another ship, laden with oats, meal, "and other provisions, going to Fife: twenty-two prisoners." For captures and small sea-surprisals abound in the Frith at present; the Parliament-ships busy on one hand; and the "Captain of the Bass," the "Shippers of Wemyss," and the like active persons doing their duty on the other, - whereby infinite "biscuit," and such small ware, is from time to time realised. ***

[§] Thurloe, i. 117. Records of the Laigh Parliament House.

* Ibid.

** Whitlocke, p. 490.

** Balfour, iv. 204, 241, 251, &c.

PART VI. WAR WITH SCOTLAND. [12 April

Without doubt the Public Writs were all redelivered, according to the justice of the case; and the term of "one "month" which Archibald pleads hard to get lengthened, was made into two, or the necessary time. Archibald's tone towards the Lord General is anxiously respectful, nay submissive and subject. In fact, Archibald belongs, if not by profession, yet by invincible tendency, to the Remonstrant Ker-and-Strahan Party; and looks dimly forward to a near time when there will be no refuge for him, and the like of him, but Cromwell. Strahan, in the month of January last, is already "excommunicated, and solemnly delivered to the Devil, in the Church of Perth."* This is what you have to look for, from a Quasi-Malignant set of men!

This Archibald, as is well known, sat afterwards in Cromwell's Parliaments; became "one of Cromwell's Lords;" and ultimately lost his life for these dangerous services. Archibald Johnston of Warriston; loose-flowing Bishop Burnet's uncle by the Mother's side: a Lord Register of whom all the world has heard. Redactor of the Covenanters' protests, in 1637, and onwards; redactor perhaps of the Covenant itself; canny lynx-eyed Lawyer, and austere Presbyterian Zealot; full of fire, of heavy energy and gloom: in fact, a very notable character; - of whom our Scotch friends might do well to give us farther elucidations. Certain of his Letters edited by Lord Hailes,** a man of fine intelligence, though at that time ignorant of this subject, have proved well worth their paper and ink. Many more, it appears, still lie in the Edinburgh A good selection and edition of them were desirable. But, alas, will any human soul ever again love poor Warriston, and take pious pains with him, in this world? Properly it turns all upon that; and the chance seems rather dubious! -

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Balfour, iv. 240.

^{**} Memorials and Letters in the reign of Charles I. (Glasgow, 1786).

SECOND VISIT TO GLASGOW.

That Note to Warriston, and the Letter to Elizabeth Cromwell, as may have been observed, are written on the same day, Saturday 12th April 1651. Directly after which, on Wednesday the 16th, there is a grand Muster of the Army on Musselburgh Links; preparatory to new operations. Blackness Fort has surrendered: Inchgarvie Island is beset by gunboats: Colonel Monk, we perceive, who has charge of these services, is to be made Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance: and now there is to be an attack on Burntisland with gunboats, which also, one hopes, may succeed. As for the Army, it is to go westward this same afternoon; try whether cautious Lesley, straitened or assaulted from both west and east, will not come out of his Stirling fastness, so that some good may be done upon him. The Muster is held on Musselburgh Links; whereat the Lord General, making his appearance, is received "with shouts and acclamations," the sight of him infinitely comfortable to us. * The Lord General's health is somewhat reestablished, though he has had relapses, and still tends a little towards ague. "About three in the afternoon" all is on march towards Hamilton; quarters "mostly in the field there." Where the Lord General himself arrives, on Friday night, late; and on the morrow afternoon we see Glasgow again.

Concerning which here are two notices from opposite points of the compass, curiously corroborative of one another; which we must not withhold. Face-to-face glimpses into the old dead actualities; worth rescuing with a Cromwell in the centre of them.

The first is from Baillie; *** shows us a glance of our old friend Carstairs withal. Read this fraction of a Letter: "Re"verend and dear Brother, — For preventing of mistakes," lest you should think us looselaced, Remonstrant, sectarian individuals, "we have thought meet to advertise you that

Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 102).
(Glasgow, 22d April 1651) iii. 165.



PART VL WAR WITH SCOTLAND. [19 April

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"Cromwell having come to Hamilton on Friday late, and to "Glasgow on Saturday with a body of his Army, sooner than "we could well with safety have retired ourselves," - there was nothing for it but to stay and abide him here! "On Sun-"day forenoon he came unexpectedly to the High Inner Kirk; "where quietly he heard Mr. Robert Ramsay," unknown to common readers, "preach a very honest sermon, pertinent to "his" Cromwell's "case. In the afternoon he came, as unex-"pectedly, to the High Outer Kirk; where he heard Mr. John "Carstairs," our old friend, "lecture, and" a "Mr. James "Durham preach, - graciously, and weel to the times as "could have been desired." So that you see we are not of the looselaced species, we! "And generally all who preached "that day in the Town gave a fair enough testimony against "the Sectaries." - Whereupon, next day, Cromwell sent for us to confer with him in a friendly manner. "All of us did "meet to advise," for the case was grave: however, we have decided to go; nay are just going; - but, most unfortunately, do not write any record of our interview! Nothing, except some transient assertion elsewhere that "we had no disadvantage in the thing." * - So that now, from the opposite point of the compass, the old London Newspaper must come in: curiously confirmatory:

"Sir, — We came hither" to Glasgow "on Saturday last, "April 19th. The Ministers and Townsmen generally stayed "at home, and did not quit their habitations as formerly. The "Ministers here have mostly deserted from the proceedings "beyond the Water," at Perth, — and are in fact given to Remonstrant ways, though Mr. Baillie denies it: "yet they "are equally dissatisfied with us. But though they preach "against us in the pulpit to our faces, yet we permit them "without disturbance, as willing to gain them by love.

"My Lord General sent to them to give us a friendly "Christian meeting, To discourse of those things which they "rail against us for; that so, if possible, all misunderstandings between us might be taken away. Which accordingly they

"gave us on Wednesday last. There was no bitterness nor "passion vented on either side; all was with moderation and "tenderness. My Lord General and Major-General Lambert, "for the most part, maintained the discourse; and, on their "part, Mr. James Guthry and Mr. Patrick Gillespie.* We "know not what satisfaction they have received. Sure I am, "there was no such weight in their arguments as might in the "least discourage us from what we have undertaken; the "chief thing on which they insisted being our Invasion into "Scotland."**

The Army quitted Glasgow after some ten days; rather hastily, on Wednesday 30th April; pressing news, some false alarm of movements about Stirling, having arrived by express from the East. They marched again for Edinburgh; — quenched some foolish Town Riot, which had broken out among the Glasgow Baillies themselves, on some quarrel of their own; and was now tugging and wriggling, in a most unseemly manner, on the open streets, and likely to enlist the population generally, had not Cromwell's soldiers charitably scattered it asunder before they went.*** In three days they were in Edinburgh again.

When a luminous body, such as Oliver Cromwell, happens to be crossing a dark Country, a dark Century, who knows what he will not disclose to us! For example: On the Western edge of Lanarkshire, in the desolate uplands of the Kirk of Shotts, there dwelt at that time a worshipful Family of Scotch Lairds, of the name of Stewart, at a House called Allertoun,—a lean turreted angry-looking old Stone House, I take it; standing in some green place, in the alluvial hollows of the Auchter Burn or its tributaries: most obscure; standing lean and grim, like a thousand such; entirely unnoticeable by History,—had not Oliver chanced to pass in that direction,

[&]quot;Gelaspy" the Sectarian spells; in all particulars of facts he coincides with Ballile. Guthry and Gillespie, noted men in that time, published a "Sam" of this Interview (Ballile, iii. 168), but nobody now knows it.

^{**} Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 102).

**Ame Information concerning the late Tumult in Glasgow, Wednesday, April 80th, at the very time of Cromwell's Removal (in Baillie, iii. 161).

and make a call there! Here is an account of that event: unfortunately very vague, not written till the second generation after; indeed, palpably incorrect in some of its details; but indubitable as to the main fact; and too curious to be omitted here. The date, not given or hinted at in the original, seems to fix itself as Thursday 1st May 1651. On that day Auchter Burn, rushing idly on as usal, the grim old turreted Stone House, and rigorous Presbyterian inmates, and desolate uplands of the Kirk of Shotts in general, — saw Cromwell's face, and have become memorable to us. Here is the record given as we find it.*

"There was a fifth Son" of Sir Walter Stewart, Laird of Allertoun: "James; who in his younger years was called "'the Captain of Allertoun,' - from this incident: Oliver Crom-"well, Captain-General of the English Sectarian Army, after "taking Edinburgh Castle, was making a Progress through "the West of Scotland; and came down towards the River "Clyde near Lanark, and was on his march back, against "King Charles the Second's Army, then with the King at "Stirling. Being informed of a near way through Auchter-"muir, he came with some General Officers to reconnoitre: "and had a Guide along. Sir Walter, being a Royalist and "Covenanter, had absconded. As he" Cromwell "passed, he "called in at Allertoun for a further Guide; but no men were "to be found, save one valetudinary Gentleman, Sir Walter's "Son," - properly a poor valetudinary Boy, as appears, who of course could do nothing for him.

"He found the road not practicable for carriages; and "upon his return he called in at Sir Walter's House. There "was none to entertain him but the Lady and Sir Walter's "sickly Son. The good Woman was as much for the King and "Royal Family as her Husband: but she offered the General "the civilities of her House; and a glass of canary was pre"sented. The General observed the forms of these times (I "have it from good authority), and he asked a blessing in a

 $^{^{\}circ}$ Coltness Collections, published by the Maitland Club (Glasgow, 1842), p. 9.

"long pathetic grace before the cup went round; — he drank "his good wishes" for the family, and asked for Sir Walter; "and was pleased to say, His Mother was a Stewart's Daugh-"ter, and he had a relation to the name. All passed easy; "and our James, being a lad of ten years, came so near as to "handle the hilt of one of the swords: upon which Oliver "stroked his head, saying, 'You are my little Captain;' and "this was all the Commission our Captain of Allertoun ever "had.

"The General called for some of his own wines for himself "and other Officers, ** and would have the Lady try his wine; "and was so humane, When he saw the young Gentleman so "maigre and indisposed, he said, Changing the climate might "do good and the South of France, Montpellier, was the "place.

"Amidst all this humanity and politeness he omitted not, "in person, to return thanks to God in a pointed grace after "his repast; and after this hasted on his return to join the "Army. The Lady had been a strenuous Royalist, and her "Son a Captain in command at Dunbar; yet upon this inter"view with the General she abated much of her zeal. She said "she was sure Cromwell was one who feared God, and had that "fear in him, and the true interest of Religion at heart. A "story of this kind is no idle digression; it has some small "connexion with the Family concerns, and shows some little "of the genius of these distracted times." — And so we leave "it; vague, but indubitable; standing on such basis as it has.

LETTER CLXXIII.

'For my beloved Wife Elizabeth Cromwell, at the Cockpit: These.'
MY DEAREST, Edinburgh, 3d May 1651.

I could not satisfy myself to omit this post, although I have not much to write; yet indeed I love to write to my Dear, who is very much in my heart. It

Certainly incorrect.

^{**} Imaginary.

joys me to hear thy soul prospereth: the Lord increase His favours to thee more and more. The great good thy soul can wish is, That the Lord lift upon thee the light of His countenance, which is better than life. The Lord bless all thy good counsel and example to all those about thee, and hear all thy prayers, and accept thee always.

I am glad to hear thy Son and Daughter are with thee. I hope thou wilt have some good opportunity of good advice to him. Present my duty to my Mother, my love to all the Family. Still pray for

Thine,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Written the day after his return to Edinburgh. "Thy Son and Daughter" are, to all appearance, Richard and his Wife, who prolong their visit at the Cockpit. The good old "Mother" is still spared with us, to have "my duty" presented to her. A pale venerable Figure; who has lived to see strange things in this world; — can piously, in her good old tremulous heart, rejoice in such a Son.

Precisely in these days, a small ship driven by stress of weather into Ayr Harbour, and seized and searched by Cromwell's Garrison there, discloses a matter highly interesting to the Commonwealth. A Plot, namely, on the part of the English Presbyterian-Royalists, English Royalists Proper, and all manner of Malignant Interests in England, to unite with the Scots and their King: in which certain of the London Presbyterian Clergy, Christopher Love among others, are deeply involved. The little ship was bound for the Isle of Man, with tidings to the Earl of Derby concerning the affair; and now we have caught her within the Bars of Ayr; and the whole matter is made manifest!* Reverend Chistopher Love is laid

[§] Harris, p. 517.

* Bates: History of the late Troubles in England (Translation of the E'enchus Mounum; London, 1685), Part ii. 115.

hold of, 7th May; he and others: and the Council of State is busy. It is the same Christopher who preached at Uxbridge Treaty long since, That "Heaven might as well think of uniting with Hell." Were a new High Court of Justice once constituted, it will go hard with Christopher.

As for the Lord General, this march to Glasgow has thrown him into a new relapse, which his Doctor counts as the third since March last. The disease is now ague; comes and gees, till, in the end of this month, the Council of State, as ordered by Parliament, requests him to return, in the mean while, to England for milder air; * and despatches two London Doctors to him; whom the Lord Fairfax is kind enough to "send in his own coach;" who arrive in Edinburgh on the 30th of May, "and are affectionately entertained by my Lord." ** The two Doctors are Bates and Wright. Bates, in his loose-tongued History of the Troubles, redacted in aftertimes, observes strict silence as to this Visit. Here is the Lord General's answer; indicating with much thankfulness that he will not now need to return.

LETTER CLXXIV.

'To the Lord President of the Council of State: These.'
My LORD, Edinburgh, 3d June 1651.

I have received yours of the 27th of May; with an Order from the Parliament for my Liberty to return into England for change of air, that thereby I might the better recover my health. All which came unto me whilst Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates, whom your Lordship sent down, were with me.

I shall not need to recite the extremity of my last sickness: it was so violent that indeed my nature was not able to bear the weight thereof. But the Lord

Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 103).

^{*} Whitlocke, p. 476; Commons Journals (vi. 579), 27th May 1651.

was pleased to deliver me, beyond expectation; and to give me cause to say once more, "He hath plucked me out of the grave!" - My Lord, the indulgence of the Parliament expressed by their Order is a very high and undeserved favour: of which although it be fit I keep a thankful remembrance, yet I judge it would be too much presumption in me to** return a particular acknowledgment. I beseech you give me the boldness to return my humble thankfulness to the Council for sending two such worthy Persons, so great a journey, to visit me. From whom I have received much encouragement, and good directions for recovery of health and strength, - which I find 'now,' by the goodness of God, growing to such a state as may yet, if it be His good will, render me useful according to my poor ability, in the station wherein He hath set me.

Î wish more steadiness in your Affairs here than to depend, in the least degree, upon so frail a thing as I am. Indeed they do not, - nor own any instrument. This Cause is of God, and it must prosper. Oh, that all that have any hand therein, being so persuaded, would gird up the loins of their mind, and endeavour in all things to walk worthy of the Lord!

My Lord, So prays,

Your most humble servant, OLIVER CROMWELL. §

The Lord General's case was somewhat grave; at one time, it seemed hopeless for this summer. "My Lord is not sensible that he is grown an old man." The Officers were to proceed without him; directed by him from the distance. Here, how-

Psalm xxx. 3, "hast brought up my soul from the grave;" or, lxxxvi.
 "delivered my soul from:" but "plucked" is not in any of the texts.
 "not to" in orig.; — dele "not."
 Kimber's (anonymous) Life of Oliver Cromwell (London, 1724), p.

^{201; -} does not say whence derived.

ever, is an improvement; and two days after, on the 5th of June, the Lord General is seen abroad in his coach again; shakes his ailments and infirmities of age away, and takes the field in person once more. The Campaign is now vigorously begun; though as yet no great result follows from it.

On the 25th of June, the Army from all quarters reassembled "in its old Camp on the Pentland Hills:" marched westward; left Linlithgow July 2d, ever westward, with a view to force the Enemy from his strong ground about Stirling. Much pickeering, vapouring, and transient skirmishing ensues; but the Enemy, strongly entrenched at Torwood, secured by bogs and brooks, cannot be forced out. We take Calendar House, and do other insults, before their eyes; they will not come out. Cannonadings there are "from opposite Hills;" but not till it please the Enemy can there be any battle. David Lesley, second in rank, but real leader of the operations, is at his old trade again. The Problem is becoming difficult. We decide to get across into Fife; to take them in flank, and at least cut off an important part of their supplies.

Here is the Lord General's Letter on the result of that enterprise. Farther details of the Battle, which is briefly spoken of here, - still remembered in those parts as the Battle of Inverkeithing, - may be found in Lambert's own Letter concerning it. "Sir John Browne, their Major-General," was once a zealous Parliamenteer; "Governor of Abingdon" and much else; but the King gained him, growls Ludlow, "by the gift of a pair of silk stockings," - poor wretch! Besides Browne, there are Massey, and various Englishmen of mark with this Malignant Army. Massey's Brother, a subaltern person in London, is one of the conspirators with Christopher Love. — The Lord General has in the interim made his Third Visit to Glasgow; concerning which there are no details worth giving here. ** Christopher Love, on the 5th of this month, was condemned to die.

North Ferry, 22d July 1651 (Whitlocke, p. 472): the Battle was on Sunday the 20th. See also Balfour, iv. 313.
 Whitlocke, p. 471; Milton State-Papers, p. 84 (11th July 1651).
 Wood, ili. 378, &c.

LETTER CLXXV.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

DIR, Linlithgow, 21st July 1651.

After our waiting upon the Lord, and not knowing what course to take, for indeed we know nothing but what God pleaseth to teach us of His great mercy, — we were directed to send a Party to get us a landing 'on the Fife coast' by our boats, whilst we marched towards Glasgow.

On Thursday morning last, Colonel Overton. with about One-thousand four-hundred foot and some horse and dragoons, landed at the North Ferry in Fife; we with the Army lying near the Enemy (a small river parted us and them), and having consultations to attempt the Enemy within his fortifications: but the Lord was not pleased to give way to that counsel, proposing a better way for us. The Major-General 'Lambert' marched, on Thursday night, with two regiments of horse and two regiments of foot, for better securing the place; and to attempt upon the Enemy as occasion should serve. He getting over, and finding a considerable body of the Enemy there (who would probably have beaten our men from the place if he had not come), drew out and fought them; he being about two regiments of horse, with about four-hundred of horse and dragoons more, and three regiments of foot; the Enemy five regiments of foot, and about four or five of horse. They came to a close charge, and in the end totally routed the Enemy; having taken about forty or fifty colours.* killed near Two-thousand. some

[•] Farther account of these in Appendix, No. 24.

say more; have taken Sir John Browne their Major-General, who commanded in chief, — and other Colonels and considerable Officers killed and taken, and about Five or Six Hundred prisoners. The Enemy is removed from their ground with their whole Army; but whither we do not certainly know.

This is an unspeakable mercy. I trust the Lord will follow it until He hath perfected peace and truth. We can truly say, we were gone as far as we could in our counsel and action; and we did say one to another, we knew not what to do. Wherefore it's sealed upon our hearts, that this, as all the rest, is from the Lord's goodness, and not from man. I hope it becometh me to pray, That we may walk humbly and self-denyingly before the Lord, and believingly also. That you whom we serve, as the Authority over us, may do the work committed to you, with uprightness and faithfulness, - and thoroughly, as to the That you may not suffer anything to remain that offends the eyes of His jealousy. That common weal may more and more be sought, and justice done impartially. For the eyes of the Lord run to and fro; and as He finds out His enemies here, to be avenged on them, so will He not spare them for whom He doth good, if by His lovingkindness they become not good. I shall take the humble boldness to represent this Engagement of David's, in the Hundred-andnineteenth Psalm, verse Hundred-and-thirty-fourth, Deliver me from the oppression of man, so will I keep Thy precepts.

I take leave, and rest,

Sir, your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

PART VI. WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

72

[24 July

P. S. The carriage of the Major-General, as in all other things so in this, is worthy of your taking notice of; as also the Colonels Okey, Overton, Daniel, West, Lydcot, Syler, and the rest of the Officers. §

Matters now speedily take another turn. At the Castle of "Dundas" we are still on the South side of the Frith; in front of the Scotch lines, though distant: but Inchgarvie, often tried with gunboats, now surrenders; Burntisland, by force of gunboats and dispiritment, surrenders: the Lord General himself goes across into Fife. The following Letters speak for themselves.

LETTER CLXXVL

'To the Right Honourable the Lord President of the Council of State: These.'

My LORD, Dundas, 24th July 1651.

It hath pleased God to put your affairs here in some hopeful way, since the last Defeat given to the Enemy.

I marched with the Army very near to Stirling, hoping thereby to get the Pass; and went myself with General Dean, and some others, up to Bannockburn; hearing that the Enemy were marched on the other side towards our forces in Fife. Indeed they went four or five miles on towards them; but hearing of my advance, in all haste they retreated back, and possessed the Park, and their other works. Which we viewed; and finding them not advisable to attempt, resolved to march to Queensferry, and there to ship over so much of the Army as might hopefully be master of the field in Fife. Which accordingly we have almost perfected; and have left, on this side, somewhat better than four regiments of horse, and as many of foot.

§ Newspapers (in Parl. Hist. xix. 494; and Cromwelliana, p. 105).

I hear now the Enemy's great expectation is to supply themselves in the West with recruits of men, and what victual they can get: for they may expect none out of the North, when once our Army shall interpose between them and St. Johnston. To prevent their prevalency in the West, and making incursions into the Borders of England, * * * †

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

LETTER CLXXVII.

Or this Letter Sir Harry Vane and the Council of State judge it improper to publish anything in the Newspapers, except a rough abstract, in words of their own, of the first two paragraphs and the concluding one. In which state it presents itself in the Old Pamphlets.* The Letter copied in full lies among the Tanner Manuscripts; — gives us a glimpse into the private wants, and old furnitures, of the Cromwell Army. "Pots" are cavalry helmets; "backs-and-breasts" are still seen on cuirassier regiments; "snaphances" (German schnapphahn, snapcock) are a new wonderful invention, giving fire by fint-and-steel; — promising, were they not so terribly expensive, to supersede the old slow matchlock in field-service! But, I believe, they wind up like a watch before the trigger acts; ** and come very high! —

To the Right Honourable the Lord President of the Council of State: These.

My LORD.

Linlithgow, 26th July 1651.

I am able to give you no more account than what you have by my last; only we have now in Fife about Thirteen or Fourteen thousand horse and foot. The

[†] Sir Harry Vane, who reads the Letter in Parliament, judges it prudent to stop here (Commons Journals, vi. 614).

[§] Newspapers (in Gromwellians, p. 107).

In Parliamentary History, xix. 498.

Grose's Military Antiquities.

Enemy is at his old lock, and lieth in and near Stirling; where we cannot come to fight him, except he please, or we go upon too-too manifest hazards; he having very strongly laid himself, and having a very great advantage there. Whither we hear he hath lately gotten great provisions of meal, and reinforcement of his strength out of the North under Marquis Huntly. It is our business still to wait upon God, to show us our way how to deal with this subtle Enemy; which I hope He will.

Our forces on this side the River* are not very many: wherefore I have sent for Colonel Rich's; and shall appoint them, with the forces under Colonel Saunders, to embody close upon the Borders, — and to be in readiness to join with those left on this side the Frith, or to be for the security of England, as occasion shall offer; there being little use of them where they lie, as we know.

Your Soldiers begin to fall sick, through the wet weather which has lately been. It is desired, therefore, that the recruits of foot determined 'on,' may rather come sooner in time than usually; and may be sure to be full in numbers, according to your appointment, whereof great failing has lately been. For the way of raising them, it is wholly submitted to your pleasure; and we hearing you rather choose to send us Volunteers than Pressed-men, shall be very glad you go that way.

Our Spades are spent to a very small number: we desire therefore, that of the Five-thousand tools we lately sent for, at the least Three-thousand of them may be spades, — they wearing most away in our

[.] Means "Frith" always.

works, and being most useful. Our Horsearms, especially our pots, are come to a very small number: it is desired we may have a Thousand backs-and-breasts, and Fifteen-hundred pots. We have left us in store but Four-hundred pair of pistols; Two-hundred saddles; Six-hundred pikes; Two-thousand and thirty muskets, whereof thirty snaphances. These are our present stores: and not knowing what you have sent us by this Fleet that is coming, we desire we may be considered therein. — Our cheese and butter is our lowest store of Victual.

We were necessitated to pay the Soldiery moneys now at their going over into Fife; whereby the Treasury is much exhausted, although we desire to husband it what we can. This being the principal time of action, we desire your Lordship to take a principal care that money may be supplied us with all possible speed, and these other things herewith mentioned; your affairs so necessarily requiring the same.

The Castle of Inchgarvie, which lieth in the River, almost in the midway between the North and South Ferry, commonly called Queen's Ferry, — was delivered to us on Thursday last. They marched away with their swords and baggage only; leaving us sixteen cannon, and all their other arms and ammunition. I remain,

My Lord,
Your lordship's most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL. §

[§] Tanner MSS., in Cary, ii. 288-90.

LETTER CLXXVIII.

'To my very loving Brother Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley: These.'

DEAR BROTHER, 'Burntisland,' 28th July 1651.

I was glad to receive a Letter from you; for indeed anything that comes from you is very welcome to me. I believe your expectation of my Son's coming is deferred. I wish he may see a happy delivery of his Wife first,* for whom I frequently pray.

I hear my Son hath exceeded his allowance, and is in debt. Truly I cannot commend him therein; wisdom requiring his living within compass, and calling for it at his hands. And in my judgment, the reputation arising from thence would have been more real honour than what is attained the other way. I believe vain men will speak well of him that does ill.

I desire to be understood that I grudge him not laudable recreations, nor an honourable carriage of himself in them; nor is any matter of charge, like to fall to my share, a stick** with me. Truly I can find in my heart to allow him not only a sufficiency but more, for his good. But if pleasure and self-satisfaction be made the business of a man's life, 'and' so much cost laid out upon it, so much time spent in it, as rather answers appetite than the will of God, or is comely before His Saints, — I scruple to feed this humour; and God forbid that his being my Son should be his allowance to live not pleasingly to our Heavenly Father, who hath raised me out of the dust to be what I am!

^{*} Noble's registers are very defective! These Letters, too, were before the poor man's eyes.

I desire your faithfulness (he being also your concernment as well as mine) to advise him to approve himself to the Lord in his course of life; and to search His statutes for a rule of conscience, and to seek grace from Christ to enable him to walk therein. This hath life in it, and will come to somewhat: what is a poor creature without this? This will not abridge of lawful pleasures; but teach such a use of them as will have the peace of a good conscience going along with it. Sir, I write what is in my heart; I pray you communicate my mind herein to my Son, and be his remembrancer in these things. Truly I love him, he is dear to me, so is his Wife; and for their sakes do I thus write. They shall not want comfort nor encouragement from me, so far as I may afford it. But indeed I cannot think I do well to feed a voluptuous humour in my Son, if he should make pleasures the business of his life, - in a time when some precious Saints are bleeding, and breathing out their last. for the safety of the rest. Memorable is the speech of Urish to David (Second Samuel, xi. 11).*

Sir, I beseech you believe I here say not this to save my purse; for I shall willingly do what is convenient to satisfy his occasions, as I have opportunity. But as I pray he may not walk in a course not pleasing to the Lord, so 'I' think it lieth upon me to give him, in love, the best counsel I may; and know not how better to convey it to him than by so good a hand as yours. Sir, I pray you acquaint him with these

^{• &}quot;And Urish said unto David, The Ark, and Israel, and Judah abide "in tents; and my lord Joab, and the servants of my lord, are encamped "in the spen fields: shall I then go into mine house, to eat and to drink, "and to the with my wife? As thou livest, and as thy soul liveth, I will "not do this thing."

1 assure you I shall not allow any su there be any suspicion of his abuse of desire it may be looked after, and inqui so, if things appear true, he may be rethough indeed I must needs say he had a godly man, by divers that knew him v him there.

Sir, I desire my hearty affection may to my Sister; to my Cousin Ann, and though unknown. — I praise the Lord I I much mercy in respect of my health; tl me a truly thankful heart. I desire your rest,

Your very affectionate brother and a OLIVER C

My Cousin Ann, then, is wedded! "Her Hunknown" is John Dunch; who, on his Father came John Dunch of Pusey; — to whom we or among the others.

LETTER CLXXIX.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Parliament of England: These.

Q.,

God to give us in Burntisland;* which is indeed very conducing to the carrying-on of our affairs. The Town is well seated; pretty strong; but marvellous capable of further improvement in that respect, without great charge. The Harbour, at a high spring, is near a fathom deeper than at Leith; and doth not lie commanded by any ground without the Town. We took three or four small men-of-war in it, and I believe thirty or forty guns.

Commissary-General Whalley marched along the sea-side in Fife, having some ships to go along the coast; and hath taken great store of great artillery, and divers ships. The Enemy's affairs are in some discomposure, as we hear. Surely the Lord will blow

upon them.

'I rest.' Your most humble servant, OLIVER CROMWELL, &

LETTER CLXXX.

In effect, the crisis has now arrived. The Scotch King and Army, finding their supplies cut off, and their defences rendered unavailing, by this flank-movement, - break up suddenly from Stirling; ** march direct towards England. for a stroke at the heart of the Commonwealth itself. Their game now is, All or nothing. A desperate kind of play. Royalists, Presbyterian-Royalists and the large miscellany of Discontented Interests may perhaps join them there; - perhaps also not! They march by Biggar; enter England by Carlisle.*** on Wednesday 6th of August 1651. "At Girthhead, in the Parish of Wamphray, in Annandale," human Tradition, very faintly indeed, indicates some Roman Stones

<sup>Brunt Island in orig.
Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 107).
"Last day of July" (Bates, il. 120).</sup>

^{***} Whitlocke, p. 474.

or Mile-stones, by the wayside, as the place where his Sacred Majesty passed the Tuesday night; — which are not quite so venerable now as formerly.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

SIR, Leith, 4th August 1651.

In pursuance of the Providence of God, and that blessing lately given to your forces in Fife; and finding that the Enemy, being masters of the Pass at Stirling, could not be gotten out there except by hindering his provisions at St. Johnston, — we, by general advice, thought fit to attempt St. Johnston; knowing that that would necessitate him to quit his Pass. Wherefore, leaving with Major-General Harrison about three-thousand horse and dragoons, besides those which are with Colonel Rich, Colonel Saunders, and Colonel Barton, upon the Borders, we marched to St. Johnston;** and lying one day before it, we had it surrendered to us.

During which time we had some intelligence of the Enemy's marching southward; though with some contradictions, as if it had not been so. But doubting it might be true, we (leaving a Garrison in St. Johnston, and sending Lieutenant-General Monk with about Five or Six thousand to Stirling to reduce that place, and by it to put your affairs into a good posture in Scotland) marched, with all possible expedition, back again; and have passed our foot and many of our horse over the Frith this day; resolving to make what speed we can up to the Enemy, — who, in his

Nicholas Carlisle's Topographical Dict of Scotland, § Wamphray.
2d August 1651 (Balfour, iv. 318): "St. Johnston," as we know, is Perth.

desperation and fear, and out of inevitable necessity, is run to try what he can do this way.

I do apprehend that if he goes for England, being some few days march before us, it will trouble some men's thoughts; and may occasion some inconveniences; - which I hope we are as deeply sensible of, and have been, and I trust shall be, as diligent to prevent, as any. And indeed this is our comfort, That in simplicity of heart as towards God, we have done to the best of our judgments; knowing that if some issue were not put to this Business, it would occasion another Winter's war: to the ruin of your soldiery, for whom the Scots are too hard in respect of enduring the Winter difficulties of this country; and to the endless expense of the treasure of England in prosecuting this War. It may be supposed we might have kept the Enemy from this, by interposing between him and England. Which truly I believe we might: but how to remove him out of this place, without doing what we have done, unless we had had a commanding Army on both sides of the River of Forth, is not clear to us: or how to answer the inconveniences aforementioned, we understand not.

We pray therefore that (seeing there is a possibility for the Enemy to put you to some trouble) you would, with the same courage, grounded upon a confidence in God, wherein you have been supported to the great things God hath used you in hitherto, — improve, the best you can, such forces as you have in readiness, or 'as' may on the sudden be gathered together, To give the Enemy some check, until we shall be able to reach up to him; which we trust in the Lord we shall do our utmost endeavour in. And indeed we have this

comfortable experience from the Lord. That this Enemy is heart-smitten by God: and whenever the Lord shall bring us up to them, we believe the Lord will make the desperateness of this counsel of theirs to appear. and the folly of it also. When England was much more unsteady than now; and when a much more considerable Army of theirs, unfoiled, invaded you; and we had but a weak force to make resistance at Preston, - upon deliberate advice, we chose rather to put ourselves between their Army and Scotland: and how God succeeded that, is not well to be forgotten! This 'present movement' is not out of choice on our part, but by some kind of necessity; and, it is to be hoped, will have the like issue. Together with a hopeful end of your work; - in which it's good to wait upon the Lord, upon the earnest of former experiences. and hope of His presence, which only is the life of your Cause.

Major-General Harrison, with the horse and dragoons under him, and Colonel Rich and the rest in those parts, shall attend the motions of the Enemy; and endeavour the keeping of them together, as also to impede his march. And will be ready to be in conjunction with what forces shall gather together for this service: — to whom orders have been speeded to that purpose; as this enclosed to Major-General Harrison will show. Major-General Lambert, this day, marched with a very considerable body of horse, up towards the Enemy's rear. With the rest of the horse, and nine regiments of foot, most of them of your old foot and horse, I am hasting up; and shall, by the Lord's help, use utmost diligence. I hope I have left a commanding force under Lieutenant-General Monk in Scotland.

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LETTER CLXXX., LEITH.

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This account I thought my duty to speed to you; and rest.

> Your most humble servant. OLIVER CROMWELL. &

The Scots found no Presbyterian-Royalists, no Royalists Proper to speak of, nor any Discontented Interest in England disposed to join them in present circumstances. marched, under rigorous discipline, weary and uncheered, south through Lancashire; had to dispute their old friend the Bridge of Warrington with Lambert and Harrison, who attended them with horse-troops on the left; Cromwell with the main Army steadily advancing behind. They carried the Bridge at Warrington; they summoned various Towns, but none yielded; proclaimed their King with all force of lungs and heraldry, but none cried, God bless him. Summoning Shrewsbury, with the usual negative response, they quitted the London road; bent southward towards Worcester, a City of slight Garrison and loyal Mayor; there to entrench themselves, and repose a little.

Poor Earl Derby, a distinguished Royalist Proper, had hastened over from the Isle of Man, to kiss his Majesty's hand in passing. He then raised some force in Lancashire, and was in hopes to kindle that country again, and go to Worcester in triumph: - but Lilburn, Colonel Robert, whom we have known here before, fell upon him at Wigan; cut his force in pieces:* the poor Earl had to go to Worcester in a wounded and wrecked condition. To Worcester, - and, alas, to the scaffold by and by, for that business. The Scots at Worcester have a loyal Mayor, some very few adventurous loyal Gentry in the neighbourhood; and excitable Wales, perhaps again excitable, lying in the rear: but for the present, except in their own poor Fourteen-thousand right-hands, no outlook. And Cromwell is advancing steadily; by York, **

[§] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 107-8).

Lilburn's two Letters, in Cary, ii. 338-45.

See Appendix, No. 23.



PART VI. WAR WITH SCOTLAND. 4 August

by Nottingham, by Coventry and Stratford; "raising all the County Militias," who muster with singular alacrity; flowing towards Worcester like the Ocean-tide; begirdling it with "upwards of Thirty thousand men." His Majesty's royal summons to the Corporation of London is burnt there by the hands of the common hangman; Speaker Lenthall and the Mayor have a copy of it burnt by that functionary at the head of every regiment, at a review of the Trainbands in Moorfields. * London, England, generally, seems to have

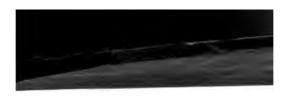
made up its mind.

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At London on the 22d of August, a rigorous thing was done: Reverend Christopher Love, eloquent zealous Minister of St. Lawrence in the Jewry, was, after repeated respites and negotiations, beheaded on Tower Hill. To the unspeakable emotion of men. Nay the very Heavens seemed to testify a feeling of it, - by a thunderclap, by two thunderclaps. When the Parliament passed their vote on the 4th of July. That he should die according to the sentence of the Court. there was then a terrible thunderclap, and darkening of daylight. And now when he actually dies, "directly after his beheading," arises thunderstorm that threatens the dissolution of Nature! Nature, as we see, survived it.

The old Newspaper says, It was on the 22d August 1642. that Charles late King erected his Standard at Nottingham: and now on this same day, 22d August 1651, Charles Pretender erects his at Worcester; and the Reverend Christopher dies. Men may make their reflections. - There goes a story, due to Carrion Heath or some such party, That Cromwell being earnestly solicited for mercy to this poor Christopher, did, while yet in Scotland, send a Letter to the Parliament, recommending it; which Letter, however, was seized by some roving outriders of the Scottish Worcester Army; who reading it, and remembering Uxbridge Sermon, tore it, saying, "No, let the villain die!" - after the manner of Heath. Which could be proved, if time and paper were of no value,

^{*} Bates, ii. 122; Whitlocke, p. 492; see also Commons Journals, vii. 6 (23d August 1651).



1651.] LETTER CLXXXI., STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

to be, like a hundred other very wooden myths of the same Period, without truth. Guarda e passa. Glance at it here for the last time, and never repeat it more!—

Charles's Standard, it would seem then, was erected at Worcester on Friday the 22d, the day of poor Christopher's death. On which same Friday, about sunrise, "our Messenger" (the Parliament's) "left the Lord General at Mr. Pierpoint's House," — William Pierpoint, of the Kingston Family, much his friend, — the House called Thoresby, "near Mansfield;" just starting for Nottingham, to arrive there that night. From Nottingham, by Coventry, by Stratford and Evesham, to "the southeast side of Worcester," rallying Country forces as we go, will take till Thursday next. Here at Stratford on the Wednesday, eve of that, is a Letter accidentally preserved.

LETTER CLXXXI.

DUBITATING Wharton, he also might help to rally forces; his name, from "Upper Winchington in Bucks," or whereever he may be, might do something. Give him, at any rate, a last chance. - "Tom Westrow," here accidentally named; once a well-known man, familiar to the Lord General and to men of worth and quality; now, as near as may be, swallowed forever in the Night-Empires; - is still visible, strangely enough, through one small chink, and recoverable into daylight as far as needful. A Kentish man, a Parliament Soldier once, named in military Kent Committees; sat in Parliament too, "recruiter" for Hythe, though at present in abeyance owing to scruples. Above all, he was the Friend of poor George Wither, stepson of the Muses; to whom in his undeserved distresses he lent beneficent princely sums; and who, in poor splayfooted doggrel, - very poor, but very grateful, pious, true, and on the whole noble, — preserves some adequate memory of him for the curious.* By this chink Tom

^{*} Westrow Revived: a Funeral Poem without Fiction, composed by George Wither, Esq.; that God may be glorified in His Saints, and that — &c. &c. King's Pamphlets, 12mo, no. 340: London, 1653-4, dated with the pen "3d

ned: Wharton continued to dubitate; - and 'take leave of him. "Poor foolish Mall," your well, one of "my two little Wenches," has be at Winchington, I think; — "thanks to you and to" for her.

For my honoured Lord Wharton: These.

My Lord, Stratford-on-Avon, 27th August know I write to my Friend, — therefore g to say one bold word.

n my very heart: Your Lordship, Dick N Westrow, Robert Hammond have, though a conally, helped one another to stumble at the ations of God, and to reason yourselves out

Now 'again' you have opportunity to ass His people in His work; and to manifest agness, and desire to serve the Lord agains His people's enemies. Would you be blesse on, and see the good of His people, and r His inheritance, — I advise you all in the bre, Let it appear you offer yourselves willing work! Wherein to be accepted, is more he the Lord than the world can give an him.

Master needed the Ass's Colt, to show His humility, meekness and condescension: but you need it, to declare your submission to, and owning yourself the Lord's and His people's!* -

If you can break through old disputes, - I shall rejoice if you help others to do so also. Do not say, You are now satisfied because it is the old Quarrel: -

as if it had not been so, all this while!

I have no leisure; but a great deal of entire affection to you and yours, and those named 'here,' — which I thus plainly express. Thanks to you and the dear Lady, for all loves, - and for poor foolish Mall. I am in good earnest 'thankful;' and so also

Your Lordship's Faithful friend and most humble servant, OLIVER CROMWELL, &

Charles's Standard has been floating over Worcester some six days; and now on Thursday 28th of August, comes in sight Cromwell's also; from the Evesham side; with upwards of Thirty-thousand men now near him; and some say, upwards of Eighty-thousand rising in the distance to join him if need were.

LETTERS CLXXXII., CLXXXIII.

BATTLE OF WORCESTER.

THE Battle of Worcester was fought on the evening of Wednesday 3d September 1651; anniversary of that at Dunbar last year. It could well have but one issue; defeat for the Scots and their Cause; - either swift and complete; or else incomplete, ending in slow sieges, partial revolts, and much new misery and blood. The swift issue was the one

Grammar, in this last clause, lost in the haste: "Ass's Colt" is

[&]quot;Beast" is orig.

§ Gentleman's Magazine (London, 1814), lxxxiv. p. 419. — In Appendix,

No. 38, there is now (1857) another Letter to his Lordship.

appointed; and complete enough; severing the neck of the Controversy now at last, as with one effectual stroke, no need to strike a second time.

The Battle was fought on both sides of the Severn: part of Cromwell's forces having crossed to the Western bank, by Unton Bridge, some miles below Worcester, the night before. About a week ago. Massey understood himself to have ruined this Bridge at Upton; but Lambert's men "straddled across by the parapet," - a dangerous kind of saddle for such riding, I think! - and hastily repaired it; hastily got hold of Upton Church, and maintained themselves there; driving Massey back with a bad wound in the hand. This was on Thursday night last, the very night of the Lord General's arrival in those parts; and they have held this post ever since. Fleetwood crosses here with a good part of Cromwell's Army, on the evening of Tuesday September 2d; shall, on the morrow, attack the Scotch posts on the Southwest, about the Suburb of St. John's, across the River; while Cromwell, in person, on this side, plies them from the Southeast. St. John's Suburb lies at some distance from Worcester; west, or southwest as we say, on the Herefordshire Road: and connects itself with the City by Severn Bridge. Southeast of the City, again, near the then and present London Road, is "Fort Royal," an entrenchment of the Scots: on this side Cromwell is to attempt the Enemy, and second Fleetwood, as occasion may serve. Worcester City itself is on Cromwell's side of the River; stands high, surmounted by its high Cathedral; close on the left or eastern margin of the Severn; surrounded by fruitful fields, and hedges unfit for cavalry-fighting. This is the posture of affairs on the eve of Wednesday 3d September 1651.

But now, for Wednesday itself, we are to remark that between Fleetwood at Upton, and the Enemy's outposts at St. John's on the west side of Severn, there runs still a River Teme; a western tributary of the Severn, into which it falls about a mile below the City. This River Teme Fleetwood hopes to cross, if not by the Bridge at Powick which the



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BATTLE OF WORCESTER.

Enemy possesses, then by a Bridge of Boats which he is himself to prepare lower down, close by the mouth of Teme. At this point also, or "within pistol-shot of it," there is to be a Bridge of Boats laid across the Severn itself, that so both ends of the Army may communicate. Boats, boatmen, carpenters, aquatic and terrestrial artificers and implements, in great abundance, contributed by the neighbouring Towns, lie ready on the River, about Upton, for this service. Does the reader

now understand the ground a little?

Fleetwood, at Upton, was astir with the dawn September But it was towards "three in the afternoon" before the boatmen were got up; must have been towards five before those Bridges were got built, and Fleetwood set fairly across the Teme to begin business. The King of Scots and his Council of War, "on the top of the Cathedral," have been anxiously viewing him all afternoon; have seen him build his Bridges of Boats; see him now in great force got across Teme River, attacking the Scotch on the South, fighting them from hedge to hedge towards the Suburb of St. John's. great force: for new regiments, horse and foot, now stream across the Severn Bridge of Boats to assist Fleetwood: nav. if the Scots knew it, my Lord General himself is come across. "did lead the van in person, and was the first that set foot on "the Enemy's ground." — The Scots, obstinately struggling, are gradually beaten there; driven from hedge to hedge. But the King of Scots and his War-Council decide that most part of Cromwell's Army must now be over in that quarter, on the West side of the River, engaged among the hedges; - decide that they, for their part, will storm out, and offer him battle on their own East side, now while he is weak there. The Council of War comes down from the top of the Cathedral: their trumpets sound: Cromwell also is soon back, across the Severn Bridge of Boats again; and the deadliest tug of war begins.

Fort Royal is still known at Worcester, and Sudbury Gate at the southeast end of the City is known, and those other localities here specified; after much study of which and

of the old dead Pamphlets, this Battle will at last become conceivable. Besides Cromwell's Two Letters, there are plentiful details, questionable and unquestionable, in Bates and elsewhere. as indicated below. * The fighting of the Scots was fierce and desperate. "My Lord General did ex-"ceedingly hazard himself, riding up and down in the midst "of the fire; riding, himself in person, to the Enemy's foot to "offer them quarter, whereto they returned no answer but "shot." The small Scotch Army, begirdled with overpowering force, and cut off from help or reasonable hope, storms forth in fiery pulses, horse and foot; charges now on this side of the River, now on that: - can on no side prevail. Cromwell recoils a little; but only to rally, and return irresistible. The small Scotch Army is, on every side, driven in again. Its fiery pulsings are but the struggles of death: agonies as of a lion coiled in the folds of a boa!

"As stiff a contest, for four or five hours, as ever I have "seen." But it avails not. Through Sudbury Gate, on Cromwell's side through St. John's Suburb, and over Severn Bridge on Fleetwood's, the Scots are driven-in again to Worcester Streets; desperately struggling and recoiling, are driven through Worcester Streets, to the North end of the City,—and terminate there. A distracted mass of ruin: the foot all killed or taken; the horse all scattered on flight, and their place of refuge very far! His sacred Majesty escaped, by royal oaks and other miraculous appliances well known to mankind: but Fourteen-thousand other men, sacred too after a sort though not majesties, did not escape. One could weep at such a death for brave men in such a Cause! But let us now read Cromwell's Letters.

^{*} Bates, Part ii. 124-7. King's Pamphlets; small 4to, no. 507, § 12 (given mostly in Cromwelliana, pp. 114, 15); large 4to, no. 54, §§ 15, 18. Letter from Stapylton the Chaplain, in Cromwelliana, p. 112.

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LETTER CLXXXII., WORCESTER.

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LETTER CLXXXII.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

SIR, Near Worcester, 3d September 1651, (10 at night).

Being so weary, and scarce able to write, yet I thought it my duty to let you know thus much. That upon this day, being the 3d of September (remarkable for a mercy vouchsafed to your Forces on this day twelvementh in Scotland), we built a Bridge of Boats over Severn, between it and Teme, about half a mile from Worcester; and another over Teme, within pistol-shot of our other Bridge. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood and Major-General Dean marched from Upton on the southwest side of Severn up to Powick, a Town which was a Pass the Enemy kept. We, 'from our side of Severn,' passed over some horse and foot, and were in conjunction with the Lieutenant-General's Forces. We beat the Enemy from hedge to hedge till we beat him into Worcester.

The Enemy then drew all his Forces on the other side the Town, all but what he had lost; and made a very considerable fight with us, for three hours space: but in the end we beat him totally, and pursued him to his Royal Fort, which we took, — and indeed have beaten his whole Army. When we took this Fort, we turned his own guns upon him. The Enemy hath had great loss: and certainly is scattered, and run several ways. We are in pursuit of him, and have laid forces in several places, that we hope will gather him up.

Indeed this hath been a very glorious mercy; — and as stiff a contest, for four or five hours, as ever I

have seen. Both your old Forces and those new-raised have behaved themselves with very great courage; and He that made them come out, made them willing to fight for you. The Lord God Almighty frame our hearts to real thankfulness for this, which is alone His doing. I hope I shall within a day or two give you a more perfect account.

In the mean time I hope you will pardon, Sir,
Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL. \$

On Saturday the 6th comes a farther Letter from my Lord General; "the effect whereof speaketh thus:"

LETTER CLXXXIIL

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

SIR, Worcester, 4th September 1651.

I am not able yet to give you an exact account of the great things the Lord hath wrought for this Commonwealth and for His People: and yet I am unwilling to be silent; but, according to my duty, shall represent it to you as it comes to hand.

This Battle was fought with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on your part; and in the end became an absolute victory, — and so full an one as proved a total defeat and ruin of the Enemy's Army; and a possession of the Town, our men entering at the Enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the streets with very great courage. We took all their baggage and artillery. What the slain are, I can give you no account, because we have not taken an exact view; but

[§] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 113); Tanner Mss. (Cary, ii. 255).

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they are very many: — and must needs be so; because the dispute was long and very near at hand; and often at push of pike, and from one defence to another. There are about Six or Seven thousand prisoners taken here; and many Officers and Noblemen of very great quality: Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Rothes, and divers other Noblemen, — I hear, the Earl of Lauderdale; many Officers of great quality; and some that will be fit subjects for your justice.

We have sent very considerable parties after the flying Enemy; I hear they have taken considerable numbers of prisoners, and are very close in the pursuit. Indeed, I hear the Country riseth upon them everywhere; and I believe the forces that lay, through Providence, at Bewdley, and in Shropshire and Staffordshire, and those with Colonel Lilburn, were in a condition, as if this had been foreseen, to intercept what should return.

A more particular account than this will be prepared for you as we are able. I hear they had not many more than a Thousand horse in their body that fled: and I believe you have near Four-thousand forces following, and interposing between them and home; — what fish they will catch, Time will declare.* Their Army was about Sixteen-thousand strong; and fought ours on the Worcester side of Severn almost with their whole, whilst we had engaged about half our Army on the other side but with parties of theirs. Indeed it was a stiff business; yet I do not think we have lost Two-hundred men. Your new-raised forces did perform singular good service; for which they deserve a very

Phrase omitted in the Newspaper. In orig., an official hand has written on the margin "omitt this."

high estimation and acknowledgment; as also for their willingness thereunto, — forasmuch as the same hath added so much to the reputation of your affairs. They are all despatched home again; which I hope will be much for the ease and satisfaction of the Country; which is a great fruit of these successes.

The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy. Surely, if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concerned in it to thankfulness; and the Parliament to do the will of Him who hath done His will for it, and for the Nation: - whose good pleasure it is to establish the Nation and the Change of the Government, by making the People so willing to the defence thereof, and so signally blessing the endeavours of your servants in this late great work. I am bold humbly to beg, That all thoughts may tend to the promoting of His honour who hath wrought so great salvation; and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen Nation: * but that the fear of the Lord, even for His mercies, may keep an Authority and a People so prospered, and blessed, and witnessed unto, humble and faithful; and that justice and righteousness, mercy and truth may flow from you, as a thankful return to our gracious This shall be the prayer of,

Your most humble and obedient servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

[&]quot;But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked: — (and thou art waxen fat, "thou art grown thick, thou art covered with fatness:) then he forsook "God which made him, and lightly esteemed the rock of his salvation" (Denteronomy, xxxii. 15).



1651.] LETTER CLXXXIII., WORCESTER.

Your Officers behaved themselves with much honour in this service; and the Person* who is the Bearer hereof was equal, in the performance of his duty, to most that served you that day. §

"On Lord's day next. by order of Parliament." these Letters are read from all London Pulpits, amid the general thanksgiving of men. At Worcester, the while, thousands of Prisoners are getting ranked, "penned up in the Cathedral," with sad outlooks: carcasses of horses, corpses of men, frightful to sense and mind, encumber the streets of Worcester; "we are plucking Lords. Knights and Gentlemen from their lurking-holes," into the unwelcome light. ** Lords very numerous; a Peerage sore slashed. The Duke of Hamilton has got his thigh broken; dies on the fourth day. The Earl of Derby, also wounded, is caught, and tried for Treason against the State; lays down his head at Bolton, where he had once carried it too high. Lauderdale and others are put in the Tower; have to lie there, in heavy dormancy, for long years. The Earls of Cleveland and Lauderdale came to Town together, about a fortnight hence. "As they passed along "Cornhill in their coaches with a guard of horse, the Earl of "Lauderdale's coach made a stand near the Conduit: where "a Carman gave his Lordship a visit, saying, 'Oh, my Lord, "you are welcome to London! I protest, off goes your head, "as round as a hoop!' But his Lordship passed off the fatal "compliment only with a laughter, and so fared along to the "Tower." ** His Lordship's big red head has yet other work to do in this world. Having, at the Ever-blessed Restoration, managed, not without difficulty, "to get a new suit of

^{*} Major Cobbet, "who makes a relation," and gets 100!. (Commons

Journals, vii. 12, 18).

§ Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 113, 114); Tanner MSS. (in Cary, 45, 250, 25).

ov Original Commission, signed "O. Cromwell," and dated 8th September 1651, appointing "Collonel John James" Governor of Worcester, is now among the mas. of Trin. Coll. Cambridge (copy penes me).

clothes,"* he knelt before his now triumphant Sacred Majesty on that glorious Thirtieth of May; learned from his Majesty, that "Presbytery was no religion for a gentleman;" gave it up, not without pangs; and resolutely set himself to introduce the exploded Tulchan Apparatus into Scotland again, by thumbikins, by bootikins, by any and every method, since it was the will of his Sacred Majesty; — failed in the Tulchan Apparatus, as is well known; earned for himself new plentiful clothes-suits, Dukedoms and promotions, from the Sacred Majesty; and from the Scotch People deep-toned universal sound of curses, not yet become inaudible; and shall, in this place, and we hope elsewhere, concern us no more.

On Friday the 12th of September the Lord General arrived in Town. Four dignified Members, of whom Bulstrode was one, specially missioned by vote of Parliament,** had met him the day before with congratulations, on the other side Aylesbury; "whom he received with all kindness and respect; "and after ceremonies and salutations passed, he rode with "them across the fields: - where Mr. Winwood the Member "for Windsor's hawks met them; and the Lord General, with "the other Gentlemen, went a little out of the way a-hawking. "They came that night to Avlesbury; where they had much "discourse; especially my Lord Chief Justice St. John," the dark Shipmoney Lawyer, now Chief Justice, "as they supped together." To me Bulstrode, and to each of the others, he gave a horse and two Scotch prisoners: the horse I kept for carrying me; the two Scots, unlucky gentlemen of that country, I handsomely sent home again without any ransom whatever. *** And so on Friday we arrive in Town, in very great solemnity and triumph: Speaker and Parliament, Lord President and Council of State, Sheriffs, Mayors, and an innumerable multitude, of quality and not of quality, eagerly attending us; once more splitting the welkin with their human

^{*} Roger Coke's Detection of the Court and State of England.

Commons Journals, vii. 13 (9th Sept. 1651).
 Whitlocke, p. 484; see also 2d edit. p. 509.

shoutings, and volleys of great shot and small: in the midst of which my Lord General "carried himself with much affabi-"lity; and now and afterwards, in all his discourses about "Worcester, would seldom mention anything of himself; "mentioned others only; and gave, as was due, the glory of "the Action unto God." — Hugh Peters, however, being of loosespoken, somewhat sibylline turn of mind, discerns a certain inward exultation and irrepressible irradiation in my Lord General, and whispers to himself, "This man will be King of England yet." Which, unless Kings are entirely superfluous in England, I should think very possible, O Peters! To wooden Ludlow Mr. Peters confessed so much long afterwards; and the wooden head drew its inferences therefrom. ***

This then, is the last of my Lord General's Battles and Victories, technically so called. Of course his Life, to the very end of it, continues, as from the beginning it had always been, a battle, and a dangerous and strenuous one, with due modicum of victory assigned now and then; but it will be with other than the steel weapons henceforth. He here sheaths his war-sword; with that, it is not his Order from the Great Captain that he fight any more.

The distracted Scheme of the Scotch Governors to accomplish their Covenant by this Charles-Stuart method has here ended. By and by they shall have their Charles Stuart back, as a general Nell-Gwynn Defender of the Faith to us all;—and shall see how they will like him! But as Covenanted King he is off upon his travels, and will never return more. Worcester Battle has cut the heart of that affair in two: and Monk, an assiduous Lieutenant to the Lord General in his Scotch affairs, is busy suppressing the details.

On Monday the 1st of September, two days before the Battle of Worcester, Lieutenant-General Monk had stormed Dundee, the last stronghold of Scotland; where much wealth, as in a place of safety, had been laid up. Governor Lumsden

^{*} Whitlocke. p. 485.

would not yield on summons: Lieutenant-General Monk stormed him; the Town took fire in the business; there was once more a grim scene, of flame and blood, and rage and despair, transacted in this Earth: and taciturn General Monk, his choler all up, was become surly as the Russian bear; nothing but negatory growls to be got out of him: nay, to one clerical dignitary of the place he not only gave his "No!" but audibly threatened a slap with the fist to back it, — "ordered him, Not to speak one word, or he would scobe his "mouth for him!"*

Ten days before, some Shadow of a new Committee of Estates attempting to sit at Alyth on the border of Angus, with intent to concert some measures for the relief of this same Dundee, had been, by a swift Colonel of Monk's, laid hold of; and the members were now all shipped to the Tower. It was a snuffing-out of the Government-light in Scotland. Except some triumph come from Worcester to rekindle it: - and, alas, no triumph came from Worcester, as we see; nothing but ruin and defeat from Worcester! The Government-light of Scotland remains snuffed out. - Active Colonel Alured, a swift devout man, somewhat given to Anabaptist notions, of whom we shall hear again, was he that did this feat at Alvth; a kind of feather in his cap. Among the Captured in that poor Committee or Shadow of Committee was poor old General Leven. time honoured Lesley, who went to the Tower with the others: his last appearance in Public History. He got out again, on intercession from Queen Christina of Sweden; retired to his native fields of Fife; and slept soon and still sleeps in Balgony Kirk under his stone of honour. - the excellent "crooked little Feldtmarshal" that he was. Excellent, though unfortunate. He bearded the grim Wallenstein at Stralsund once, and rolled him back from the bulwarks there, after long tough wrestle; - and in fact did a thing or two in his time. Farewell to him. **

* Balfour, iv. 316.

Scotch Peerngen; Förster's Wallenstein als Feldherr (Potsdam, 1834),
 124. Granger (Biographic History of England) has some nonsense about Leven, — in his usual neat style.

1651.]

AFTER WORCESTER.

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But with the light of Government snuffed out in Scotland, and no rekindling of it from the Worcester side, resistance in Scotland has ended. Lambert, next summer, marched through the Highlands, pacificating them.* There rose afterwards rebellion in the Highlands, rebellion of Glencairn, of Middleton, with much mosstroopery and horsestealing; but Monk, who had now again the command there, by energy and vigilance, by patience, punctuality, and slow methodic strength, put it down, and kept it down. A taciturn man; speaks little; thinks more or less; — does whatever is doable here and elsewhere.

Scotland therefore, like Ireland, has fallen to Cromwell to be administered. He had to do it under great difficulties; the Governing Classes, especially the Clergy or Teaching Class, continuing for most part obstinately indisposed to him, so baleful to their formulas had he been. With Monk for an assiduous Lieutenant in secular matters, he kept the country in peace: — it appears on all sides, he did otherwise what was possible for him. He sent new Judges to Scotland; "a pack of kinless loons," who minded no claim but that of fair play. He favoured, as was natural, the Remonstrant Ker-and-Strahan Party in the Church; - favoured, above all things, the Christian-Gospel Party, who had some good message in them for the soul of man. Within wide limits he tolerated the Resolutioner Party; and beyond these limits would not tolerate them; would not suffer their General Assembly to sit; marched the Assembly out bodily to Bruntisfield Links, and sent it home again, when it tried such a thing. ** He united Scotland to England by act of Parliament; tried in all ways to unite it by still deeper methods. He kept peace and order in the country; was a little heavy with taxes: - on the whole, did what he could; and proved, as there is good evidence, a highly beneficial though unwelcome phenomenon there.

<sup>Whitlocke, p. 514.
Whitlocke, 25th July 1653; Life of Robert Blair (Edinburgh, 1754),
pp. 118, 19; Blencowe's Sidney Papers, pp. 153-5.</sup>

Alas, may we not say, In circuitous ways he proved the Doer of what this poor Scotch Nation really wished and willed, could it have known'so much at sight of him! The true Governor of this poor Scotch Nation; accomplishing their Covenant without the Charles Stuart, since with the Charles Stuart it was a flat impossibility. But they knew him not; and with their stiffnecked ways obstructed him as they could. How seldom can a Nation, can even an individual man, understand what at heart his own real will is: such masses of superficial bewilderment, of respectable hearsay, of fantasy and pedantry, and old and new cobwebbery, overlie our poor will; much hiding it from us, for most part! So that if we can once get eye on it, and walk resolutely towards fulfilment of it, the battle is as good as gained!—

For example, who, of all Scotch or other men, is he that verily understands the "real ends of the Covenant," and discriminates them well from the superficial forms thereof; and with pious valour does them, - and continually struggles to see them done? I should say, this Cromwell, whom we call Sectary and Blasphemer! The Scotch Clergy, persisting in their own most hidebound formula of a Covenanted Charles Stuart, bear clear testimony, that at no time did Christ's Gospel so flourish in Scotland as now under Cromwell the Usurper. "These bitter waters," say they, "were sweetened "by the Lord's remarkably blessing the labours of His faith-"ful servants. A great door and an effectual was opened to "many." Not otherwise in matters civil. "Scotland." thus testifies a competent eye-witness, "was kept in great order. "Some Castles in the Highlands had Garrisons put into them, "which were so careful of their discipline, and so exact to their "rules," the wild Highlanders were wonderfully tamed thereby. Cromwell built three Citadels, Leith, Ayr and Inverness, besides many little Forts, over Scotland. Seven or Eight thousand men, well paid, and paying well; of the strictest habits, military, spiritual and moral: these it was everywhere a kind

Life of Robert Blair, p. 120; Livingston's Life of Himself (Glasgow, 1754), pp. 54, 5, &c. &c.

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of Practical Sermon to take note of! "There was good justice "done; and vice was suppressed and punished. So that we "always reckon those Eight years of Usurpation a time of "great peace and prosperity," * -- though we needed to be twice beaten, and to have our foolish Governor flugginto the Tower, before we would accept the same. We, and mankind generally, are an extremely wise set of creatures.

^{*} Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time, book i.



PART VII.

THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT.

1651-1653.

LETTERS CLXXXIV.—CLXXXVIII.

THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT.

Between Worcester Battle on the 3d of September 1651, and the Dismissal of the Long Parliament on the 20th of April 1653, are Nineteen very important months in the History of Oliver, which, in all our Books and Historical rubbish-records, lie as nearly as possible dark and vacant for us. Poor Dryasdust has emitted, and still emits, volumes of confused noise on the subject: but in the way of information or illumination, of light in regard to any fact, physiognomic feature, event or fraction of an event, as good as nothing whatever. Indeed, onwards from this point where Oliver's own Letters begin to fail us, the whole History of Oliver, and of England under him, becomes very dim; - swimming most indistinct in the huge Tomes of Thurloe and the like, as in shoreless lakes of ditchwater and bilgewater; a stagnancy, a torpor, and confused horror to the human soul! No historical genius, not even a Rushworth's, now presides over the matter: nothing but bilgewater Correspondences; vague jottings of a dull fat Bulstrode; vague printed babblements of this and the other Carrion Heath or Flunkey Pamphleteer of the Blessed Restoration Period, writing from ignorant rumour and for ignorant rumour, from the winds and to the winds. After long reading in very many Books, of very unspeakable quality, earning for yourself only incredibility, inconceivability, and darkness

visible, you begin to perceive that in the Speeches of Oliver himself once well read, such as they are, some shadowy outlines, authentic prefigurements of what the real History of the Time may have been, do first, in the huge inane night, begin to loom forth for you, — credible, conceivable in some measure, there for the first time. My reader's patience is henceforth to be still more severely tried: there is unluckily no help for it, as matters stand.

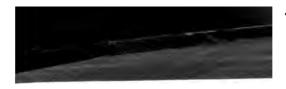
Great lakes of watery Correspondence relating to the History of this Period, as we intimate, survive in print; and new are occasionally issued upon mankind: * but the essence of them has never yet in the smallest been elaborated by any man; will require a succession and assiduous series of many men to elaborate it. To pluck up the great History of Oliver from it, like drowned Honour by the locks; and show it to muchwondering and, in the end, right-thankful England! The richest and noblest thing England hitherto has. The basis England will have to start from again, if England is ever to struggle Godward again, instead of struggling Devilward, and Mammonward merely. Serene element of Cant has been tried now for two Centuries; and fails. Serene element, general completed life-atmosphere, of Cant religious, Cant moral, Cant political, Cant universal, where England vainly hoped to live in a serene soft-spoken manner, — England now finds herself on the point of choking there: large masses of her People no longer able to get even potatoes in that serene element. England will have to come out of that; England, too terribly awakened at last, is everywhere preparing to come out of that. England, her Amazon-eyes once more flashing strange Heaven's-light, like Phœbus Apollo's fatal to the Pythian mud-serpents, will lift her hand, I think, and her heart, and swear "By the Eternal, I will not die in that! I had once men who knew better than that!" ---

But with regard to the History of Oliver, as we were saying,

Thurloe's State-Papers, Milton's, Clarendon's, Ormond's, Sidney's, &c. &c. are old and very watery; new and still waterier are Vaughan's Protectorate, and others not even worth naming here.

for those Nineteen months there is almost no light to be communicated at present. Of Oliver's own uttering. I have found only Five Letters, short, insignificant, connected with no phasis of Public Transactions: there are Two Dialogues recorded by Whitlocke, of dubious authenticity; certain small splinters of Occurrences not pointing very decisively anywhither, sprinkling like dust of stars the dark vacancy: these, and Dryasdust's vociferous commentaries new and old: - and of discovered or discoverable, nothing more. Oliver's own Speech, which the reader is by and by to hear, casts backwards some straggling gleams; well accordant, as is usual, with whatever else we know; and worthy to be well believed and meditated, by Historical readers, among others. Out of these poor elements the candid imagination must endeavour to shape some not inconceivable scheme and genesis of this very indubitable Fact, the Dismissal of the Long Parliament, as best it may. Perhaps if Dryasdust were once well gagged, and his vociferous commentaries all well forgotten, such a feat might not be very impossible for mankind! -

Concerning this Residue, Fag-end, or "Rump" as it had now got nicknamed, of the Long Parliament, into whose hands the Government of England had been put, we have hitherto, ever since the King's Death-Warrant, said almost nothing: and in fact there was not much to be said. "Statesmen of the Commonwealth" so called: there wanted not among them men of real mark; brave men, of much talent, of true resolution, and nobleness of aim: but though their title was chief in this Commonwealth, all men may see their real function in it has been subaltern all along. Not in St. Stephen's and its votings and debatings, but in the battle-field, in Oliver Cromwell's fightings, has the destiny of this Commonwealth decided itself. One unsuccessful Battle, at Preston or at any time since, had probably wrecked it; - one stray bullet hitting the life of a certain man had soon ended this Commonwealth. Parliament, Council of State, they sat like diligent Committees of Ways and Means, in a very wise and provident manner: but the soul of the Commonwealth was at Dunbar, at Wor-



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cester, at Tredah: Destiny, there questioned, "Life or Death for this Commonwealth?" has answered, "Life yet for a time!" — That is a fact which the candid imagination will have to keep steadily in view.

And now if we practically ask ourselves. What is to become of this small junto of men. somewhat above a Hundred in all.* hardly above Half-a-hundred the active part of them, who now sit in the chair of authority? the shaping-out of any answer will give rise to considerations. These men have been raised thither by miraculous interpositions of Providence; they may be said to sit there only by a continuance of the like. They cannot sit there forever. They are not Kings by birth, these men; nor in any of them have I discovered qualities as of a very indisputable King by attainment. Of dull Bulstrode, with his lumbering law-pedantries, and stagnant official self-satisfactions, I do not speak; nor of dusky tough St. John, whose abstruse fanaticisms, crabbed logics, and dark ambitions, issue all, as was very natural, in "decided avarice" at last: - not of these. Harry Marten is a tight little fellow, though of somewhat loose life: his witty words pierce yet, as light-arrows, through the thick oblivious torpor of the generations; testifying to us very clearly, Here was a right hard-headed, stout-hearted little man, full of sharp fire and cheerful light; sworn foe of Cant in all its figures, an indomitable little Roman Pagan if no better: but Harry is not quite one's King either: it would have been difficult to be altogether loyal to Harry! Doubtful too, I think, whether without great effort you could have worshipped even the Younger Vane. A man of endless virtues, says Dryasdust, who is much taken with him, and of endless intellect; - but you must not very specially ask, How or Where? Vane was the Friend of Milton: that is almost the only answer that can now be given. A man, one rather finds, of light fibre, this Sir Harry Vane. Grant all manner of purity and elevation;

One notices division-numbers as high as 121, and occasionally lower than even 40. Godwin (iii. 121), "by careful scrutiny of the Journals," has found that the utmost number of all that had still the right to come, "could not be less than 150."

subtle high discourse; much intellectual and practical dexterity: there is an amiable, devoutly zealous, very pretty man; — but not a royal man; alas, no! On the whole rather a thin man. Whom it is even important to keep strictly subaltern. Whose tendency towards the Abstract, or Temporary-Theoretic, is irresistible; whose hold of the Concrete, in which lies always the Perennial, is by no means that of a giant, or born Practical King; - whose "astonishing subtlety of intellect" conducts him not to new clearness, but to ever new abstruseness, wheel within wheel, depth under depth; marvellous temporary empire of the air, - wholly vanished now, and without meaning to any mortal. My erudite friend, the astonishing intellect that occupies itself in splitting hairs. and not in twisting some kind of cordage and effectual draught-tackle to take the road with, is not to me the most astonishing of intellects! And if, as is probable, it get into narrow fanaticisms; become irrecognisant of the Perennial because not dressed in the fashionable Temporary; become self-secluded, atrabiliar, and perhaps shrill-voiced and spasmodic, - what can you do but get away from it, with a prayer, "The Lord deliver me from thee!" I cannot do with thee. I want twisted cordage, steady pulling, and a peaceable bass tone of voice: not split hairs, hysterical spasmodics, and treble! Thou amiable, subtle, elevated individual, the Lord deliver me from thee!

These men cannot continue Kings forever; nor in fact did they in the least design such a thing; only they find a terrible difficulty in getting abdicated. Difficulty very conceivable to us. Some weeks after Pride's Purge, which may be called the constituting of this remnant of members into a Parliament and Authority, there had been presented to it, by Fairfax and the Army, what we should now call a Bentham-Sieyes Constitution, what was then called an "Agreement of the People,"* which might well be imperative on honourable members sitting there; whereby it was stipulated for one

Commons Journals, 20th January 1648-9: some six weeks after the Purge; ten days before the King's Death.

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thing, That this present Parliament should dissolve itself, and give place to another "equal Representative of the People," — in some three months hence; on the 30th of April, namely. The last day of April 1649: this Parliament was then to have its work finished, and go its ways, giving place to

another. Such was our hope.

They did accordingly pass a vote to that effect; fully intending to fulfil the same: but, alas, it was found impossible. How summon a new Parliament, while the Commonwealth is still fighting for its existence? All we can do is to resolve ourselves into Grand Committee, and consider about it. After much consideration, all we can decide is, That we shall go weekly into Grand Committee, and consider farther. Duly every Wednesday we consider, for the space of eleven months and odd; find, more and more, that it is a thing of some considerableness! In brief, when my Lord General returns to us from Worcester, on the 16th of September 1651, no advance whatever towards a dissolution of ourselves has yet been made. The Wednesday Grand Committees had become a thing like the meeting of Roman augurs, difficult to go through with complete gravity; and so, after the eleventh month, have silently fallen into desuetude. We sit here very immovable. We are scornfully called the Rump of a Parliament by certain people: but we have an invincible Oliver to fight for us: we can afford to wait here, and consider to all lengths; and by one name we shall smell as sweet as by another.

I have only to add at present, that on the morrow of my Lord General's reappearance in Parliament, this sleeping question was resuscitated;* new activity infused into it; some show of progress made; nay, at the end of three months, after much labour and struggle, it was got decided, by a neckand-neck division, ** That the present is a fit time for fixing a limit beyond which this Parliament shall not sit. Fix a limit

Commons Journals, 17th September 1651.
 49 to 47; Commons Journals, 14th November 1651: "Lord General and Lord Chief Justice," Cromwell and St. John, are Tellers for the Yea.

therefore; give us the non-plus-ultra of you. Next Parliament-day we do fix a limit, Three years hence, 3d November 1654; three years of rope still left us: a somewhat wide limit; which, under conceivable contingencies, may perhaps be tightened a little. My honourable friends, you ought really to get on with despatch of this business; and know of a surety that-not being, any of you, Kings by birth, nor very induitably by attainment, you will actually have to go, and even in case of extremity to be shoved and sent!

LETTER CLXXXIV.

Ar this point the law of dates requires that we introduce Letter Hundred and-eighty-fourth; though it is as a mere mathematical point, marking its own whereabouts in Oliver's History; and imparts little or nothing that is new to us.

Reverend John Cotton is a man still held in some remembrance among our New-England friends. He had been Minister of Boston in Lincolnshire; carried the name across the Ocean with him; fixed it upon a new small Home he had found there, — which has become a large one since; the big busy Capital of Massachusetts, Boston, so called. John Cotton his Mark, very curiously stamped on the face of this Planet; likely to continue for some time! — For the rest, a painful Preacher, orscular of high Gospels to New England; who in his day was well seen to be connected with the Supreme Powers of this Universe, the word of him being as a live-coal to the hearts of many. He died some years afterwards; — was thought, especially on his deathbed, to have manifested gifts even of Prophecy,* — a thing not inconceivable to the human mind that well considers Prophecy and John Cotton.

We should say farther, that the Parliament, that Oliver among and before them, had taken solemn anxious thought concerning Propagating of the Gospel in New England; and, among other measures, passed an Act to that end:** not un-

^{*} Thurloe, i. 565; — in 1653. * Scobell (27th July 1649), ii. 66.

worthy of attention, were our hurry less. In fact, there are traceable various small threads of relation, interesting reciprocities and mutualities, connecting the poor young Infant. New England, with its old Puritan Mother and her affairs, in those years. Which ought to be disentangled, to be made conspicuous and beautiful, by the Infant herself now that she has grown big; the busy old Mother having had to shove them, with so much else of the like, hastily out of her way for the present! — However, it is not in reference to this of Propagating the Gospel in New England; it is in congratulation on the late high Actings, and glorious Appearances of Providence in Old England, that Cotton has been addressing Oliver: introduced to him, as appears, by some small mediate or direct acquaintanceship, old or new; - founding too on their general relationship as Soldier of the Gospel and Priest of the Gospel, high brother and humble one; appointed, both of them, to fight for it to the death, each with such weapons as were given him. The Letter of Cotton, with due details, is to be seen in Hutchinson's Collection.* The date is "Boston in New England, 28th of Fifth" (Fifth Month, or July), "1651:" the substance, full of piety and loyalty, like that of hundreds of others, must not concern us here, - except these few interesting words, upon certain of our poor old Dunbar friends: "The Scots whom God delivered into your hands at Dunbar." says Cotton, "and whereof sundry were sent hither, - we "have been desirous, as we could to make their yoke easy. "Such as were sick of the scurvy, or other diseases, have not "wanted physic and chirurgery. They have not been sold "for Slaves, to perpetual servitude; but for six, or seven, or "eight years, as we do our own. And he that bought the "most of them, I hear, buildeth Houses for them, for every "Four a House: and layeth some acres of ground thereto, "which he giveth them as their own, requiring them three "days in the week to work for him by turns, and four days for "themselves; and promiseth, as soon as they can repay him "the money he laid out for them, he will set them at liberty."

Papers relative to the History of Massachusetts (Boston, 1769), p. 236.

Which really is a mild arrangement, much preferable to Durham Cathedral and the raw cabbages at Morpeth; and may turn to good for the poor fellows, if they can behave themgelves! -

For my exteemed Friend Mr. Cotton, Pastor of the Church at Buston in New England: These.

'London,' 2d October 1651.

WORTHY SIR, AND MY CHRISTIAN FRIEND,

I received yours a few days since. It was welcome to me because signed by you, whom I love and honour in the Lord: but more 'so' to see some of the same grounds of our Actings stirring in you that are in us, to quiet us to our work, and support us therein. Which hath had the greatest difficulty in our engagement in Scotland; by reason we have had to do with some who were, I verily think, Godly, but, through weakness and the subtlety of Satan, 'were' involved in Interests against the Lord and His People.

With what tenderness we have proceeded with such. and that in sincerity, our Papers (which I suppose you have seen) will in part manifest; and I give you some comfortable assurance of 'the same.' The Lord hath marvellously appeared even against them. * And now again when all the power was devolved into the Scottish King and the Malignant Party, - they invading England, the Lord rained upon them such snares as the Enclosed ** will show. Only the Narrative in short is this, That of their whole Army, when the Narrative was framed, not five men were returned.

[•] From Preston downward.
• Doubtless the Official Narrative of Worcester Battle; published about a week ago, as Preamble to the Act appointing a Day of Thankegiving; 26th September 1651; reprinted in Parliamentary History, xx. 50-65.

Surely, Sir, the Lord is greatly to be feared and to be praised! We need your prayers in this as much as ever. How shall we behave ourselves after such mercies? What is the Lord a-doing? What Prophecies are now fulfilling?* Who is a God like ours? To know His will, to do His will are both of Him.

I took this liberty from business, to salute you thus in a word. Truly I am ready to serve you and the rest of our Brethren and the Churches with you. I am a poor weak creature, and not worthy the name of a worm; yet accepted to serve the Lord and His People. Indeed, my dear Friend, between you and me, you know not me, — my weaknesses, my inordinate passions, my unskilfulness, and everyway unfitness to my work. Yet, yet the Lord, who will have mercy on whom He will, does as you see! Pray for me. Salute all Christian friends though unknown.

I rest,

Your affectionate friend to serve you, OLIVER CROMWELL. §

About this time, for there is no date to it but an evidently vague and erroneous one, was held the famous Conference of Grandees, called by request of Cromwell; of which Bulstrode has given record. Conference held "one day" at Speaker Lenthall's house in Chancery Lane, to decide among the leading Grandees of the Parliament and Army, How this Nation is to be settled,—the Long Parliament having now resolved on actually dismissing itself by and by. The question is really complex: one would gladly know what the leading Grandees did think of it; even what they found good to say upon it! Unhappily our learned Bulstrode's report of this Conference is very dim, very languid: nay Bulstrode, as we have found

[•] See Psalm Hundred-and tenth.

[§] Harris, p. 518; Birch's Original, — copied in Additional Ayscough mss. no. 4156, § 70.

elsewhere, has a kind of dramaturgic turn in him, indeed an occasional poetic friskiness; most unexpected, as if the hippopotamus should show a tendency to dance; - which painfully deducts from one's confidence in Bulstrode's entire accuracy on such occasions! Here and there the multitudinous Paper Masses of learned Bulstrode do seem to smack a little of the date when he redacted them, - posterior to the Ever-blessed Restoration, not prior to it. We shall, nevertheless, excerpt this dramaturgic Report of Conference: the reader will be willing to examine, with his own eyes, even as in a glass darkly, any feature of that time; and he can remember always that a learned Bulstrode's fat terrene mind, imaging a heroic Cromwell and his affairs, is a very dark glass indeed!

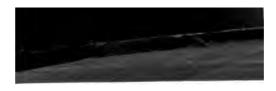
The Speakers in this Conference, — Desborow, Oliver's Brother-in-law: Whalley, Oliver's Cousin: fanatical Harrison. tough St. John, my learned Lord Keeper or Commissioner Whitlocke himself, — are mostly known to us. Learned Widdrington, the mellifluous orator, once Lord Commissioner too, and like to be again, though at present "excused from it owing to scruples," will by and by become better known to us. A mellifluous, unhealthy, seemingly somewhat scrupulous and timorous man.* He is of the race of that Widdrington whom we still lament in doleful dumps, - but does not fight upon the stumps like him. There were "many other Gentlemen"

who merely listened.

"Upon the defeat at Worcester," says Bulstrode vaguely,** "Cromwell desired a Meeting with divers Members of Parlia-"ment, and some chief Officers of the Army, at the Speaker's "house. And a great many being there, he proposed to them, "That now the old King being dead, and his Son being "defeated, he held it necessary to come to a Settlement of the "Nation. And in order thereunto, had requested this Meeting: "that they together might consider and advise, What was fit "to be done, and to be presented to the Parliament.

Wood, in voce.

[•] Whitlocke, p. 491; the date, 10th December 1651, is that of the Paper merely, and as applied to the Conference itself cannot be correct.



1651.] CONFERENCE AT LENTHALL'S.

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"SPEAKER. My Lord, this Company were very ready to "attend your Excellence, and the business you are pleased to "propound to us is very necessary to be considered. God hath "given marvellous success to our Forces under your command; "and if we do not improve these mercies to some Settlement, "such as may be to God's honour, and the good of this Com-"monwealth, we shall be very much blameworthy.

"Harrison. I think that which my Lord General hath "propounded, is, To advise as to a Settlement both of our "Civil and Spiritual Liberties; and so, that the mercies which "the Lord hath given-in to us may not be cast away. How "this may be done is the great question.

"Whitlocke. It is a great question indeed, and not "suddenly to be resolved! Yet it were pity that a meeting of "so many able and worthy persons as I see here, should be "fruitless.— I should humbly offer, in the first place, Whether "it be not requisite to be understood in what way this Settle-"ment is desired? Whether of an absolute Republic, or with "any mixture of Monarchy.

"CROMWELL. My Lord Commissioner Whitlocke hath put "us upon the right point: and indeed it is my meaning, that "we should consider, Whether a Republic, or a mixed Mon-"archical Government will be best to be settled? And if "anything Monarchical, then, In whom that power shall be "placed?

"SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON. I think a mixed Monarchical "Government will be most suitable to the Laws and People "of this Nation. And if any Monarchical, I suppose we shall "hold it most just to place that power in one of the Sons of the "late King.

"COLONEL FLEETWOOD. I think that the question, Whether "an absolute Republic, or a mixed Monarchy, be best to be "settled in this Nation, will not be very easy to be determined!

"LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE ST. JOHN. It will be found, that the "Government of this Nation, without something of Mon"archical power, will be very difficult to be so settled as not

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"to shake the foundation of our Laws, and the Liberties of "the People.

"SPEAKEE. It will breed a strange confusion to settle a "Government of this Nation without something of Monarchy.

"COLONEL DESECTION. I beseech you, my Lord, why may not this, as well as other Nations, be governed in the way of

"a Republic?

"Whitlocke. The Laws of England are so interwoven "with the power and practice of Monarchy, that to settle a "Government without something of Monarchy in it, would "make so great an alteration in the Proceedings of our Law, "that you will scarce have time to rectify it, nor can we well "foresee the inconveniences which will arise thereby.

"Colonel Whaller. I do not well understand matters of "Law: but it seems to me the best way, Not to have anything "of Monarchical power in the Settlement of our Government. "And if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch "upon? The King's Eldest Son hath been in arms against us,

"and his Second Son ** likewise is our enemy.

"SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON. But the late King's Third "Son, the Duke of Gloucester, is still among us; and too young "to have been in arms against us, or infected with the prin-"ciples of our enemies.

"Whitlocke. There may be a day given for the King's "Eldest Son, *** or for the Duke of York his Brother, to come in "to the Parliament. And upon such terms as shall be thought "fit, and agreeable both to our Civil and Spiritual liberties, a "Settlement may be made with them.

"CROMWELL. That will be a business of more than ordinary "difficulty! But really I think, if it may be done with safety,

Between this and November 1654.

^{**} James; who has fied to the Continent some time ago, "in women's clothes," with one Colonel Bamfield, and is getting fast into Papistry and other confusions.

^{***} Charles Stuart: "a day" for him, upon whose head there was, not many weeks ago, a Reward of 1000!.? Did you actually say this, my learned friend? Or merely strive to think, and redact, at an after-period, that you had said it, — that you had thought it, meant to say it, which was virtually all the same, in a case of difficulty!

"and preservation of our Rights, both as Englishmen and as "Christians, That a Settlement with somewhat of Monarchical "power in it would be very effectual."

Much other discourse there was, says my learned friend;—but amounting to little. The Lawyers all for a mixed Government, with something of Monarchy in it; tending to call in one of the King's Sons, — I especially tending that way; secretly loyal in the worst of times. The Soldiers again were all for a Republic; thinking they had had enough of the King and his Sons. My Lord General always checked that secret-loyalty of mine, and put off the discussion of the King's Son; yet did not declare himself for a Republic either; — was indeed, as my terrene fat mind came at length to image him, merely "fishing for men's opinions," and for provender to himself and his appetites, as I in the like case should have been doing! — The Conference broke up, with what of "fish" in this kind my Lord General had taken, and no other result arrived at.

Many Conferences held by my Lord General have broken up so. Four years ago, he ended one in King Street by playfully "flinging a cushion" at a certain solid head of our acquaintance, and running down stairs.* Here too it became ultimately clear to the solid head that he had been "fishing." Alas, a Lord General has many Conferences to hold; and in self in a very strange manner! — The candid imagination, busy to shape out some conceivable Oliver in these Nineteen months, will accept thankfully the following small indubitabilities, or glimpses of definite events.

December 8th, 1651. In the beginning of December (Whitlocke dates it 8th December) came heavy tidings over from Ireland, dark and heavy in the house of Oliverespecially: that Deputy Ireton, worn out with sleepless Irish services, had caught an inflammatory fever, and suddenly died. Fell sick on the 16th of November 1651; died, at Limerick, on the 26th.* The reader remembers Bridget Ireton, the young wife at Cornbury: ** she is now Widow Ireton; a sorrowful bereaved woman. One brave heart and subtle-working brain has ended: to the regret of all the brave. A man able with his pen and his sword; "very stiff in his ways."

Dryasdust, who much loves the brave Ireton in a rather blind way, intimates that Ireton's "stern virtue" would probably have held Cromwell in awe; that had Ireton lived, there had probably been no sacrilege against the Constitution on Oliver's part. A probability of almost no weight, my erudite friend. The "stern virtue" of Ireton was not sterner on occasion than that of Oliver; the probabilities of Ireton's disapproving what Oliver did, in the case alluded to, are very small, resting on solid Ludlow mainly; and as to those of Ireton's holding Cromwell "in awe," in this or in any matter he had himself decided to do, I think we may safely reckon them at zero, my erudite friend!

Lambert, now in Scotland, was appointed Deputy in Ireton's room; and meant to go; but did not. Some say the Widow Ireton, irritated that the beautiful and showy Lady Lambert should already "take precedence of her in St. James's Park," frustrated the scheme: what we find certain is, That Lambert did not go, that Fleetwood went; and farther, that the Widow Ireton in due time became Wife of the Widower Fleetwood: the rest hangs vague in the head of zealous Mrs. Hutchinson, solid Ludlow, and empty Rumour. *** Ludlow, already on the spot, does the Irish duties in the interim. Ireton has solemn Public Funeral in England; copious moneys settled on his Widow and Family; all honours paid to him, for his own sake and his Father-in-law's.

March 25th, 1652. Above two years ago, when this Rump Parliament was in the flush of youthful vigour, it decided on reforming the Laws of England, and appointed a working

Wood, iii. 300; Whitlocke, p. 491. — Letter (Oliver to his Sister) in Appendix, No. 25.

^{**} Letter XLI. vol. i. p. 258; and antea, vol. ii. p. 353.
** Hutchinson's Memoirs (London, 1896), p. 195; Ludlow, pp. 414, 449,
450, &c.

1652.] LAW-REFORMS.

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Committee for that object, our learned friend Bulstrode one of them. Which working Committee finding the job heavy, gradually languished; and after some Acts for having Lawproceedings transacted in the English tongue, and for other improvements of the like magnitude, died into comfortable sleep. On my Lord General's return from Worcester, it had been poked up again; and, now rubbing its eyes, set to work in good earnest; got a subsidiary Committee appointed, of Twenty-one persons not members of this House at all, To say and suggest what improvements were really wanted: such improvements they the working Committee would then, with all the readiness in life, effectuate and introduce in the shape of specific Acts. Accordingly, on March 25th, first day of the new year 1652, learned Bulstrode, in the name of this working Committee, reports that the subsidiary Committee has suggested a variety of things: among others, some improvement in our method of Transferring Property, - of enabling poor John Doe, who finds at present a terrible difficulty in doing it. to inform Richard Roe, "I John Doe do, in very fact, sell to "thee Richard Roe, such and such a Property, - according "to the usual human meaning of the word sell; and it is "hereby, let me again assure thee, indisputably sold to thee "Richard, by me John:" which, my learned friend thinks, might really be an improvement. To which end he will introduce an Act: nay there shall farther be an Act for the "Registry of Deeds in each County," - if it please Heaven. "Neglect to register your Sale of Land in this promised "County-Register within a given time," enacts the learned Bulstrode, "such Sale shall be void. Be exact in registering "it, the Land shall not be subject to any incumbrance." Incumbrance: ves. but what is "incumbrance?" asks all the working Committee, with wide eyes, when they come actually to sit upon this Bill of Registry, and to hatch it into some kind of perfection: What is "incumbrance?" No mortal can tell. They sit debating it, painfully sifting it, "for three months;"*

Ludlow, i. 430; Parliamentary History, xx. 84; Commons Journals, vii. 67, 110, &c.

three months by Booker's Almanac, and the Zodiac Horologe: March violets have become June roses; and still they debate what "incumbrance" is; — and indeed, I think could never fix it at all; and are perhaps debating it, if so doomed, in some twilight foggy section of Dante's Nether World, to all Eternity, at this hour! — Are not these a set of men likely to reform English Law? Likely these to strip the accumulated owl-droppings and foul guano-mountains from your rockisland, and lay the reality bare, — in the course of Eternities! The wish waxes livelier in Colonel Pride that he could see a certain addition made to the Scots Colours hung in Westminster Hall yonder.

I add only, for the sake of Chronology, that on the fourth day after this appearance of Bulstrode as a Law-reformer, occurred the famous Black Monday; fearfullest eclipse of the Sun ever seen by mankind. Came on about nine in the morning; darker and darker: ploughmen unyoked their teems, stars came out, birds sorrowfully chirping took to roost, men in amazement to prayers: a day of much obscurity; Black Monday, or Mirk Monday, 29th March 1652.* Much noised of by Lilly, Booker, and the buzzard Astrologer tribe. Betokening somewhat? Belike that Bulstrode and this Parliament will, in the way of Law-reform and otherwise, make a Practical Gospel, or real Reign of God, in this England?—

July 9th, 1652. A great external fact which, no doubt, has its effect on all internal movements, is the War with the Dutch. The Dutch, ever since our Death-Warrant to Charles First, have looked askance at this New Commonwealth, which wished to stand well with them; and have accumulated offence on offence against it. Ambassador Dorislaus was assassinated in their country; Charles Second was entertained there; evasive slow answers were given to tough St. John, who went over as new Ambassador: to which St. John responding with great directness, in a proud, brief and very emphatic manner, took his leave, and came home again. Came home again; and

^{*} Balfour, iv. 349; Law's Memorials, p. 6.

passed the celebrated Navigation Act, * forbidding that any goods should be imported into England except either in English ships or in ships of the country where the goods were produced. Thereby terribly maining the "Carrying Trade of the Dutch;" and indeed, as the issue proved, depressing the Dutch Maritime Interest not a little, and proportionally elevating that of England. Embassies in consequence, from their irritated High Mightinesses; sea-fightings in consequence; and much negotiating, apologising, and bickering mounting ever higher: - which at length, at the date above given, issues in declared War. Dutch War: cannonadings and fierce sea-fights in the narrow seas; land-soldiers drafted to fight on shipboard; and land-officers, Blake, Dean, Monk, who became very famous sea-officers; Blake a thrice-famous one; - poor Dean lost his life in this business. They doggedly beat the Dutch, and again beat them: their best Van Tromps and De Ruyters could not stand these terrible Puritan Sailors and Gunners. The Dutch gradually grew tame. The public mind, occupied with sea-fights and sea-victories, finds again that the New Representative must be patiently waited for; that this is not a time for turning out the old Representative, which has so many affairs on its hands.

But the Dutch War brings another consequence in the train of it: renewed severity against Delinquents. The necessities of cash for this War are great: indeed the grand business of Parliament at present seems to be that of Finance, — finding of sinews for such a War. Any remnants of Royal lands, of Dean-and-Chapter lands, — sell them by rigorous auction; the very lead of the Cathedrals one is tempted to sell; nay almost the Cathedrals themselves, ** if any one would buy them. The necessities of the Finance Department are extreme. Money, money: our Blakes and Monks, in deadly wrestle with the Dutch, must have money!

Estates of Delinquents, one of the readiest resources from

Introduced, 5th August 1651; passed, 9th October 1651: given in Secobell, it. 176.
 Parliamentary History, xx. 90.

of old, cannot, in these circumstances, be forgotten. out Delinquents: in every County make stringent inquest after them! Many, in past years, have made light settlements with lax Committee-men: neighbours, not without pity for them. Many of minor sort have been overlooked altogether. Bring them up, every Delinquent of them; up hither to the Rhadsmanthus-bar of Goldsmiths' Hall and Haberdashers' Hall; sift them, search them; riddle the last due sixpence out of them. The Commons Journals of these months have formidable elllong Lists of Delinquents; List after List; who shall, on rigorous terms, be ordered to compound. Poor unknown Royalist Squires, from various quarters of England; whose names and surnames excite now no notion in us except that of No. 1 and No. 2: my Lord General has seen them "crowdiag by thirties and forties in a morning" about these Haberdasher-Grocer Halls of Doom, with haggard expression of countenance; soliciting, from what austere official person they can get a word of, if not mercy, yet at least swift judgment. In a way which affected my Lord General's feelings. We have now the third year of Peace in our borders: is this what you call Settlement of the Nation?

LETTER CLXXXV.

THE following Letter "to my honoured Friend Mr. Hungerford the Elder," which at any rate by order of time introduces itself here, has probably some reference to these Committee businesses:—at all events, there hangs by it a little tale.

Some six miles from Bath, in the direction towards Salisbury, are to be seen, "on the northeast slope of a rocky height called Farley Hill," the ruins of an old Castle, once well known by the name of Farley Montfort, or Farley Hungerford: Mansion once of the honourable Family of Hungerfords, while there was such a Family. The Hungerfords are extinct above a century ago; and their Mansion stands there as a Ruin, knowing little of them any more. But it chanced, long since,

^{*} Speech, poster.

before the Ruin became quite roofless, some Land-Steward or Agent of a new Family, tapping and poking among the melancholy lumber there. — found "an old loose Chest" shoved loosely "under the old Chapel-altar;" and bethought him of opening the same. Masses of damp dust: unclean accumulation of beetle-and-spider exuviæ, to the conceivable amount: under these certain bundles of rubbish-papers, extinct leaserecords, marriage-contracts, all extinct now, - among which, however, were Two Letters bearing Oliver Cromwell's signature. These Two the Land-Steward carefully copied, thanks to him; - and here, out of Collinson's History of Somersetshire, the first of them now is. Very dark to the Land-Steward, to Collinson, and to us. For the Hungerfords are extinct; their Name and Family, like their old Mansion, a mouldering ruin, - almost our chief light in regard to it, the Two little bits of Paper, rescued from the old Chest under the Chapel-altar, in that romantic manner! -

There were three Hungerfords in Parliament; all for Wiltshire constituencies. Sir Edward, "Knight of the Bath," Puritan original Member for Chippenham; Lord of this Mansion of Farley, as we find: * then Henry, Esq., "recruiter" for Bedwin since 1646: probably a cadet of the House, perhaps heir to it: both these are now "secluded Members;" purged away by Pride; nay it seems Sir Edward was already dead, about the time of Pride's Purge. The third, Anthony Hungerford, original Member for Malmesbury, declared for the King in 1642; was of course disabled, cast into the Tower when caught; - made his composition, by repentance and due fine, "fine of 2,5321.," in 1646,** when the First Civil War ended; and has lived ever since a quiet repentant man. He is of "Blackbourton in Oxfordshire," this Anthony; but I judge by his Parliamentary connexion and other circumstances, likewise a cadet of the House of Farley. Of him by and by, when we arrive at the next Letter.

For the present, with regard to Sir Edward, lord of the

Collinson (iii. 857 n.) gives his Epitaph copied from the old Chapel,
 hat is very dark and even self-contradictory in what he says farther.
 Commons Journals, iv. 565 (5th June 1646); ib. iii. 526, &c.

Farley Mansion, we have to report, by tremulous but authentic lights, that he stood true for the Parliament; had controversies, almost duels, in behalf of it; among other services. lent it 500%. Furthermore, that he is now dead, "died in 1648;" and that his Widow cannot yet get payment of that 500/.; that she is yet only struggling to get a Committee to sit upon it. * One might guess, but nobody can know, that this Note was addressed to Henry Hungerford, in reference to that business of Sir Edward's Widow. Or possibly it may be Anthony Hungerford, the repentant Royalist, that is now the "Elder Hungerford;" a man with whom the Lord General is not without relations? Unimportant to us. either way. A hasty Note, on some "business" now unknown, about which an unknown "gentleman" has been making inquiry and negotiation; for the answer to which an unknown "servant" of some "Mr. Hungerford the Elder" is waiting in the hall of Oliver's House, - the Cockpit, I believe, at this date: - in such faintly luminous state, revealing little save its own existence, must this small Document be left.

For my honoured Friend Mr. Hungerford the Elder, at his House: These.

Sir,

'London', 30th July 1652.

I am very sorry my occasions will not permit me to return** to you as I would. I have not yet fully spoken with the Gentleman I sent to wait upon you; when I shall do it, I shall be enabled to be more particular. Being unwilling to detain your servant any longer, — with my service to your Lady and Family, I take my leave and rest,

Your affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

^{*} Committee got, 18th February 1652-3, "the Lord General" Cromwell in it (Commons Journals, vil. 260): Danger of Duel (ib. ii. 928, 981; iii. 185, January—June 1643). See ib. iv. 161, v. 618, &c.

[§] Collinson's History of Somersetshire (Bath, 1791), iii. 357 (Note). — Appendix, No. 27.



1652.] THE RUMP.

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It is a sad reflection with my Lord General, in this Hungerford and other businesses, that the mere justice of any matter will so little avail a man in Parliament: you can make no way till you have got up some party on the subject there!* In fact, red-tape has, to a lamentable extent, tied up the souls of men in this Parliament of the Commonwealth of England. They are becoming hacks of office; a savour of Godliness still on their lips, but seemingly not much deeper with some of I begin to have a suspicion they are no Parliament! If the Commonwealth of England had not still her Army Parliament, rigorous devout Council of Officers, men in right lifeand-death earnest, who have spent their blood in this Cause, who in case of need can assemble and act again, - what would become of the Commonwealth of England? Earnest persons, from this quarter and that, make petition to the Lord General and Officers, That they would be pleased to take the matter in hand, and see right done. To which the Lord General and Officers answer always: Wait, be patient: the Parliament itself will vet do it.

What the "state of the Gospel in Wales" is, in Wales or elsewhere. I cannot with any accuracy ascertain: but see well that this Parliament has shown no zeal that way; has shackled rather, and tied-up with its sorrowful red-tape the movements of men that had any zeal. ** Lamentable enough. The light of the Everlasting Truth was kindled; and you do not fan the sacred flame, you consider it a thing which may be left to itself! Unhappy: and for what did we fight then, and wrestle with our souls and our bodies as in strong agony; besieging Heaven with our prayers, and Earth and its Strengths, from Naseby on to Worcester, with our pikes and cannon? Was it to put an Official Junto of some Threescore Persons into the high saddle in England; and say, Ride ye? They would need to be Threescore beautifuller men! Our blood shed like water, our brethren's bones whitening a hundred fields; Tredah Storm, Dunbar death-agony, and God's voice from the battlewhirlwind: did they mean no more but you! - My Lord

[.] Speech , postea.



PART VII. THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT. [30 July

General urges us always to be patient: Patience, the Parliament itself will yet do it. That is what we shall see!—

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On the whole, it must be seriously owned by every reader, this present Fag-end of a Parliament of England has failed altogether to realise the high dream of those old Puritan hearts. "Incumbrance," it appears, cannot in the abstract be defined: but if you would know in the concrete what it is, look there! The thing we fought for, and gained as if by miracle, it is ours this long while, and yet not ours; within grasp of us, it lies there unattainable, enchanted under Parliamentary formulas. Enemies are swept away; extinguished as in the brightness of the Lord: and no Divine Kingdom, and no clear incipiency of such, has yet in any measure come!—These are sorrowful reflections.

For, alas, such high dream is difficult to realise! Not the Stuart I) ynasty alone that opposes it; all the Dynasties of the Dovil, the whole perversions of this poor Earth, without us and within us, oppose it. — Yea, answers with a sigh the heart of my Lord General: Yea, it is difficult, and thrice difficult; — and yet woe to us, if we do not with our whole soul try it, make some clear beginning of it; if we sit defining "incumbrances," instead of bending every muscle to the wheel that is encumbered! Who art thou that standest still; that having put-to thy hand, turnest back? In these years of miracle in England, were there not great things, as if by divine voices, audibly promised? "The Lord said unto my Lord!" — And is it all to end here? In Juntos of Threescore; in Grocers-Hall Committees, in red-tape, and official shakings of the head? —

My Lord General, are there no voices, dumb voices from the depths of poor England's heart, that address themselves to you, even you? My Lord General hears voices; and would fain distinguish and discriminate them. Which, in all these, is the God's voice? That were the one to follow. My Lord General, I think, has many meditations, of a very mixed, and some of a very abstruse nature, in these months.

August 13th, 1652. This day came a "Petition from the

Officers of my Lord General's Army," which a little alarmed us. Petition craving for some real reform of the Law; some real attempt towards setting up a Gospel Ministry in England; real and general ousting of scandalous, incompetent and plainly diabolic persons from all offices of Church and State: real beginning, in short, of a Reign of Gospel Truth in this England; — and for one thing, a swift progress in that most slow-going Bill for a New Representative; an actual ending of this present Fag-end of a Parliament, which has now sat very long! So, in most respectful language, prays this Petition * of the Officers. Petition prefaced, they say, with earnest prayer to God: that was the preface or prologue they gave it; - what kind of epilogue they might be prepared to give it, one does not learn: but the men carry swords at their sides; and we have known them! - "Many thought this kind of Pe-"tition dangerous; and counselled my Lord General to put a "stop to the like: but he seemed to make light of it," says Bulstrode. In fact, my Lord General does not disapprove of it: my Lord General, after much abstruse meditation, has decided on putting himself at the head of it. He, and a serious minority in Parliament, and in England at large, think with themselves, once more. If it were not for this Army Parliament. what would become of us? - Speaker Lenthall "thanked" these Officers, with a smile which I think must have been of the grimmest, like that produced in certain animals by the act of eating thistles.

September 14th, 1652. The somnolent slow-going Bill for a New Representative, which has slept much, and now and then pretended to move a little, for long years past, is resuscitated by this Petition; comes out, rubbing its eyes, disposed for decided activity; — and in fact sleeps no more; cannot think of sleep any more, the noise round it waxing ever louder. Settle how your Representative shall be; for be it

now actually must!

This Bill, which has slept and waked so long, does not sleep again: but, How to settle the conditions of the New Re-

presentative? — there is a question! My Lord General will have good security against "the Presbyterial Party" that they come not into power again; good security against the redtape Party, that they sit not for three months defining an incumbrance again. How shall we settle the New Representative; — on the whole, what or how shall we do? For the old stagnancy is verily broken up: these petitioning Army Officers, with all the earnest armed and unarmed men of England in the rear of them, have verily torn us from our moorings; and we do go adrift, — with questionable havens, on starboard and larboard, very difficult of entrance; with Mahlstroms and Niagaras very patent right ahead! We are become to mankind a Rump Parliament; sit here we cannot much longer; and we know not what to do!

"During the month of October, some ten or twelve conferences took place," - private conferences between the Army Officers and the Leaders of the Parliament: wherein nothing could be agreed upon. Difficult to settle the New Representative; impossible for this Old Misrepresentative or Rump to continue! What shall or can be done? Summon, without popular intervention, by earnest selection on your and our part, a Body of godly wise Men, the Best and Wisest we can find in England; to them entrust the whole question; and do you abdicate, and depart straightway, say the Officers. Forty good Men, or a Hundred-and-forty; choose them well, - they will define an incumbrance in less than three months, we may hope, and tell us what to do! Such is the notion of the Army Officers, and my Lord General; a kind of Puritan "Convention of the Notables," so the French would call it; to which the Parliament Party see insuperable objections. What other remedy, then? The Parliament Party mournfully insinuate that there is no remedy, except, - except continuance of the present Rump!*

November 7th, 1652. "About this time," prior or posterior to it, while such conferences and abstruse considerations are in progress, my Lord General, walking once in St. James's

Park, beckons the learned Bulstrode, who is also there: strolls gradually aside with him, and begins one of the most important Dialogues. Whereof learned Bulstrode has preserved some record: which is unfortunately much dimmed by just suspicion of dramaturgy on the part of Bulstrode; and shall not be excerpted by us here. It tends conspicuously to show, first, how Cromwell already entertained most alarming notions of "making oneself a King," and even wore them pinned on his sleeve, for the inspection of the learned; and secondly, how Bulstrode, a secret-royalist in the worst of times, advised him by no means to think of that, but to call in Charles Stuart, — who had an immense popularity among the Powerful in England just then! "My Lord General did not "in words express any anger, but only by looks and carriage; "and turned aside from me to other company," - as this Editor, in quest of certainty and insight, and not of doubt and fat drowsy pedantry, will now also do!

LETTER CLXXXVI.

HERE, from the old Chest of Farley Castle, is the other Hungerford Letter; and a dim glance into the domesticities again. Anthony Hungerford, as we saw, was the Royalist Hungerford, of Blackbourton in Oxfordshire: once Member for Malmesbury; who has been living these six or seven years past in a repentant wholesomely secluded state. "Cousin Dunch" is young Mrs. Dunch of Pusey, once Ann Mayor of Hursley; she lives within visiting distance of Blackbourton, when at Pusey; does not forget old neighbours while in Town, - and occasionally hears gloomy observations from them. "Your Lord General is become a great man now!" - From the Answer to which we gather at least one thing: That the "offer of a very great Proposition" as to Son Richard's marriage, which we once obscurely heard of.* was, to all appearance, made by this Anthony Hungerford, - perhaps in behalf of his kinsman Sir Edward, who, as he had no Son, **

^{*} Antea, vol. i. p. 805.

Epitaph in Collinson's Somersetshire.

might have a Daughter that would be a very great Proposition to a young man. Unluckily "there was not that assurance of Godliness" that seemed to warrant it: however. the nobleness of the Overture is never to be forgotten.

For my honoured Friend Anthony Hungerford, Esquire: These.

Cockpit, 10th December 1652.

I understand, by my Cousin Dunch, of so much trouble of yours, and so much unhandsomeness (at least seeming so) on my part, as doth not a little afflict me, until I give you this account of my innocency.

She was pleased to tell my Wife of your often resorts to my house to visit me, and of your disappointments. Truly, Sir, had I but once known of your being there, and "had concealed myself," it had been an action so below a gentleman or an honest man. so full of ingratitude for your civilities I have received from you, as would have rendered me unworthy of human society! Believe me, Sir, I am much ashamed that the least colour of the appearance of such a thing should have happened; and 'I' could not take satisfaction but by this plain-dealing for my justification, which I ingenuously offer you. And although Providence did not dispose other matters to our mutual satisfaction, yet your nobleness in that Overture obligeth me, and I hope ever shall whilst I live, to study upon all occasions to approve myself your Family's and your Most affectionate and humble servant.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

My Wife and I desire our service be presented to your Lady and Family. §

Oliver Cromwell's Memoirs of the Protector (3d edition, London, 1822), ii. 488; see Collinson's History of Somersetshire, iii. 357 (Note).

LETTER CLXXXVII.

SEEMINGLY belonging to the same neighbourhood is the following altogether domestic Letter to Fleetwood; which still survives in Autograph; but has no date whatever, and no indication that will enable us to fix its place with perfect exactness. Fleetwood's Commission for Ireland is dated 10th July 1652;* the precise date of his marriage with Bridget Ireton, of his departure for Ireland, or of any ulterior proceedings of his, is not recoverable, in those months. Henry Cromwell, too, we know only that he sat in the Little Parliament; and, indisputably therefore, was home from Ireland before summer next. From the total silence as to Public Affairs, in this Letter, it may be inferred that nothing decisive had yet been done or resolved upon; - that through this strange old Autograph, as through a dim Horn-Gate (not of Dreams but of Realities), we are looking into the interior of the Cromwell Lodging, and the Cromwell heart, in the Winter of 1652.

For the Right Honourable Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland: These.

DEAR CHARLES,

'Cockpit, -- 1652.'

I thank you for your loving Letter. The same hopes and desires, upon your planting into my Family, were much the same in me that you express in yours towards me. However, the dispensation of the Lord is, to have it otherwise for the present; and therein I desire to acquiesce; — not being out of hope that it may lie in His good pleasure, in His time, to give us the mutual comfort of our relation: the want whereof He is able abundantly to supply by His own presence; which indeed makes up all defects, and is the comfort of all our comforts and enjoyments.

Salute your dear Wife from me. Bid her beware of a bondage spirit.* Fear is the natural issue of such a spirit; — the antidote is, Love. The voice of Fear is: If I had done this; if I had avoided that, how well it had been with me! — I know this hath been her vain reasoning: 'poor Biddy!'

Love argueth in this wise: What a Christ have I; what a Father in and through Him! What a Name hath my Father: Merciful, gracious, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth; forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin. What a Nature hath my Father: He is Love; — free in it, unchangeable, infinite! What a Covenant between Him and Christ, — for all the Seed, for every one: wherein He undertakes all, and the poor Soul nothing. The new Covenant is Grace, — to or upon the Soul; to which it, 'the Soul,' is passive and receptive: I'll do away their sins; I'll write my Law, &c.; I'll put it in their hearts: they shall never depart from me, &c.**

This commends the Love of God: it's Christ dying for men without strength, for men whilst sinners, whilst enemies. And shall we seek for the root of our comforts within us, — What God hath done, what He is to us in Christ, is the root of our comfort: in this is stability; in us is weakness. Acts of obedience are not perfect, and therefore yield not perfect Grace. Faith, as an act, yields it not; but 'only' as it carries us into Him, who is our perfect rest and peace; in whom we are accounted of, and received by, the Father,

A Secretary has written hitherto; the Lord General now begins, himself, with a new pen.

^{**} Has been crowding, for the last line or two, very close upon the bottom of the page; finds now that it will not do; and takes to the margin.

1652.



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— even as Christ Himself. This is our high calling. Rest we here, and here only.*

Commend me to Harry Cromwell: I pray for him, That he may thrive, and improve in the knowledge and love of Christ. Commend me to all the Officers. My prayers indeed are daily for them. Wish them to beware of bitterness of spirit; and of all things uncomely for the Gospel. The Lord give you abundance of wisdom, and faith and patience. Take heed also of your natural inclination to compliance.

Pray for me. I commit you to the Lord; and rest, Your loving father,

OLIVER CROMWELL, **

The Boy and Betty are very well. Show what kindness you well may to Colonel Clayton, to my nephew Gregory, to Claypole's Brother. §

And so the miraculous Horn-Gate, not of Dreams but of Realities and old dim Domesticities, closes again, into totally opaque; — and we return to matters public.

December 1652 — March 1653. The Dutch War prospers and has prospered, Blake and Monk beating the Dutch in tough seafights; Delinquents, monthly Assessments, and the lead of Cathedrals furnishing the sinews: the Dutch are about sending Ambassadors to treat of Peace. With home affairs, again, it goes not so well. Through winter, through spring, that Bill for a New Representative goes along in its slow

[•] Even so, my noble one! The noble soul will, one day, again come to understand these old words of yours.

** Has exhausted the long broad margin; inverts now, and writes

atop.

§ Ayscough MSS. no. 4165, f. 1. On the inner or blank leaf of this curious old Sheet are neatly pasted two square tiny bits of Paper; on one of them, "Pairfax" in autograph; on the other these words: "God blesse the now Lord Protector;" and crosswise, "Marquis Worcester writt it;" — concerning which Marquis, once "Lord Herbert," see antea, vol. iii, p. 57.



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PART VIL THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT.

April

gestation; reappearing Wednesday after Wednesday; painfully struggling to take a shape that shall fit both parties, Parliament Grandees and Army Grandees both at once. A thing difficult; a thing impossible! Parliament Grandees, now become a contemptible Rump, wish they could grow into a Reputable Full Parliament again, and have the Government and the Governing Persons go on as they are now doing: this naturally is their wish. Naturally too the Army Party's wish is the reverse of this: that a Full free Parliament, with safety to the Godly Interests, and due subordination of the Presbyterian and other factions, should assemble; but also that the present Governing Persons, with their red-tape habits unable to define an incumbrance in three months, should for most part be out of it. Impossible to shape a Bill that will fit both of these Parties: Tom Thumb and the Irish Giant, you cannot, by the art of Parliamentary tailoring, clip out a coat that will fit them both! We can fancy "conferences," considerations deep and almost awful; my Lord General looking forward to possibilities that fill even him with fear. Puritan Notables they will not have; these present Governing men are clear against that: not Puritan Notables: — and if they themselves, by this new Bill or otherwise, insist on staying there, what is to become of them?

Dryasdust laments that this invaluable Bill, now in process of gestation, is altogether lost to Posterity; no copy even of itself, much less any record of the conferences, debates, or contemporaneous considerations on it, attainable even in fractions by mankind. Much is lost, my erudite friend; — and we must console ourselves! The substantial essence of the Bill came out afterwards into full practice, in Oliver's own Parliaments. The present form of the Bill, I do clearly perceive, had one clause, That all the Members of this present Rump should continue to sit without reelection; and still better, another, That they should be a general Election Committee, and have power to say to every new Member, "Thou "art dangerous, thou shalt not enter; go!" This clearly in the Bill: and not less clearly that the Lord General and Army

1652.] THE RUMP. 133

Party would in no wise have a Bill with this in it, — or indeed have any Bill that was to be the old story over again under a new name. So much, on good evidence, is very clear to me; — the rest, which is all obliterated, becomes not inconceivable. Cost what it may cost, this Rump Parliament, which has by its conduct abundantly "defined what an incumbrance is," shall go about its business. Terrible Voices, supernal and other, have said it, awfully enough, in the hearts of some men! Neither under its own shabby figure, nor under another more plausible, shall it guide the Divine Mercies and Miraculous Affairs of this Nation any farther.

The last of all the conferences was held at my Lord General's house in Whitehall, on Tuesday evening, 19th of April 1653. Above twenty leading Members of Parliament present. and many Officers. Conference of which we shall have some passing glimpse, from a sure hand, by and by.* Conference which came to nothing, as all the others had done. Your Bill, with these clauses and visible tendencies in it, cannot pass, says the one party: Your Scheme of Puritan Notables seems full of danger, says the other. What remedy? "No remedy except. - except that you leave us to sit as we are, for a while yet!" suggest the Official persons. — "In no wise!" answer the Officers, with a vehemence of look and tone, which my Lord General, seemingly anxious to do it, cannot repress. You must not, and cannot sit longer, say the Officers; - and their look says even, Shall not! Bulstrode went home to Chelsea. very late, with the tears in his big dull eyes, at thought of the courses men were getting into. Bulstrode and Widdrington were the most eager for sitting: Chief-Justice St. John, strange thing in a Constitutional gentleman, declared that there could be no sitting for us any longer. We parted, able to settle on nothing, except the engagement to meet here again tomorrow morning, and to leave the Bill asleep till something were settled on. "A leading person," Sir Harry Vane or another, undertook that nothing should be done in it till then.

Speech, postea; see also Whitlocke, p. 529.

Wednesday, 20th April 1653. My Lord General accordingly is in his reception-room this morning, "in plain black clothes and gray worsted stockings;" he, with many Officers: but few Members have yet come, though punctual Bulstrode and certain others are there. Some waiting there is: some impatience that the Members would come. The Members do not come: instead of Members, comes a notice that they are busy getting on with their Bill in the House, hurrying it doublequick through all the stages. Possible? New message that it will be Law in a little while, if no interposition take place! Bulstrode hastens off to the House: my Lord General, at first incredulous, does now also hasten off, - nay orders that a Company of Musketeers of his own regiment attend him. Hastens off, with a very high expression of countenance, I think; - saying or feeling: Who would have believed it of them? "It is not honest; yea, it is contrary to common honesty!" - My Lord General, the big hour is come!

Young Colonel Sidney, the celebrated Algernon, sat in the House this morning; a House of some Fifty-three.* Algernon has left distinct note of the affair; less distinct we have from Bulstrode, who was also there, who seems in some points to be even wilfully wrong. Solid Ludlow was far off in Ireland, but gathered many details in after-years; and faithfully wrote them down, in the unappeasable indignation of his heart. Combining these three originals, we have, after various perusals and collations and considerations, obtained the following authentic, moderately conceivable account: **

"The Parliament sitting as usual, and being in debate "upon the Bill with the amendments, which it was thought "would have been passed that day, the Lord General Crom-"well came into the House, clad in plain black clothes and "gray worsted stockings, and sat down, as he used to do, in "an ordinary place." For some time he listens to this in-

That is Cromwell's number; Ludlow, far distant, and not credible on this occasion, says "Eighty or a Hundred."
 Blencowe's Sidney Papers (London, 1825), pp. 139-41; Whitlocke, p. 529; Ludlow, ii. 456; — the last two are reprinted in Parliamentary History, xx. 128.

teresting debate on the Bill; beckoning once to Harrison, who came over to him, and answered dubitatingly. Whereupon the Lord General sat still, for about a quarter of an hour longer. But now the question being to be put, That this Bill do now pass, he beckons again to Harrison, says, "'This is "the time; I must do it!" — and so "rose up, put off his hat, "and spake. At the first, and for a good while, he spake to "the commendation of the Parliament for their pains and care "of the public good; but afterwards he changed his style, "told them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest, "and other faults," - rising higher and higher, into a very aggravated style indeed. An honourable Member, Sir Peter Wentworth by name, not known to my readers, and by me better known than trusted, rises to order, as we phrase it; says, "It is a strange language this; unusual within the walls of Parliament this! And from a trusted servant too; and one whom we have so highly honoured; and one" - ""Come, "come!" exclaims my Lord General in a very high key, "we "have had enough of this," - and in fact my Lord General now blazing all up into clear conflagration, exclaims, "'I will put an end to your prating," and steps forth into the floor of the House, and "clapping on his hat," and occasionally "stamping the floor with his feet," begins a discourse which no man can report! He says - Heavens! he is heard saving: "'It is not fit that you should sit here any longer!' You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing lately. 'You shall now give place to better men! — Call them in!" adds he briefly, to Harrison, in word of command: and "some "twenty or thirty" grim musketeers enter, with bullets in their snaphances; grimly prompt for orders; and stand in some attitude of Carry-arms there. Veteran men: men of might and men of war, their faces are as the faces of lions, and their feet are swift as the roes upon the mountains; - not beautiful to honourable gentlemen at this moment!

"You call yourselves a Parliament," continues my Lord General in clear blaze of conflagration: "'You are no Parliament; I say you are no Parliament! Some of you are drunkards," and his eye flashes on poor Mr. Chaloner. an official man of some value, addicted to the bottle; "some of you are -'" and he glares into Harry Marten, and the poor Sir Peter who rose to order, lewd livers both; "living in open contempt of God's Commandments. Following your own greedy appetites, and the Devil's Commandments. 'Corrupt unjust persons," and here I think he glanced "at Sir Bul-"strode Whitlocke, one of the Commissioners of the Great "Seal, giving him and others very sharp language, though he "named them not:" "Corrupt unjust persons; scandalous to the profession of the Gospel:' how can you be a Parliament for God's People? Depart, I say; and let us have done with In the name of God, - go!"

The House is of course all on its feet. — uncertain almost whether not on its head: such a scene as was never seen before in any House of Commons. History reports with a shudder that my Lord General, lifting the sacred Mace itself. said. "'What shall we do with this bauble? Take it away!" - and gave it to a musketeer. And now, - "Fetch him down!" says he to Harrison, flashing on the Speaker. Speaker Lenthall, more an ancient Roman than anything else, declares, He will not come till forced. "Sir," said Harrison, "I will lend you a hand;" on which Speaker Lenthall came down, and gloomily vanished. They all vanished; flooding gloomily clamorously out, to their ulterior businesses, and respective places of abode: the Long Parliament is dissolved! "'It's "you that have forced me to this," exclaims my Lord General: "'I have sought the Lord night and day, that He "would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this "work." "At their going out, some say the Lord General "said to young Sir Harry Vane, calling him by his name, That "he might have prevented this; but that he was a juggler, and "had not common honesty." "O Sir Harry Vane, thou with thy subtle casuistries and abstruse hair-splittings, thou art other than a good one, I think! 'The Lord deliver me from "thee, Sir Harry Vane!" "All being gone out, the door of "the House was locked, and the Key with the Mace, as I

"heard, was carried away by Colonel Otley;" — and it is all over, and the unspeakable Catastrophe has come, and remains.

Such was the destructive wrath of my Lord General Cromwell against the Nominal Rump Parliament of England. Wrath which innumerable mortals since have accounted extremely diabolic; which some now begin to account partly divine. Divine or diabolic, it is an indisputable fact; left for the commentaries of men. The Rump Parliament has gone its ways; — and truly, except it be in their own, I know not in what eyes are tears at their departure. They went very softly, softly as a Dream, say all witnesses. "We did not hear a dog bark at their going!" asserts my Lord General elsewhere.

It is said, my Lord General did not, on his entrance into the House, contemplate quite as a certainty this strong measure; but it came upon him like an irresistible impulse, or inspiration, as he heard their Parliamentary eloquence proceed. "Perceiving the spirit of God so strong upon me, I would no longer consult flesh and blood." "He has done it, at all events; and is responsible for the results it may have. A responsibility which he, as well as most of us, knows to be awful: but he fancies it was in answer to the English Nation, and to the Maker of the English Nation and of him; and he will do the best he may with it.

LETTER CLXXXVIII.

We have to add here an Official Letter, of small significance in itself, but curious for its date, the Saturday after this great Transaction, and for the other indications it gives. Except the Lord General, "Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces raised and to be raised," there is for the moment no Authority very clearly on foot in England; — though Judges, and all manner of Authorities whatsoever do, after some little preliminary parleying, consent to go on as before.

 Godwin, iii. 456 (who cites Echard; not much of an authority in such matters).

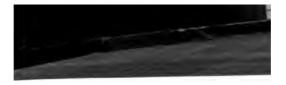
The Draining of the Fens had been resumed under better auspices when the War ended; and a new Company of Adventurers, among whom Oliver himself is one, are vigorously proceeding with a New Bedford Level. — the same that vet continues. A "Petition" of theirs addressed "To the Lord General," in these hasty hours, sets forth that upon the "20th of this instant April" (exactly while Oliver was turning out the Parliament), "about a Hundred and fifty persons," from the Towns of Swaffham and Botsham, - which Towns had petitioned about certain rights of theirs, and got clear promise of redress in fit time, - did "tumultuously assemble," to seek redress for themselves; did "by force expel your Petitioners' workmen from their diking and working in the said Fens;" did tumble-in again "the dikes by them made;" and in fine did peremptorily signify that if they or any other came again to dike in these Fens. it would be worse for them. "The evil effects of which" - are very apparent indeed. Whereupon this Official Letter, or Warrant; written doubtless in the press of much other business.

'To Mr. Parker, Agent for the Company of Adventurers for Draining the Great Level of the Fens.'

MR. PARKER, 'Whitehall,' 23d April 1653.

I hear some unruly persons have lately committed great outrages in Cambridgeshire, about Swaffham and Botsham, in throwing down the works making by the Adventurers, and menacing those they employ thereabout. Wherefore I desire you to send one of my Troops, with a Captain, who may by all means persuade the people to quiet, by letting them know, They must not riotously do anything, for that must not be suffered: but 'that' if there be any wrong done by the Adventurers, — upon complaint, such course shall be

^{*} Act for that object (Scobell, ii. 33), 29th May 1649.



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taken as appertains to justice, and right will be done. I rest.

> Your loving friend, OLIVER CROMWELL. §

The Declaration of the Lord General and his Council of Officers. * which came out on the Friday following the grand Catastrophe, does not seem to be of Oliver's composition: it is a Narrative of calm pious tone, of considerable length; promises, as a second Declaration still more explicitly does. * a Real Assembly of the Puritan Notables; - and on the whole can be imagined by the reader; nay we shall hear the entire substance of it from Oliver's own mouth, before long. Declarations and other details we omit. Conceive that all manner of Authorities, with or without some little preambling, agree to go on as heretofore; that adherences arrive from Land-Generals and Sea-Generals by return of post; that the old Council of State having vanished with its Mother, a new Interim Council of State, with "Oliver Cromwell Captain General" at the head of it, answers equally well; in a word, that all people are looking eagerly forward to those same "Known Persons, Men fearing God, and of approved Integrity," who are now to be got together from all quarters of England, to say what shall be done with this Commonwealth. — whom there is now no Fag-end of a corrupt Parliament to prevent just men from choosing with their best ability. Conceive all this; and read the following

SUMMONS.

FORASMUCH as, upon the dissolution of the late Parliament, it became necessary, that the peace, safety and good government of this Commonwealth should be

From the Records of the Fen Office, in Sergeants' Inn. London;
 communicated, with other Papers relating thereto, by Samuel Wells, Esq.
 22d April, Cromwelliana, p. 120.
 50th April, Cromwelliana, p. 122.

provided for: And in order thereunto, divers Persons fearing God, and of approved Fidelity and Honesty, are, by myself with the advice of my Council of Officers, nominated; to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed: And having good assurance of your love to, and courage for, God and the interest of His Cause, and 'that' of the good

People of this Commonwealth:

I. Oliver Cromwell, Captain General and Commander in-Chief of all the Armies and Forces raised and to be raised within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require You, ---, being one of the Persons nominated, — Personally to be and appear at the Council-Chamber, commonly known or called by the name of the Council-Chamber at Whitehall, within the City of Westminster, upon the Fourth day of July next ensuing the date hereof; Then and there to take upon you the said Trust; unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to serve as a Member for the County of -. And hereof you are not to fail.

Given under my hand and seal the 6th day of June 1653.

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

SPEECH FIRST.

A HUNDRED-AND-FORTY of these Summonses were issued; of all the Parties so summoned, "only two" did not attend. Disconsolate Bulstrode says, "Many of this Assembly being "persons of fortune and knowledge, it was much wondered-at "by some that they would, at this Summons, and from such "hands, take upon them the Supreme Authority of this Nation: "considering how little right Cromwell and his Officers had to

[§] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 125).



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"give it, or those Gentlemen to take it." My disconsolate friend, it is a sign that Puritan England in general accepts this action of Cromwell and his Officers, and thanks them for it, in such a case of extremity; saying as audibly as the means permitted: Yea, we did wish it so! Rather mournful to the disconsolate official mind! — Lord Clarendon again, writing with much latitude, has characterised this Convention as containing in it divers Gentlemen who had estates, and such a proportion of credit in the world as might give some colour to the business; but consisting on the whole of a very miserable beggarly sort of persons, acquainted with nothing but the art of praying; "artificers of the meanest trades," if they even had any trade: — all which the reader shall, if he please, add to the

general guano-mountains, and pass on not regarding.

The undeniable fact is, these men were, as Whitlocke intimates, a quite reputable Assembly; got together by anxious "consultation of the godly Clergy" and chief Puritan lights in their respective Counties; not without much earnest revision, and solemn consideration in all kinds, on the part of men adequate enough for such a work, and desirous enough to do it well. The List of the Assembly exists; ** not yet entirely gone dark for mankind. A fair proportion of them still recognisable to mankind. Actual Peers one or two: founders of Peerage Families, two or three, which still exist among us, - Colonel Edward Montague, Colonel Charles Howard, Anthony Ashley Cooper. And better than King's Peers, certain Peers of Nature; whom if not the King and his pasteboard Norroys have had the luck to make Peers of, the living heart of England has since raised to the Peerage, and means to keep there. — Colonel Robert Blake the Sea-King, for one. "Known persons," I do think; "of approved integrity, men fearing God;" and perhaps not entirely destitute of sense any one of them! Truly it seems rather a distinguished Parliament. — even though Mr. Praisegod Barbone, "the Leather-merchant in Fleet-street," be, as all mortals must admit, a member of it. The fault, I hope, is forgivable? Praisegod, though he deals in leather, and has a

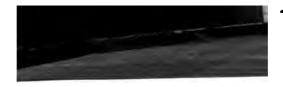
^{*} Whitlocke, p. 534.

^{**} Somers Tracts, i. 216.

name which can be misspelt, one discerns to be the son of pious parents; to be himself a man of piety, of understanding and weight, - and even of considerable private capital, my witty flunkey friends! We will leave Praisegod to do the best he can, I think. - And old Francis Rouse is there from Devonshire; once member for Truro; Provost of Eton College; whom by and by they make Speaker; - whose Psalms the Northern Kirks still sing. Richard Mayor of Hursley is there, and even idle Dick Norton; Alexander Jaffray of Aberdeen, Laird Swinton of the College of Justice in Edinburgh; Alderman Ireton, brother of the late Lord Deputy, colleague of Praisegod in London. In fact, a real Assembly of the Notables in Puritan England; a Parliament, Parliamentum, or real Speaks ing-Apparatus for the now dominant Interest in England, as exact as could well be got, - much more exact, I suppose, than any ballot-box, free hustings or ale-barrel election usually vields.

Such is the Assembly called the Little Parliament, and wittily Barebones's Parliament; which meets on the 4th of July. Their witty name survives; but their history is gone all dark; and no man, for the present, has in his head or in his heart the faintest intimation of what they did, or what they aimed to do. They are very dark to us; and will never be illuminated much! Here is one glance of them face to face; here in this Speech of Oliver's, — if we can read it, and listen along with them to it. There is this one glance; and for six generations, we may say, in the English mind there has not been another.

Listening from a distance of two Centuries, across the Death-chasms, and howling kingdoms of Decay, it is not easy to catch everything! But let us faithfully do the best we can. Having once packed Dryasdust, and his unedifying cries of "Nonsense! Mere hypocrisy! Ambitious dupery!" &c. &c. about his business; closed him safe under hatches, and got silence established, we shall perhaps hear a word or two; have a real glimpse or two of things long vanished; and see for moments this fabulous Barebones's Parliament itself, standing dim in the heart of the extinct Centuries, as a recognisable



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fact, once flesh and blood, now air and memory; not untragical to us!

Read this first, from the old Newspapers; and then the Speech itself, which a laborious Editor has, with all industry, copied and corrected from Two Contemporaneous Reports by different hands, and various editions of these. Note, however: The *Italic* sentences in brackets, most part of which, and yet perhaps not enough of which I have suppressed, are evidently

by an altogether modern hand!

"July 4th, 1653. This being the day appointed by the "Letters of Summons from his Excellency the Lord General, "for the meeting of the Persons called to the Supreme Autho-"rity, there came about a Hundred-and-twenty of them to the "Council Chamber in Whitehall. After each person had "given-in a Ticket of his Name, they all entered the room, "and sat down in chairs appointed for them, round about the "table. Then his Excellency the Lord General, standing by "the window opposite to the middle of the table, and as many of the Officers of the Army as the room could well contain, "some on his right hand and others on his left, and about him, "— made the following Speech to the Assembly:"

GENTLEMEN,

I suppose the Summons that hath been instrumental to bring you hither gives you well to understand the occasion of your being here. Howbeit, I have something farther to impart to you, which is an Instrument drawn up by the consent and advice of the principal Officers of the Army; which is a little (as we conceive) more significant than the Letter of the Summons. We have that here to tender you; and somewhat likewise to say farther for our own exoneration;* which we hope may be somewhat farther for your satisfaction. And withal seeing you sit here somewhat uneasily by

[&]quot;exoneration" does not here mean "excuse" or "shifting-away of blame," but mere laying down of office with due form

reason of the scantness of the room, and heat of the weather, I shall contract myself with respect thereunto.

We have not thought it amiss a little to remind you of that Series of Providences wherein the Lord hath appeared, dispensing wonderful things to these Nations from the beginning of our Troubles to this

very day.

If I should look much backward, we might remind you of the state of affairs as they were before the Short, that is the last, Parliament, — in what posture the things of this Nation then stood: but they do so well, I presume, occur to all your memories and knowledge, that I shall not need to look so far backward. Nor yet to those hostile occasions which arose between the King that was and the Parliament* that then followed. And indeed should I begin much later, the things that would fall very necessarily before you, would rather be for a History than for a verbal Discourse at this present.

But thus far we may look back. You very well know, it pleased God, much about the midst of this War, to winnow (if I may so say) the Forces of this Nation;** and to put them into the hands of other men of other principles than those that did engage at the first. By what ways and means that was brought about, would ask more time than is allotted me to mind you of it. Indeed there are Stories that do recite those Transactions, and give you narratives of matters of fact: but those things wherein the life and power of

^{*} The Long Parliament.

^{**} Self-denying Ordinance; beginning of 1645: see vol. i. p. 194 et seq.

them lay; those strange windings and turnings of Providence; those very great appearances of God, in crossing and thwarting the purposes of men, that He might raise up a poor and contemptible company of men,* neither versed in military affairs, nor having much natural propensity to them, 'into wonderful success—!' Simply by their owning a Principle of Godliness and Religion; which so soon as it came to be owned, and the state of affairs put upon the foot of that account,** how God blessed them, furthering all undertakings, yet using the most improbable and the most contemptible and despicable means (for that we shall ever own): is very well known to you.

What the several Successes and Issues have been, is not fit to mention at this time neither; — though I confess I thought to have enlarged myself upon that subject; forasmuch as Considering the works of God, and the operations of His hands, is a principal part of our duty; and a great encouragement to the strengthening of our hands and of our faith, for that which is behind.*** And among other ends which those marvellous Dispensations have been given us for, that's a principal end, which ought to be minded by us.

'Certainly' in this revolution of affairs, as the issue of those Successes which God was pleased to give to the Army, and 'to' the Authority that then stood, there were very great things brought about; — besides those dints that came upon the Nations + and places where the War itself was, very great things in Civil matters too. 'As first,' the bringing of Offenders to justice, — and the Greatest of them. Bringing of the State of

^{*} Pairfax's Army.

this Government to the name (at least) of a Commonwealth. Searching and sifting of all persons and places. The King removed, and brought to justice; and many great ones with him. The House of Peers laid aside. The House of Commons itself, the representative of the People of England, winnowed, sifted, and brought to a handful; as you very well remember.

And truly God would not rest there: - for by the way, although it's fit for us to ascribe* our failings and miscarriages to ourselves, yet the gloriousness of the work may well be attributed to God Himself, and may be called His strange work. You remember well that at the Change of the Government there was not an end of our Troubles, [No!] - although in that year were such high things transacted as indeed made it to be the most memorable year (I mean the year 1648) that this Nation ever saw. So many Insurrections, ** Invasions, secret Designs, open and public Attempts, all quashed in so short a time, and this by the very signal appearance of God Himself; which, I hope, we shall never forget! — You know also, as I said before, that, as the first effect of that memorable year of 1648 was to lay a foundation, by bringing Offenders to Punishment, so it brought us likewise to the Change of Government: - although it were worth the time 'perhaps, if one had time,' to speak of the carriage of some in places of trust, in most eminent places of trust, which was such as (had not God miraculously appeared) would have frustrated us of the hopes of all our undertakings. I mean by the closure of the Treaty

 [&]quot;intitle" in orig.
 Kent, St. Neot's, Colchester Welsh, Poyer at Pembroke. Scotch
 Hamilton at Preston, &c. &c.

1653.] SPEECH L 147

that was endeavoured with the King;* whereby they would have put into his hands all that we had engaged for, and all our security should have been a little piece of Paper! That thing going off, you very well know how it kept this Nation still in broils by sea and land. And yet what God wrought in Ireland and Scotland you likewise know; until He had finished these Troubles, upon the matter,** by His marvellous salvation

wrought at Worcester.

I confess to you, that I am very much troubled in my own spirit that the necessity of affairs requires I should be so short in those things: because, as I told you, this is the leanest part of the Transactions, this mere historical Narrative of them; there being in every particular; in the King's first going from the Parliament, in the pulling-down of the Bishops, the House of Peers, in every step towards that Change of the Government,— I say there is not any one of these things, thus removed and reformed, but hath an evident print of Providence set upon it, so that he who runs may read it. I am sorry I have not an opportunity to be more particular on these points, which I principally designed, this day; thereby to stir up your hearts and mine to gratitude and confidence.

I shall now begin a little to remind you of the passages that have been transacted since Worcester. Coming from whence, with the rest of my fellow Officers and Soldiers, we did expect, and had some reasonable confidence our expectations would not be frustrated, That, having such an history to look back

Treaty of the Isle of Wight, again and again endeavoured.
 Means 'so to speak;' a common phrase of those times; a perpetual one with Clarendon, for instance.

unto, such a God, so eminently visible, even our enemies confessing that "God Himself was certainly "engaged against them, else they should never have "been disappointed in every engagement," - and that may be used by the way, That if we had but miscarried in the least,* all our former mercies were in danger to be lost: - I say, coming up then, we had some confidence That the mercies God had shown, and the expectations which were upon our hearts, and upon the hearts of all good men, would have prompted those who were in Authority to do those good things which might, by honest men, have been judged fit for such a God, and worthy of such mercies; and indeed been a discharge of duty from those to whom all these mercies had been shown, for the true interest of this Nation! [Yes!] — If I should now labour to be particular in enumerating how businesses have been transacted from that time to the Dissolution of the late Parliament. indeed I should be upon a theme which would be troublesome to myself. For I think I may say for myself and my fellow Officers, That we have rather desired and studied Healing and Looking-forward than to rake into sores and to look backward, - to give things forth in those colours that would not be very pleasing to any good eye to look upon. Only this we shall say for our own vindication, as pointing out the ground for that unavoidable necessity, nay even that duty that was incumbent upon us, to make this last great Change - I think it will not be amiss to offer a word or two to that. [Hear, hear!] As I said before, we are loath to rake into businesses, were there not a necessity so to do.

[&]quot; lost one battle of these many.

1658.] SPEECH I.

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Indeed we may say that, ever since the coming-up of myself and those Gentlemen who have been engaged in the military part, it hath been full in our hearts and thoughts, To desire and use all the fair and lawful means we could to have the Nation reap the fruit of all the blood and treasure that had been spent in this Cause: and we have had many desires, and thirstings in our spirits, to find out ways and means wherein we might be anywise instrumental to help it forward. We were very tender, for a long time, so much as to petition. For some of the Officers being Members; and others having very good acquaintance with, and some relations to, divers Members of Parliament. - we did. from time to time, solicit such; thinking if there had been nobody to prompt them, nor call upon them, these things might have been attended to, from ingenuity* and integrity in those that had it in their power to answer such expectations.

Truly when we saw nothing would be done, we did, as we thought according to our duty, a little, to remind them by a Petition; which I suppose you have seen: it was delivered, as I remember, in August last.** What effect that had, is likewise very well known. The truth is, we had no return at all for our satisfaction, — a few words given us; the things presented by us, or the most of them, we were told, "were under consideration:" and those not presented by us had very little or no consideration at all. Finding the People dissatisfied in every corner of the Nation, and 'all men' laying at our doors the non-performance of these things, which had been promised, and were

[•] ingenuousness. • Antes, p. 134; Commons Journals, vii. 164 (15th August 1652).

of duty to be performed, - truly we did then think ourselves concerned, if we would (as becomes honest men) keep up the reputation of honest men in the world. And therefore we, divers times, endeavoured to obtain meetings with divers Members of Parliament: - and we did not begin those till about October last. And in these meetings we did, with all faithfulness and sincerity, beseech them that they would be mindful of their duty to God and men, in the discharge of the trust reposed in them. I believe (as there are many gentlemen here know), we had at least ten or twelve meetings; most humbly begging and beseeching of them, That by their own means they would bring forth those good things which had been promised and expected; that so it might appear they did not do them by any suggestion from the Army, but from their own ingenuity: so tender were we to preserve them in the reputation of the People. Having had very many of those meetings; and declaring plainly that the issue would be the displeasure and judgment of God, the dissatisfaction of the People, the putting of 'all' things into a confusion: yet how little we prevailed, we very well know, and we believe it's not unknown to you.

At last, when indeed we saw that things would not be laid to heart, we had a very serious consideration among ourselves what other ways to have recourse unto [Yea, that is the question!]; and when we grew to more closer considerations, then they 'the Parliament men' began to take the Act for a Representative* to heart, and seemed exceeding willing to put it on. And had it been done with integrity, there could nothing have happened more welcome to our judgments than that.

^{*} For a New Parliament and Method of Election.



1658.]

SPEECH L

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But plainly the intention was, Not to give the People a right of choice: it would have been but a seeming right: that 'semblance', of giving them a choice was only to recruit the House, the better to perpetuate themselves. And truly, having been, divers of us, spoken unto to give way hereunto, to which we made perpetual aversions, indeed abominating the thoughts of it, — we declared our judgments against it, and our dissatisfaction with it. And yet they that would not hear of a Representative formerly, when it lay three vears before them, without proceeding one line, or making any considerable progress. — I say, those that would not hear of this Bill formerly, did now, when they saw us falling into more closer considerations, make, instead of protracting their Bill, as much preposterous haste with it on the other side, and run into that 'opposite' extremity.

Finding that this spirit was not according to God; and that the whole weight of this Cause, - which must needs be very dear unto us who had so often adventured our lives for it, and we believe it was so to you, - did hang upon the business now in hand; and seeing plainly that there was not here any consideration to assert this Cause, or provide security for it, but only to cross the troublesome people of the Army, who by this time were high enough in their displeasures: Truly, I say, when we saw all this, having power in our hands, 'we could not resolve' to let such monstrous proceedings go on, and so to throw away all our liberties into the hands of those whom we had fought against [Presbyterian - Royalists; at Preston and elsewhere, - "fought against," yea and beaten to ruin, your Excellency might add! : we came, first, to this conclu-

sion among ourselves. That if we had been fought out of our liberties and rights, Necessity would have taught us patience; but that to deliver them 'sluggishly' up would render us the basest persons in the world, and worthy to be accounted haters of God and of His When it pleased to lay this close to our People. hearts: and indeed to show us that the interest of His People was grown cheap, 'that it was' not at all laid to heart, but that if things came to real competition, His Cause, even among themselves, would also in every point go to the ground: indeed this did add more considerations to us, That there was a duty incumbent upon us, 'even upon us.' And, - I speak here, in the presence of some that were at the closure of our consultations, and as before the Lord, - the thinking of an act of violence was to us worse than any battle that ever we were in, or that could be, to the utmost hazard of our lives [Hear him!]: so willing were we, even very tender and desirous if possible that these men might quit their places with honour.

I am the longer upon this; because it hath been in our own hearts and consciences, justifying us, and hath never been yet thoroughly imparted to any; and we had rather begin with you than have done it before; — and do think indeed that this Transaction is more proper for a verbal communication than to have it put into writing. I doubt, he whose pen is most gentle in England would, in recording that, have been tempted, whether he would or no, to dip it deep in anger and wrath. [Stifted cries from Dryasdust.] — But affairs being at this posture; we seeing plainly, even in some critical cases,* that the Cause of the People of God

was a despised thing; — truly we did believe then that the hands of other men 'than these' must be the hands to be used for the work. And we thought then, it was very high time to look about us, and to be sensible of our duty. [Oliver's voice somewhat rising; Major-General Harrison and the others looking rather animated!]

If, I say, I should take up your time to tell you what instances we have to satisfy our judgments and consciences. That these are not vain imaginations, nor things fictitious, but which fell within the compass of our own certain knowledge, it would bring me, I say, to what I would avoid, to rake into these things too much. Only this. If anybody was in competition for any place of real and signal trust, 'if any really public interest was at stake in that Parliament,' how hard and difficult a matter was it to get anything carried without making parties, - without practices* indeed unworthy of a Parliament! When things must be carried so in a Supreme Authority, indeed I think it is not as it ought to be, to say no worse [Nor do 1]! -Then, when we came to other trials, as in that case of Wales, 'of establishing a Preaching Ministry in Wales,' which, I must confess for my own part, I set myself upon, - if I should relate what discountenance that business of the poor People of God there had (who had men** watching over them like so many wolves, ready to catch the lambs so soon as they were brought forth into the world); how signally that Business was trodden under foot 'in Parliament,' to the discountenancing of the Honest People, and the countenancing of the Malignant Party, of this Commonwealth —! I need but For many of you know, and by sad say it was so.

^{· &#}x27;things' in orig.

^{**} Clergymen so-called.

experience have felt it to be so. And somebody I hope will, at leisure, better impart to you the state of that Business 'of Wales;' which really, to myself and Officers, was as plain a trial of their spirits, 'the Parliament's spirits,' as anything,—it being known to many of us that God had kindled a seed there [Such is the metaphor] indeed hardly to be paralleled since the Primitive time.—

I would these had been all the instances we had! Finding, 'however,' which way the spirits of men went, finding that good was never intended to the People of God, - I mean, when I say the People of God, I mean the large comprehension of them, under the several Forms of Godliness in this Nation; - finding, I say, that all tenderness was forgotten to the Good People (though it was by their hands and their means, under the blessing of God, that those sat where they did). we thought this very bad requital! I will not say, they were come to an utter inability of working Reformation, - though I might say so in regard to one thing: the Reformation of the Law, so much groaned under in the posture it now is in. [Hear, hear!] That was a thing we had many good words spoken for; but we know that many months together were not enough for the settling of one word, "Incumbrances" [Three calendar months! A grim smile on some faces], - I say, finding that this was the spirit and complexion of men, - although these were faults for which no man should lift up his hand against the Superior Magistrate; not simply for these faults and failings, - yet when we saw that this 'New Representative of theirs' was meant to perpetuate men of such spirits; nay when we had it from their own mouths, That they could not endure to 1653.] SPEECH I. 155

hear of the Dissolution of this Parliament: we thought this an high breach of trust. If they had been a Parliament inever violence was upon,* sitting as free and clear as any in former ages, it was thought, this, to be a breach of trust, such as a greater could not be.

And that we might not be in doubt about these matters; having had that Conference among ourselves which I gave you an account of, we did desire one more. - and indeed it was the night before the Dissolution; it had been desired two or three nights before: we did desire that we might speak with some of the principal persons of the House. That we might with ingenuity open our hearts to them; that we might either be convinced of the certainty of their intentions; or else that they would be pleased to hear our expedients to prevent these inconveniences. And indeed we could not attain our desire till the night before the Dissolution. There is a touch of this in our Declaration.** As I said before, at that time we had often desired it, and at that time we obtained it: where about Twenty of them were, none of the least in consideration for their interest and ability; with whom we desired some discourse upon these things; and had it. And it pleased these Gentlemen, who are here, the Officers of the Army, to desire me to offer their sense for them, which I did, and it was shortly thus: We told them "the reason of our desire to wait "upon them now was, that we might know from them, "What security lay in their manner of proceeding, so "hastened, for a New Representative; wherein they had "made a few qualifications, such as they were; and

Had no Pride's Purge, Apprentice-riot, or the like, ever come upon them.
 Of April 22d; referred to, not given, at p. 139.

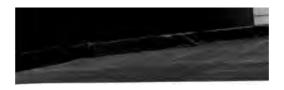


156 PART VII. THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT.

4 July

"How the whole business would, 'in actual practice,' "be executed: Of which we had as vet no account: "and yet we had our interest, our lives, estates and "families therein concerned; and, we thought likewise, "the Honest People had interest in us: 'How all this "was to be?' That so, if it did seem they meant to "appear in such honest and just ways as might be se-"curity to the Honest Interest, we might therein ac-"quiesce: or else that they would hear what we had to "offer." Indeed, when this desire was made, the answer was, "That nothing would do good for this Nation but the continuance of this Parliament!" Wa wondered we should have such a return. We said little to that: but, seeing they would not give us satisfaction that their ways were honourable and just, we craved their leave to make our objections. We then told them, That the way they were going in would be impracticable. 'That' we could not tell how to send out an Act with such qualifications as to be a rule for electing and for being elected, Until we first knew who the persons were that should be admitted to elect. And above all. Whether any of the qualifications reached 'so far as to include' the Presbyterian Party.* And we were bold to tell them, That none of that judgment who had deserted this Cause and Interest** should have any power therein. We did think we should profess it, That we had as good deliver up our Cause into the hands of any as into the hands of those who had deserted us, or who were as neuters! For it's one thing to love a brother, to bear with and love a person of different judgment in matters of religion; and

 ^{&#}x27;Presbytery' in orig.
 None of your Royalists, Hamilton-Invasion Presbyterians.



1653.] SPEECH L 157

another thing to have anybody so far set in the saddle on that account, as to have all the rest of his brethren at mercy.

Truly, Gentlemen, having this discourse concerning the impracticableness of the thing, the bringing in of neuters, and such as had deserted this Cause, whom we very well knew; objecting likewise how dangerous it would be by drawing concourses of people in the several Counties (every person that was within the qualification or without); and how it did fall obvious to us that the power would come into the hands of men who had very little affection to this Cause: the answer again was made, and that by very eminent persons. "That nothing would save the Nation but the continuance of this Parliament." This being so, we humbly proposed, - since neither our counsels, our objections to their way of proceeding, nor their answers to justify that, did give us satisfaction; nor did we think they ever intended to give us any, which indeed some of them have since declared 'to be the fact.' we proposed to them, I say, our expedient; which was indeed this: That the Government of the Nation being in such a condition as we saw, and things 'being' under so much ill sense abroad, and likely to end in confusion 'if we so proceeded,' - we desired they would devolve the trust over to some Well-affected Men, such as had an interest in the Nation, and were known to be of good affection to the Commonwealth. Which, we told them, was no new thing when this Land was under the like hurlyburlies. And we had been labouring to get precedents 'out of History' to convince them of it: and it was confessed by them it had been no new thing. This expedient we offered out of the deep sense

we had of the Cause of Christ: and were answered so as I told you, That nothing would save this Nation but the continuance of that Parliament. 'The continuance:' they would not 'be brought to' say the perpetuating of it, at this time; yet we found their endeavours did directly tend that way; they gave us this answer. "That the thing we offered was of a very high "nature and of tender consideration: How would money "be raised?" — and made some other objections. We told them 'how;' and that we here offered an expedient five times better than that 'of theirs,' for which no reason was given, nor we thought could be given Why should the Fag-end of this poor old Parliament, now fallen impotent except to raise money for itself, continue? No reason is given, nor we think can be, that will convince mankind]; - and desired them that they would lay things seriously to heart! They told us, They would take time for the consideration of these things till tomorrow; they would sleep upon them, and consult some friends; 'some friends,' - though, as I said, there were about Twenty-three 'of them here,' and not above Fifty-three in the House. And at parting, two or three of the chief of them, one of the chief [O Sir Harry Vane!], and two or three more, did tell us. That they would endeavour to suspend farther proceedings about their Bill for a New Representative until they had another conference with us. And upon this we had great satisfaction; and had hope, if our expedient could receive a loving debate, that the next day we should have some such issue thereof as would give satisfaction to all.* And herewith they went away, 'it' being late at night.

^{* &}quot;hoping by conference to have satisfaction to all" in orig.



1653.] SPEECH L. 159

The next morning, we considering how to order what we had farther to offer to them in the evening, word was brought us that the House was proceeding with all speed upon the New Representative! could not believe it, that such persons would be so unworthy; we remained there till a second and third messenger came, with tidings That the House was really upon that business, and had brought it near to the issue, - and with that height* as was never before exercised; leaving out all things relating to the due exercise of the qualifications (which had appeared all along 'in it till now'); and 'meaning,' as we heard, to pass it only on paper, without engrossing, for the quicker despatch of it. - Thus, as we apprehend, would the Liberties of the Nation have been thrown away into the hands of those who had never fought for it. And upon this we thought it our duty not to suffer it. [No!] — And upon this the House was dissolved, even when the Speaker was going to put the last question. [Let HIM travel, at any rate!]

I have too much troubled you with this: but we have made this relation, that you might know that what hath been done in the Dissolution of the Parliament was as necessary to be done as the preservation of this Cause. And the necessity which led us to do that, hath brought us to this 'present' issue, Of exercising an extraordinary way and course to draw You together 'here;' upon this account, that you are men who know the Lord, and have made observations of His marvellous Dispensations; and may be trusted, as far as men may be trusted, with this Cause.

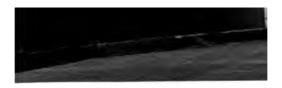
It remains now for me to acquaint you 'a little'

violence, height of temper.

farther with what relates to your taking upon you this great Business. 'But indeed' that is contained in the Paper* here in my hand, which will be offered presently to you to read.** But having done that we have done [Dissolving of the Parliament; which cannot be repented of, and need not be boasted of!] upon such ground of necessity as we have 'now' declared, which was not a feigned necessity but a real, - 'it did behove us,' to the end we might manifest to the world the singleness of our hearts and our integrity who did these things, Not to grasp at the power ourselves, or keep it in military hands, no not for a day; but, as far as God enabled us with strength and ability, to put it into the hands of Proper Persons that might be called from the several parts of the Nation. This necessity; and I hope we may say for ourselves, this integrity of concluding to divest the Sword of all power in the Civil Administration. - hath been that that hath moved us to put You to this trouble 'of coming hither:' and having done that, truly we think we cannot, with the discharge of our own consciences, but offer somewhat to you on the devolving of the burden on your shoulders.*** It hath been the practice of others who have, voluntarily and out of a sense of duty, divested themselves, and devolved the Government into new hands; I say, it hath been the practice of those

An Indenture or Instrument of Government, some account of which can be found, if any one is curious about it, in Parliamentary History

^{**} Considerable discrepancies in the Two Reports throughout this paragraph; indicating some embarrassment and intricacy in the Speaker. Which with our best industry we endeavour to reconcile; to elicit from them what the real utterance, or thought and attempted utterance, of the Speaker may have been. The two Reporters being faithful according to their ability, and the Speaker faithful according to his, all discrepancies ought to dissolve themselves in clearer insight and conviction; as we hope they do.



1653.] SPEECH I.

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that have done so; it hath been practised, and is very consonant to reason, To lay 'down,' together with their Authority, some Charge 'how to employ it'* (as we hope we have done), and to press the duty 'of employing it well:' concerning which we have a word or two to offer you.

Truly God hath called you to this Work by, I think, as wonderful providences as ever passed upon the sons of men in so short a time. And truly I think, taking the argument of necessity, for the Goverroment must not fall; taking the appearance of the hand of God in this thing, - 'I think' you would have been loath it should have been resigned into the hands of wicked men and enemies! I am sure, God would not have it so. It's come, therefore, to you by the way of necessity; by the way of the wise Providence of God. - through weak hands. And therefore, I think, coming through our hands, though such as we are, it may not be ill taken if we do offer somewhat (as I said before) as to the discharge of the Trust which is now incumbent upon you. [Certainly not!] And although I seem to speak of that which may have the face and interpretation of a Charge, it's a very humble one: and if he that means to be a Servant to you, who hath now called you to the exercise of the Supreme Authority, discharge what he conceives to be a duty to you, we hope you will take it in good part.

And truly I shall not hold you long in it; because I hope it's written in your hearts to approve yourselves

^{*} He seems embarrassed lest he be thought to have some authority over this new Little Parliament, and to treat them as if he were their King. The dissolving of the old Parliament has also its embarrassment, though mot so prominent here; and both together make an intricate paragraph. Our Two Reports, from this point, virtually coincide again.

to God. Only this Scripture I shall remember to you. which bath been much upon my spirit: Hosea, xi. 12. "Judah vet ruleth with God, and is faithful with the Saints." It's said before, that "Ephraim compassed "God about with lies, and the house of Israel with de-"ccit." How God hath been compassed about by fastings and thanksgivings,* and other exercises and transactions, I think we have all cause to lament. Truly you are called by God, 'as Judah was,' to "rule with Him," and for Him. And you are called to be faithful with the Saints who have been instrumental to your call. 'Again,' Second Samuel, xxi. 3. "He that "ruleth over men," the Scripture saith, "must be just, "ruling in the fear of God." [Groans from Dryasdust. Patience, my friend! Really, does not all this seem an incredibility; - a palpable hypocrisy, since it is not the mouth of an imbecile that speaks it? My estimable, timberheaded, leadenhearted friend, can there be any doubt of it!

And truly it's better to pray for you than to counsel you in that matter, That you may exercise the judgment of mercy and truth! It's better, I say, to pray for you than counsel you; to ask wisdom from Heaven for you; which I am confident many thousands of Saints do this day, 'and' have done, and will do, through the permission of God and His assistance. I

There was a Monthly Fast, the Last Wednesday of every Month, held duly for about Seven Years; till, after the King's Death, we abolished it. Immense preaching and howling, all over the country, there has been on these stated Wednesdays; sincere and insincere. Not to speak of dus Thanksgivings for victories and felicities innumerable; all ending in this infelicitous condition! His Excellency thinks we ought to restrain such habits; not to imitate Ephraim, or the Long Parliament, in such. The rest of this Discourse is properly a Sermon of his; and one conceived in a different style.

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say it's better to pray than advise: yet truly I think of another Scripture, which is very useful, though it seems to be for a common application to every man as a Christian. — wherein he is counselled to ask wisdom; and he is told what that is. That's "from Above," we are told; it's "pure, peaceable, gentle and "easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits;" it's "without partiality and without hypocrisy." Truly my thoughts run much upon this place, that to the execution of judgment (the judgment of truth, for that's the judgment) you must have wisdom "from Above;" and that's "pure." That will teach you to exercise the judgment of truth; it's "without partiality." Purity, impartiality, sincerity: these are the effects of "wisdom," and these will help you to execute the judgment of truth. And then if God give you hearts to be "easy to be entreated," to be "peaceably spirited," to be "full of good fruits," bearing good fruits to the Nation, to men as men, to the People of God, to all in their several stations, — this will teach you to execute the judgment of mercy and truth. [Yes, if thou understand it; still yes, - and nothing else will! And I have little more to say to this. I shall rather bend my prayers for you in that behalf, as I said; and many others will.

Truly the "judgment of truth," it will teach you to be as just towards an Unbeliever as towards a Believer; and it's our duty to do so. I confess I have said sometimes, foolishly it may be: I had rather mis-carry to a Believer than an Unbeliever.** This may

[&]quot;But the Wisdom that is from Above is first pure, then peaceable, "gentle and easy to be entreated; full of mercy and good fruits, without "partiality, and without hypocrisy. And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace" [James, ili. 17, 18].

**Do wrong to a good than to a bad man; a remarkable sentiment.

seem a paradox: — but let's take heed of doing that which is evil to either! Oh, if God fill your hearts with such a spirit as Moses had, and as Paul had, — which was not a spirit for Believers only, but for the whole People! Moses, he could die for them; wish himself "blotted out of God's Book;"* Paul could wish himself "accursed for his countrymen after the flesh"** [Let us never forget that, in Moses and Paul. — Are not these amazing sentiments, on their part, my estimable, timberheaded, leadenhearted friend?]: so full of affection were their spirits unto all. And truly this would help you to execute the judgment of truth, and of mercy also.

A second thing is, To desire you would be faithful with the Saints; to be touched with them. And I hope, whatever others may think, it may be a matter to us all of rejoicing to have our hearts touched (with reverence be it spoken) as Christ, "being full of the spirit," was "touched with our infirmities," that He might be merciful. So should we be; we should be pitiful. Truly, this calls us to be very much touched with the infirmities of the Saints; that we may have a respect unto all, and be pitiful and tender towards all, though of different judgments. And if I did seem to speak something that reflected on those of the Presbyterial judgment, — truly I think if we have not an interest of love for them too, we shall*** hardly answer this of being faithful to the Saints.

In my pilgrimage, and some exercises I have had abroad, I did read that Scripture often, Forty-first of Isaiah; where God gave me, and some of my fellows,

^{*} Exodus, xxxii. 82.

^{**} Romans, ix. 8.

1653.] SPEECH L

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encouragement 'as to' what He would do there and elsewhere; which He hath performed for us. He said, "He would plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittahtree, and the myrtle and the oil-tree; and He would "set in the desert the fir-tree, and the pine-tree, and "the box-tree together." For what end will the Lord do all this? "That they may see, and know, and "consider, and understand together, That the hand of the Lord hath done this;" - that it is He who hath wrought all the salvations and deliverances we have received. For what end! To see, and know, and understand together, that He hath done and wrought all this for the good of the Whole Flock. [Even so. For 'Saints' read 'Good Men:' and it is true to the end of the world.] Therefore, I beseech you, - but I think I need not - have a care of the Whole Flock! Love the sheep, love the lambs; love all, tender all, cherish and countenance all, in all things that are good. And if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian. shall desire to live peaceably and quietly under you. - I say, if any shall desire but to lead a life of godliness and honesty, let him be protected.

I think I need not advise, much less press you, to endeavour the Promoting of the Gospel; to encourage the Ministry;* such a Ministry and such Ministers as be faithful in the Land; upon whom the true character is. Men that have received the Spirit, which Christians will be able to discover, and do 'the will of;' men that "have received Gifts from Him who is ascended up on high, who hath led captivity captive, to give gifts to men,"** even for this same work of the Ministry! And truly the Apostle, speaking in another place, in the

^{*} Preaching Clergy.

Twelfth of the Romans, when he has summed up all the mercies of God, and the goodness of God; and discoursed, in the former Chapters, of the foundations of the Gospel, and of those things that are the subject of those first Eleven Chapters, - he beseecheth them to "present their bodies a living sacrifice." [Note that!] He beseecheth them that they would not esteem highly of themselves, but be humble and sober-minded, and not stretch themselves beyond their line; and also that they would have a care for those that "had received gifts" to the uses there mentioned. I speak not, - I thank God it is far from my heart, - for a Ministry deriving itself from the Papacy, and pretending to that which is so much insisted on, "Succession." ["Hear, hear!" from the Puseyites.] The true Succession is through the Spirit — [I should say so!] — given in its measure. The Spirit is given for that use, 'To make proper Speakers-forth of God's eternal Truth;' and that's right Succession. But I need not discourse of these things to you; who, I am persuaded, are taught of God, much more and in a greater measure than myself; concerning these things.

Indeed I have but one word more to say to you; though in that perhaps I shall show my weakness: it's by way of encouragement to go on in this Work. And give me leave to begin thus. I confess I never looked to see such a Day as this, — it may be nor you neither, — when Jesus Christ should be so owned as He is, this day, in this Work. Jesus Christ is owned this day by the Call of You, and you own Him, by your willingness to appear for Him. And you manifest this, as far as poor creatures may do, to be a Day of the Power of Christ. I know you well remember that

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Scripture, "He makes His People willing in the day of His power."* God manifests this to be the Day of the Power of Christ; having, through so much blood, and so much trial as hath been upon these Nations, made this to be one of the great issues thereof: To have His People called to the Supreme Authority. [A thing, I confess, worth striving for; and the one thing worth striving for! He makes this to be the greatest mercy, next to His own Son. God hath owned His Son; and He hath owned you, and made you own Him. I confess I never looked to have seen such a day; I did not. - Perhaps you are not known by face to one another; 'indeed' I am confident you are strangers, coming from all parts of the Nation as you do: but we shall tell you that indeed we have not allowed ourselves the choice of one person in whom we had not this good hope, That there was in him faith in Jesus Christ, and love to all His People and Saints. [What a Parliament; unexampled before and since in this world!

Thus God hath owned you in the eyes of the world; and thus, by coming hither, you own Him: and, as it is in Isaiah, xliii. 21, — it's an high expression; and look to your own hearts whether, now or hereafter, God shall apply it to you: "This People," saith God, "I have formed for Myself, that they may show forth my praise." I say, it's a memorable passage; and, I hope, not unfitly applied: the Lord apply it to each of your hearts! I shall not descant upon the words; they are plain: indeed you are as like the "forming of God" as ever people were. If a man should tender a Book to

Psalm ex. 3, a favourite Psalm of Oliver's, — as we know already, and solid Ludlow knows.

you 'to swear you upon,' I dare appeal to all your consciences, Neither directly nor indirectly did you seek for your coming hither. You have been passive in coming hither; being called, - and indeed that's an active work, - 'though not on your part!' "This People have I formed:" consider the circumstances by which you are "called" hither; through what strivings [At Marston Moor, at Naseby, Dunbar and elsewhere], through what blood you are come hither, - where neither you nor I, nor no man living, three months ago, had any thought to have seen such a company taking upon them, or rather being called to take, the Supreme Authority of this Nation! Therefore, own your call! Indeed, I think it may be truly said that there never was a Supreme Authority consisting of such a Body, above One-hundred-and-forty, I believe; 'never such a Body' that came into the Supreme Authority 'before,' under such a notion 'as this,' in such a way of owning God, and being owned by Him. And therefore I may also say, never such a "People" so "formed," for such a purpose, 'were' thus called before. [These are lucent considerations; lucent, nay radiant!]

If it were a time to compare your standing with 'that of' those that have been "called" by the Suffrages of the People — [He does not say what the result would be] — Which who can tell how soon God may fit the People for such a thing? None can desire it more than I! Would all were the Lord's People; as it was said, "Would all the Lord's People were Prophets." [Fit to sit in Parliament and make Laws: alas, hitherto but few of them can "prophesy!"] I would all were fit to be called. It ought to be the longing of our hearts to see men brought to own the Interest of Jesus Christ. And



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give me leave to sav: If I know anything in the world, what is there likelier to win the People to the interest of Jesus Christ, to the love of Godliness (and therefore what stronger duty lies on you. being thus called), than an humble and godly conversation? So that they may see 'that' you love them; 'that' you lay yourselves out, time and spirits, for them! Is not this the likeliest way to bring them to their liberties? [To make them free by being servants of God; free, and fit to elect for Parliament! And do not you, by this, put it upon God to find out times and seasons for you; 'fit seasons' by putting forth His Spirit? At least you convince them that, as men fearing God have fought them out of their bondage under the Regal Power, so men fearing God do now rule them in the fear of God, and take care to administer Good nnto them. - But this is some digression. I say, own your call; for it is of God! Indeed, it is marvellous, and it hath been unprojected. It's not long since either you or we came to know of it. And indeed this hath been the way God dealt with us all along, To keep things from our eyes all along, so that we have seen nothing, in all His dispensations, long beforehand; which is also a witness, in some measure, to our integrity. ["Integrity!" from Dryasdust. - Husht, my friend, it is incredible! A flat impossibility, how can it be believed? To the human Owl, living in his perennial London Fog, in his Twilight of all imaginable corrupt Exhalations, and with his poor head, too, overspun to such extent with red-tape, parliamentary eloquence, force of public opinion and such like, how shall the Azure Firmaments and Everlasting Stars become credible! They are and remain incredible. From his shut sense all light-rays

are victoriously repelled; no light shall get admittance there. In no Heaven's-light will he for his part ever believe; — till at last, as is the necessity withal, it come to him as lightning! Then he will believe it.] - I say, you are called with an high calling. And why should we be afraid to say or think, That this may be the door to usher-in the Things that God has promised; which have been prophesied of; which He has set the hearts of His People to wait for and expect?* We know who they are that shall war with the Lamb, "against His enemies:" they shall be "a people called, and chosen and faithful." And God hath, in a Military way, - we may speak it without flattering ourselves, and I believe you know it, - He hath appeared with them, 'with that same "people," and for them; and now in these Civil Powers and Authorities 'does not He appear?' These are not ill prognostications of the God we wait for. Indeed I do think somewhat is at the door: we are at the threshold; — and therefore it becomes us to lift up our heads, and encourage ourselves in the Lord. And we have thought, some of us, That it is our duties to endeavour this way; not merely to look at that Prophecy in Daniel, "And the Kingdom shall not be delivered to another people," 'and passively wait.' Truly God hath brought this to your hands; by the owning of your call; blessing the Military Power. The Lord hath directed their [our] hearts to be instrumental to call you; and set it upon our hearts to deliver over the Power "to another people." [Therefore "we" are not the persons prophesied of?] -But I may appear to be beyond my line here; these

Hundred-and-tenth Psalm, and other Scriptures, are known to Ludlow and us!

things are dark. Only, I desire my thoughts * to be exercised in these things, and so I hope are yours.

Truly seeing things are thus, that you are at the edge of the Promises and Prophecies — [Does not say what results | - At least, if there were neither Promise nor Prophecy, yet you are carrying on the best things, you are endeavouring after the best things; and, as I have said elsewhere. ** if I were to choose any servant. the meanest Officer for the Army or the Commonwealth, I would choose a godly man that hath principles. Especially where a trust is to be committed. Because I know where to have a man that hath principles. I believe if any one of you should choose a servant, you would do thus. And I would all our Magistrates were so chosen; - this may be done; there may be good effects of this! Surely it's our duty to choose men that fear the Lord, and will praise the Lord: such hath the Lord "formed for Himself;" and He expects no praises from other 'than such.' Secretary of the Home Department, my right honourable friend!

This being so, truly it puts me in mind of another Scripture, that famous Psalm, Sixty-eighth Psalm;***

^{* &}quot;senses" in orig.

^{**} In some Speech now lost: — probably in many Speeches; certainly in all manner of Practice and Action.

in all manner of Practice and Action.

**e* We remember it ever since Dunbar morning; let us read a passage or two of it again: His Excellency and the Little Parliament will perhaps wait a moment; and it may do us good!

"Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered: let them also that hate "Him flee before Him. As smoke is driven away, so drive them away; as "wax melteth before the fire, so let the wicked perish before the presence "of God." The unhappy!

"But let the righteous be glad: let them rejoice before God, yea let "them rejoice exceedingly. Sing unto God, sing praises to His name. A "father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows!, is God in his holy "habitation.

[&]quot;O God, when Thou wentest forth before Thy People. - - the Earth "shook, the Heavens also dropped. Kings of Armies did fice space; and

which indeed is a glorious Prophecy, I am persuaded, of the Gospel Churches, - it may be, of the Jews There it prophesies that "He will bring His "People again from the depths of the Sea, as once He "led Israel through the Red Sea." And it may be, as some think, God will bring the Jews home to their station "from the isles of the sea," and answer their expectations "as from the depths of the sea." But, 'at all events,' sure I am, when the Lord shall set up the glory of the Gospel Church, it shall be a gathering of people as "out of deep waters," "out of the multitude of waters:" such are His People, drawn out of the multitudes of the Nations and People of this world. -And truly that Psalm is very glorious in many other parts of it: When He gathers them, "great was the company" of them that publish His word. "Kings of "Armies did flee apace, and she that tarried at home "divided the spoil" [Consider Charles Stuart, First and Second; and what we see this day!]; and "Although ve "have lain among the pots, yet shall ve be as the wings "of a dove, covered with silver, and her feathers with vellow gold." [Hah!] And indeed the triumph of that Psalm is exceeding high and great; and God is accomplishing it. And the close of it, - that closeth with my heart, and I do not doubt with yours, "The Lord shakes the hills and mountains, and they reel." And God hath a Hill too; "an high Hill as the Hill

[&]quot;she that tarried at home divided the spoil." Ye poor and brave, be ye of

[&]quot;she that tarried at home divided the spoil." Ye poor and brave, be ye of courage! "Though ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the "wings of a dove, covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold.

"The Hill of God is as the Hill of Bashan: an high Hill as the Hill of "Bashan." Inexpugnable, that! "Why leap ye, ye bigh Hills? This is "the Hill of God which God desireth to dwell in: yea the Lord will dwell "in it forever. The charlots of God are twenty-thousand, even thousands "of Angels: the Lord is among them, as in Sinai in the holy place."



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"of Bashan: and the chariots of God are twenty-thou"sand, even thousands of Angels, and God will dwell
"upon this Hill forever!" — [PROCUL PROFANI! The
man is without a soul that looks into this Great Soul of
a man, radiant with the splendours of very Heaven, and
sees nothing there but the shadow of his own mean darkness. Ape of the Dead Sea, peering asquint into the
Holy of Holies, let us have done with THY commentaries!
Thou canst not fathom it.]

I am sorry I have troubled you, in such a place of heat as this is, so long. All I have to say, in my own name, and that of my fellow Officers who have joined with me in this work, is: That we shall commend you to the grace of God, to the guidance of His Spirit: 'That' having thus far served you, or rather our Lord Jesus Christ 'in regard to you,' we shall be ready in our stations, according as the Providence of God shall lead us, to be subservient to the 'farther' work of God, and to that Authority which we shall reckon God hath set over us. And though we have no formal thing to present you with, to which the hands, or visible expressions, of the Officers and Soldiers of the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland; 'are set;' yet we may say of them, and we may say also with confidence for our brethren at Sea, - with whom neither in Scotland, Ireland, nor at Sea, hath there been any artifice used to persuade their consents to this work, - that nevertheless their consents have flowed in to us from all parts, beyond our expectations: and we may with all confidence say, that as we have their approbation and full consent to the other work, so you have their hearts and affections unto this.* And not only theirs: we have very many Papers from the Churches of Christ throughout the Nation; wonderfully both approving what hath been done in removing of obstacles, and approving what we have done in this very thing. And having said this, we shall trouble you no more. But if you will be pleased that this Instrument** be read to you, which I have signed by the advice of the Council of Officers, — we shall then leave you to your own thoughts and the guidance of God; to dispose of yourselves for a farther meeting, as you shall see cause.***

I have only this to add. The affairs of the Nation lying on our hands to be taken care of; and we knowing that both the Affairs at Sea, the Armies in Ireland and Scotland, and the providing of things for the preventing of inconveniences, and the answering of emergencies, did require that there should be no Interruption, but that care ought to be taken for these things; and foreseeing likewise that before you could digest yourselves into such a method, both for place, time and other circumstances, as you shall please to proceed in, some time would be required, — which the Commonwealth could not bear in respect to the managing of things: I have, within a week 'past,' set up a Council of State, to whom the managing of affairs is committed. Who, I may say, very voluntarily and freely, before they see how the issue of things will be,

here.

[&]quot;other work" delicately means dissolving the old Parliament; "this" is assembling of you, "this very thing."

^{**} The Instrument is to be found among the Old Pamphlets; but being of a much lower strain, mere constitutionalities, &c., in phrase and purport alike leaden, we do not read it.

*** Report in Partiamentary listory, and the common Pamphlets, ends



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have engaged themselves in business; eight or nine of them being Members of the House that late was. - I say I did exercise that power which, I thought, was devolved upon me at that time; to the end affairs might not have any interval 'or interruption.' And now when you are met, it will ask some time for the settling of your affairs and your way. And, 'on the other hand,' a day cannot be lost, 'or left vacant,' but they must be in continual Council till you take farther order. So that the whole matter of their consideration also which regards them, is at your disposal, as you shall see cause. And therefore I thought it my duty to acquaint you with thus much, to prevent distractions in your way: That things have been thus ordered; that your affairs will 'not stop, but' go on, 'in the meanwhile,' - till you see cause to alter this Council; they having no authority or continuance of sitting, except simply until you take farther order.*

The reader has now struggled through this First Speech of my Lord General's; not without astonishment to find that he has some understanding of it. The Editor has had his difficulties: but the Editor too is astonished to consider how such a Speech should have lain so long before the English Nation, asking, "Is there no meaning whatever in me, then?" — with negatory response from almost all persons. Incompetent Reporters; — still more the obscene droppings of an extensive Owl-population, the accumulated guano of Human Stupor in the course of ages, do render Speeches unintelligible! It ought to be added, that my Lord General always spoke extempore; ready to speak, if his mind were full of meaning;

Milton State-Papers, pp. 106-114: and Parliamentary History, xx. 153-175: which latter is identical with Harleian Miscellany (London, 1810), vi. 331-344. Our Report, in some cramp passager, which could not always be indicated without confusion, is a *ieritum quid* between these two. Generally throughout we adhere to Milton's, which is the more concise, intelligible and everyway better Report.

very careless about the words he put it into. And never. except in one instance, which we shall by and by come upon, does he seem to have taken any charge as to what Report might be published of it. One of his Parliaments once asks him for a correct Report of a certain Speech, spoken some days before: he declares. "He cannot remember four lines of it."* It appears also that his meaning, much as Dryasdust may wonder, was generally very well understood by his audience: - it was not till next generation, when the owldroppings already lay thick, and Human Stupor had decidedly set in, that the cry of Unintelligibility was much heard of. Tones and looks do much; - yes, and the having a meaning in you is also a great help! Indeed, I fancy he must have been an opaque man to whom these utterances of such a man, all in a blaze with such a conviction of heart, had remained altogether dark.

The printed state of this Speech, and still more of some others, will impose hard duties on an Editor; which kind readers must take their share of. In the present case, it is surprising how little change has been needed, beyond the mere punctuation, and correct division into sentences. Not the slightest change of meaning has, of course, anywhere seemed, or shall anywhere seem, permissible; nor indeed the twentieth part of that kind of liberty which a skilful Newspaper Reporter takes with every speech he commits to print in our day.

A certain critic, whom I sometimes cite from, but seldom without some reluctance, winds up his multifarious Commentaries on the present Speech in the following extraordinary way:

"Intelligent readers," says he, "have found intelligibility "in this Speech of Oliver's: but to one who has had to read it "as a painful Editor, reading every fibre of it with magnifying-"glasses, has to do, — it becomes all glowing with intelligibi"lity, with credibility; with the splendour of genuine Vera"city and heroic Depth and Manfulness; — and seems in fact,

^{*} Burton's Diary. Postes, Speech XVII.



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"as Oliver's Speeches generally do, to an altogether singular "degree, the express image of the soul it came from! - Is not "this the end of all speaking, and wagging of the tongue in "every conceivable sort, except the false and accursed sorts? "Shall we call Oliver a bad Speaker, then; shall we not, in a

"very fundamental sense, call him a good Speaker? —

"Art of Speech? Art of Speech? The Art of Speach, "I take it, will first of all be the art of having something "genuine to speak! Into what strange regions has it carried "us, that same sublime 'Art,' taken up otherwise! One of the "saddest bewilderments, when I look at all the bearings of it. "nay properly the fountain of all the sad bewilderments. "under which poor mortals painfully somnambulate in these "generations. 'I have made an excellent Speech about it, "written an excellent Book about it,' - and there an end. "How much better, hadst thou done a moderately good deed "about it, and not had anything to speak at all! He who is "about doing some mute veracity has a right to be heard "speaking, and consulting of the doing of it; and properly no "other has. The light of a man shining all as a paltry phos-"phorescence on the surface of him, leaving the interior dark, "chaotic, sordid, dead-alive, — was once regarded as a most "mournful phenomenon!

"False Speech is probably capable of being the falsest and "most accursed of all things. False Speech; so false that it "has not even the veracity to know that it is false, — as the "poor commonplace liar still does! I have heard Speakers "who gave rise to thoughts in me they were little dreaming of "suggesting! Is man then no longer an 'Incarnate Word,' as "Novalis calls him, - sent into this world to utter out of him, "and by all means to make audible and visible what of God's-"Message he has; sent hither and made alive even for that. "and for no other definable object? Is there no sacredness. "then, any longer, in the miraculous tongue of man? Is his "head become a wretched cracked pitcher, on which you "jingle to frighten crows, and make bees hive? He fills me "with terror, this two-legged Rhetorical Phantasm! I could "long for an Oliver without Rhetoric at all. I could long for "a Mahomet, whose persuasive-eloquence, with wild-flashing "heart and scimitar, is: 'Wretched mortal, give up that; or "by the Eternal, thy Maker and mine, I will kill thee! Thou "blasphemous scandalous Misbirth of Nature, is not even that "the kindest thing I can do for thee, if thou repent not and "alter, in the name of Allah?""—

LETTERS CLXXXIX.—CXCI.

Concerning this Puritan Convention of the Notables, which in English History is called the Little Parliament, and derisively Barebones's Parliament, we have not much more to say. They are, if by no means the remarkablest Assembly, yet the Assembly for the remarkablest purpose who have ever met in the Modern World. The business is, No less than introducing of the Christian Religion into real practice in the Social Affairs of this Nation. Christian Religion, Scriptures of the Old and New Testament: such, for many hundred years, has been the universal solemnly recognised Theory of all men's Affairs; Theory sent down out of Heaven itself: but the question is now that of reducing it to Practice in said Affairs; - a most noble, surely, and most necessary attempt; which should not have been put off so long in this Nation! We have conquered the Enemies of Christ; let us now, in real practical earnest, set about doing the Commandments of Christ, now that there is free room for us! Such was the purpose of this Puritan Assembly of the Notables, which History calls the Little Parliament, or derisively Barebones's Parliament.

It is well known they failed: to us, alas, it is too evident they could not but fail. Fearful impediments lay against that effort of theirs: the sluggishness, the slavish half-and-half-ness, the greediness, the cowardice, and general opacity and falsity of some ten million men against it;—alas, the whole world, and what we call the Devil and all his angels, against it! Considerable angels, human and other: most extensive arrangements, investments, to be sold off at a tremendous

sacrifice; — in general the entire set of luggage-traps and very extensive stock of merchant-goods and real and floating property, amassed by that assiduous Entity above-mentioned, for a thousand years or more! For these, and also for other obstructions, it could not take effect at that time; — and the Little Parliament became a Barebones's Parliament, and had to go its ways again.

Read these three Letters, two of them of small or no significance as to it or its affairs; and then let us hasten to the ca-

tastrophe.

LETTER CLXXXIX.

THE little Parliament has now sat some seven weeks; the dim old world of England, then in huge travail-throes, and somewhat of the Lord General's sad and great reflections thereon, may be dimly read here.

For the Right Honourable Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland: These.'

DEAR CHARLES, Cockpit, 22d August 1653.

Although I do not so often as is desired by me acquaint you how it is with me, yet I doubt not of your prayers in my behalf, That, in all things, I may walk as becometh the Gospel.

Truly I never more needed all helps from my Christian Friends than now! Fain would I have my service accepted of the Saints, if the Lord will; — but it is not so. Being of different judgments, and 'those' of each sort seeking most to propagate their own, that spirit of kindness that is* to them all, is hardly accepted of any. I hope I can say it, My life has been a willing sacrifice, — and I hope, — for them all. Yet it much falls out as when the Two Hebrews were

^{• &}quot;in me" modestly suppressed.



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rebuked: you know upon whom they turned their dis-

pleasure!*

But the Lord is wise; and will, I trust, make manifest that I am no enemy. Oh, how easy is mercy to be abused: - Persuade friends with you to be very sober! If the Day of the Lord be so near as some say. how should our moderation appear! If every one, instead of contending, would justify his form 'of judgment' by love and meekness, Wisdom would be "justified of her children." But, alas! -

I am, in my temptation, ready to say, "Oh, would I had wings like a dove, then would I,"&c.: ** but this, I fear, is my "haste." I bless the Lord I have somewhat keeps me alive: some sparks of the light of His countenance, and some sincerity above man's judg-Excuse me thus unbowelling myself to you: pray for me; and desire my Friends to do so also. My love to thy dear Wife, - whom indeed I entirely love, both naturally, and upon the best account; and my blessing, if it be worth anything, upon thy little Babe.

Sir George Ayscough having occasions with you, desired my Letters to you on his behalf: if he come or send, I pray you show him what favour you can. deed his services have been considerable for the State; and I doubt he hath not been answered with suitable respect. Therefore again I desire you and the Commissioners to take him into a very particular care,

[&]quot;"And he," the wrongdoer of the Two, "said unto Moses, 'Who made "thee a Prince and a Judge over us? Intendest thou to kill me, as thou "killedst the Egyptian!" (Exodus, ii. 14.)

""" "then would I fly away and be at rest. Lo, then would I wander far "off, and remain in the wilderness. I would hasten my escape from the "windy storm and tempest!" (Psaim iv. 6, 7, 8.)

and help him so far as justice and reason will anyways afford.

Remember my hearty affections to all the Officers. The Lord bless you all. So prayeth

Your truly loving father, OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.' All here love you, and are in health, your Children and all.§

LETTER CXC.

Is the Commons Journals, * while this Little Parliament sat, we find that, among other good services, the arrangement of the Customs Department was new-modelled: that instead of Farmers of the Customs, there was a "Committee" of the Parliament appointed to regulate and levy that impost: Committee appointed on the 23d of September 1653: among whom we recognise "Alderman Ireton," the deceased General's Brother; "Mr. Mayor," of Hursley, Richard Cromwell's Father-in-Law; "Alderman Titchborne;" "Colonel Montague," afterwards Earl of Sandwich; and others. It is to this Committee that Oliver's Letter is addressed. It has no date of time: but as the Little Parliament ended, in Self-dissolution and Protectorship, on the 12th of December, the date of the Letter lies between the 23d September and that other limit. My Lord General. - who is himself a Member of the Parliament, he and his chief Officers having been forthwith invited to sit, - feels evidently that his recommendations, when grounded in justice, ought to be attended to.

⁴ Harleian MSS. no.7502, f.13: "Copyed from the Original in ye hands of Mrs. Cook (Grandangher to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood) of New-ington, Mides: Nove 5, 1759, By A. Offford." Printed, without reference, incorrectly, in Assaul Register for 1761, p. 49; in Gentleman's Magnatine, &c. — Appendix, No. 29.

vil. 223, 22d September 1653.

For my honoured Friends, the Committee for Regulating the Customs: These present.

GENTLEMEN. 'Cockpit, October 1658,'

I am sorry after recommendation of a Friend of mine the Bearer hereof, — considering him in relation to his poor Parents an object of pity and commiseration, yet well deserving and not less qualified for employment, — he should find such cold success amongst you.

His great necessities and my love once more invite me to write unto you, in his behalf; To bestow on him, if it may not be in the City by reason of multiplicity of suitors, a place in the Out-ports: and I doubt not but his utmost abilities will be improved to the faithful discharging of such trust as you shall impose on him, for the good of the Commonwealth. And thereby you will engage him who remains,

Your affectionate friend, OLIVER CROMWELL. §

LETTER CXCI.

This "Henry Weston," otherwise unknown to all Editors, is a Gentleman of Surrey; his "House at Ockham," not Oakham, is in the neighbourhood of Guildford in that County. So much, strangely enough, an old stone Tablet still legible in Ockham Church, which a beneficent hand has pointed out, enables me to say; — an authentic dim old Stone in Surrey, curiously reflecting light on a dim old Piece of Paper which has fluttered far about the world before it reached us here! "Brother Ford," I find by the same authority, is of knightly rank in Sussex: and Harry Weston's Father, "lieth buried in the Chancel of Speldhurst Church" in Kent; his Uncle, a childless man, resting here at Ockham, "since the 8th day of

§ Letter genuine, teste me; reference unfortunately lost.

July 1638, in the clymacteric of his age, 63."*— Reverend Mr. Draper" has not elsewhere come across me. Happily we can hope he officiates well in Kent; and read this Letter without other light.

For my honoured Friend Henry Weston, Esquire, at his House in Ockham: These.

SIR, MY NOBLE FRIEND, 'London,' 16th Nov. 1653.

Your Brother Ford was lately with me, acquainting me with my presumption in moving for, and your civility in granting, the Advowson of Speldhurst to one Mr. Draper, who is now incumbent there, and who, it seems, was there for three of four years before the death of the old incumbent, by virtue of a sequestration.

Sir, I had almost forgot upon what account I made thus bold with you; but now have fully recollected. I understand the person is very able and honest, well approved of by most of the good Ministers thereabout; and much desired by the honest people who are in a Religious Association in those parts.** Wherefore I now most heartily own and thank you for your favour showed Mr. Draper for my sake; beseeching the continuance of your respects to the Gentleman, — who shall be very much tied to pay you all service; and so shall, in what lieth in his power,

Your affectionate friend to serve you, OLIVER CROMWELL.§

Copy of the Inscription penes me.
Has crossed out "thereabouts;" and written "in those parts," as preferable.

[§] Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 12,098. Original, in good preservation; with this endorsement in a newer hand: "The Generell Cromwell's letter about Spelderst living;" and this Note appended: "In an old Bible I had from England with other Books, March 1726." Some Transatlantic Puritan, to all appearance.

And now to Parliament affairs again, — to the catastrophe now nigh.

On the whole, we have to say of this Little Parliament, that it sat for five months and odd days, very carnestly striving: earnestly, nobly, — and by no means unwisely, as the ignorant Histories teach. But the farther it advanced towards real Christianism in human affairs, the louder grew the shrieks of Sham-Christianism everywhere profitably lodged there; - and prudent persons, responsible for the issue, discovered that of a truth, for one reason or another, for reasons evident and for reasons not evident, there could be no success according to that method. We said, the History of this Little Parliament lay all buried very deep in the torpors of Human Stupidity, and was not likely ever to be brought into daylight in this world. In their five months time they passed various good Acts; chose, with good insight, a new Council of State: took wise charge of the needful Supplies; did all the routine business of a Parliament in a quite unexceptionable, or even in a superior manner. Concerning their Council of State, I find this Note; which, though the Council had soon to alter itself, and take new figures, may be worth appending here.*

Routine business done altogether well by this Little Parliament. But, alas, they had decided on abolishing Tithes, on supporting a Christian Ministry by some other method than Tithes; — nay far worse, they had decided on abolishing the Court of Chancery! Finding grievances greater than could

^{**} Council of State elected, — Tuesday 1st November 1653 (Commons Journals, vii. 344). The Election is by ballot, 113 Members present; 'Colonel Montague' (Sandwich), 'Colonel Cromwell' (Henry), and 'Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper,' are three of the Four Scrutineers. Among the Names reported as chosen, here are some, with the Numbers voting for them: Lord General Cromwell (113, one and all); Sir Gilbert Pickering (Poet Dryden's Cousin and Patron, — 110); Desborow (74); Harrison (58); Mayor (of Hursley, — 57); Colonel Montague (59); Ashley Cooper (60); Lord Viscount Lisle (Algernon Sidney's Brother, — 58); Colonel Norton (idle Dick, recovered from the Pride's Purge again, but liable to relapse again, — 57). The Council is of Thirty-one; Sixteen of the Old or Interim Council (above referred to in Cromwell's Speech) are to continue; Fifteen new: these mentioned here are all among the Old, whom the Lord General and his Officers had already nominated.

be borne; finding, for one thing, "Twenty-three thousand Causes of from five to thirty years continuance" lying undetermined in Chancery, it seemed to the Little Parliament that some Court ought to be contrived which would actually determine these and the like Causes; - and that, on the whole, Chancery would be better for abolition. Vote to that effect stands registered in the Commons Journals; * but still, for near two-hundred years now, only expects fulfilment. - So far as one can discover in the huge twilight of Dryasdust, it was mainly by this attack on the Lawyers, and attempt to abolish Chancery, that the Little Parliament perished. Tithes helped, no doubt; and the clamours of a safely-settled Ministry, Presbyterian-Royalist many of them. But the Lawyers exclaimed: "Chancery? Law of the Bible? Do you mean to bring-in the Mosaic Dispensation, then; and deprive men of their properties? Deprive men of their properties; and us of our learned wigs, and lucrative longwindednesses. - with your search for 'Simple Justice,' and 'God's Law,' instead of Learned-Sergeant's Law?" — There was immense "carousing in the Temple" when this Parliament ended; as great tremors had been in the like quarters while it continued.**

But in brief, on Friday the 2d of December 1653, there came a "Report from the Tithes-Committee," recommending that Ministers of an incompetent, simoniacal, loose, or otherwise scandalous nature, plainly unfit to preach any Gospel to immortal creatures, should have a Travelling Commission of chosen Puritan Persons appointed, to travel into all Counties, and straightway inspect them, and eject them, and clear Christ's Church of them: - whereupon there ensued high debatings: Accept the Report, or Not accept it? High debatings, for the space of ten days; with Parliamentary manœuverings, not necessary to specify here. Which rose ever higher; and on Saturday the 10th, had got so high that, as I

vii. 296; 5th August 1653.
 Exact Relation of the Transactions of the late Parliament, by a Member of the same (London, 1654): reprinted in Somers Tracts, vi. 266-84.

am credibly informed, certain leading persons went about colleaguing and consulting, instead of attending Public Worship on the Lord's Day: — and so, on Monday morning early, while the extreme Gospel Party had not yet assembled in the House, it was surreptitiously moved and carried, old Speaker Rouse somewhat treacherously assenting to it, "That the "sitting of this Parliament any longer, as now constituted, "will not be for the good of the Commonwealth; and that "therefore it is requisite to deliver up unto the Lord General "Cromwell the Powers which we received from him!" Whereupon, adds the same Rhadamantine Record, "the House "rose; and the Speaker, with many of the Members of the "House, departed out of the House to Whitehall: where they, "being the greater number of the Members sitting in Parlia-"ment, did, by a Writing," hastily redacted in the waitingroom there, and signed on separate bits of paper hastily wafered together, "resign unto his Excellency their said "Powers. And Mr. Speaker, attended by the Members, did "present the same unto his Excellency accordingly," - and retired into private life again.*

The Lord General Cromwell testified much emotion and surprise at this result; — emotion and surprise which Dryasdust knows well how to interpret. In fact the Lord General is responsible to England and Heaven for this result; and it is one of some moment! He and the established Council of State, "Council of Officers and" non-established "Persons of Interest in the Nation," must consider what they will now do!

Clearly enough to them, and to us, there can only one thing be done: search be made, Whether there is any King, Könning, Canning, or Supremely Able-Man that you can fall-in with, to take charge of these conflicting and colliding elements, drifting towards swift wreck otherwise; — any "Parish Constable," as Oliver himself defines it, to bid good

Commons Journals, vii. 863; Exact Relation, ubi supra; Whitlocke,
 p. 551, &c.



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men keep the peace to one another. To your unspeakable good-luck, such Supremely Able-Man, King, Constable, or by whatever name you will call him, is already found, — known to all persons for years past: your Puritan Interest is not yet necessarily a wreck; but may still float, and do what farther is in it, while he can float!

From Monday onwards, the excitement of the public mind in old London and whithersoever the news went, in those winter days, must have been great. The "Lord General called a Council of Officers and other Persons of Interest in the Nation," as we said; and there was "much seeking of God by prayer," and abstruse advising of this matter, - the matter being really great, and to some of us even awful! The dialogues, conferences, and abstruse advisings are all lost; the result we know for certain. Monday was 12th of December; on Friday 16th, the result became manifest to all the world: That the ablest of Englishmen, Oliver Cromwell, was henceforth to be recognised for Supremely Able; and that the Title of him was to be LORD PROTECTOR OF THE COMMON-WEALTH OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND, with "Instrument of Government," "Council of Fifteen or of Twenty-one," and other necessary less important circumstances, of the like conceivable nature.

The Instrument of Government, a carefully constitutional piece in Forty-two Articles; the Ceremony of Installation, transacted with due simplicity and much modest dignity, "in the Chancery Court in Westminster Hall," that Friday afternoon; — the chair of state, the Judges in their robes, Lord Mayors with caps of maintenance; the state-coaches, outriders, outrunners, and "great shoutings of the people;" the procession from and to Whitehall, and "Mr. Lockier the Chaplain's Exhortation" to us there: these, with the investable adjuncts of the case, shall be conceived by ingenious readers, or read in innumerable Pamphlets and Books, * and omitted here. "His Highness was in a rich but plain suit:

Whitlocke, pp. 552-61; Newspapers (in Cromwellians, p. 181, in Par-Hamentary History, xx.); &c. &c.

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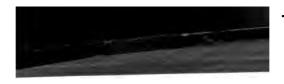
"black velvet, with cloak of the same: about his hat a broad "band of gold." Does the reader see him? A rather likely figure. I think. Stands some five feet ten or more: a man of strong solid stature, and dignified, now partly military carriage: the expression of him valour and devout intelligence. - energy and delicacy on a basis of simplicity. Fifty-four years old, gone April last; ruddy-fair complexion, bronsed by toil and age; light-brown hair and moustache are getting streaked with gray. A figure of sufficient impressiveness; not levely to the man-milliner species, nor pretending to be so. Massive stature; big massive head, of somewhat leonine aspect. "evident workshop and storehouse of a vast treasury of natural parts." Wart above the right eyebrow; nose of considerable blunt-aquiline proportions; strict yet copious lips, full of all tremulous sensibilities, and also if need were, of all fiercenesses and rigours; deep loving eyes, call them grave, call them stern, looking from under those craggy brows, as if in lifelong sorrow, and yet not thinking it sorrow, thinking it only labour and endeavour: - on the whole, a right noble lion-face and hero-face; and to me royal enough.* The reader, in his mind, shall conceive this event and its figures.

Conceived too, or read elsewhere than here, shall Dryasdust's multifarious unmelodious commentaries be, — and likewise Anti-Dryasdust's; the two together cancelling one another; and amounting pretty well, by this time, to zero for us. "Love of power," as flunkeys love it, remains the one credibility for Dryasdust; and will forever remain. To the valet-soul how will you demonstrate that, in this world, there is or was anything heroic? You cannot do it; you need not try to do it. — I cite with some reluctance from a Manuscript Author, often enough referred to here, the following detached

sentences, and so close this Seventh Part.

"Dryasdust knows not the value of a King," exclaims he; "the bewildered mortal has forgotten it. Finding Kings'-

Maidston's Letter to Winthrop, in Thurloe, i. 763-8; Cooper's Portraits; Mask of Cromwell's Face (in the Statuaries Shops).



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"cloaks so cheap, hung out on every hedge, and paltry as "beggars' gabardines, he says, 'What use is in a King? "This King's-cloak, if this be your King, is naught!"—

"Power? Love of Power? Does 'power' mean the faculty "of giving places, of having newspaper paragraphs, of being "waited on by sycophants? To ride in gilt coaches, escorted "by the flunkeyisms and most sweet voices, — I assure thee, "it is not the Heaven of all, but only of many! Some born "Kings I myself have known, of stout natural limbs, who, in "shoes of moderately good fit, found quiet walking handier; "and crowned themselves, almost too sufficiently, by putting "on their own private hat, with some spoken or speechless, "God enable me to be King of what lies under this! For "Eternities lie under it, and Infinitudes, and Heaven also and "Hell. And it is as big as the Universe, this Kingdom; and "I am to conquer it, or be forever conquered by it, now while "it is called Today!"

"The love of 'power,' if thou understand what to the man-"ful heart 'power' signifies, is a very noble and indispensable "love. And here and there, in the outer world too, there is a "due throne for the noble man; - which let him see well that "he seize, and valiantly defend against all men and things. "God gives it him; let no Devil take it away. Thou also art "called by the God's-message: This, if thou canst read the "Heavenly omens and dare do them, this work is thine. Voice-"less, or with no articulate voice, Occasion, god-sent, rushes "storming on, amid the world's events; swift, perilous; like a "whirlwind. like a fleet lightning-steed: manfully thou shalt "clutch it by the mane, and vault into thy seat on it, and ride "and guide there, thou! Wreck and ignominious overthrow, "if thou have dared when the Occasion was not thine: ever-"lasting scorn to thee if thou dare not when it is; - if the "cackling of Roman geese and Constitutional ganders, if the "clack of human tongues and leading-articles, if the steel of "armies and the crack of Doom deter thee, when the voice "was God's! - Yes, this too is in the law for a man, my poor

"quack-ridden, bewildered Constitutional friends; and we "ought to remember this withal. Thou shalt is written upon "Life in characters as terrible as Thou shalt not, — though "poor Dryasdust reads almost nothing but the latter himtherto."

And so we close Part Seventh; and proceed to trace with all piety, what faint authentic vestiges of Oliver's Protectorate the envious Stupidities have not obliterated for us.



PART VIII.

FIRST PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT.

1654.

LETTERS CXCII.—CXCV.

THE 3d of September ever since Worcester Battle has been kept as a Day of Thanksgiving: commemorative of the mercy at Dunbar in 1650, and of the crowning-mercy which followed next year; - a memorable day for the Commonwealth of Eng-By Article Seventh of the Instrument of Government, it is now farther provided that a Parliament shall meet on that auspicious Anniversary when it next comes round. September 3d, 1654, then shall the First Protectorate Parliament meet; successive Parliaments, one at least every Three years, are to follow, but this shall be the First. Not to be dissolved, or prorogued, for at least Five months. Free Parliament of Fourhundred; for England Three-hundred-and-forty, for Scotland Thirty, for Ireland Thirty; fairly chosen by election of the People, according to rules anxiously constitutional, laid down in that same Instrument, - which we do not dwell upon here. Smaller Boroughs are excluded; among Counties and larger Boroughs is a more equable division of representatives according to their population: nobody to vote that has not some clearly visible property to the value of Two-hundred Pounds: but all that have can vote, and can be voted for, - except, of course, all such as have appeared against the Parliament in any of these Wars "since the First of January 1462," and "not since given signal testimony" of their repenting that step. To appearance, a very reasonable Reform Bill; — understood to be substantially

the same with that invaluable measure once nearly completed by the Rump: only with this essential difference, That the Rump Members are not now to sit by nature and without election; not now to decide, they, in case of extremity, Thou shalt sit, Thou shalt not sit; — others than they will now decide that, in cases of extremity. How this Parliament, in its Fivemonths Session, will welcome the new Protector and Protectorate is naturally the grand question during those Nine or Ten Months that intervene.

A question for all Englishmen; and most of all for Oliver Protector; — who however, as we can perceive, does not allow it to overawe him very much; but diligently doing this day the day's duties, hopes he may find, as God has often favoured him to do, some good solution for the morrow, whatsoever the morrow please to be. A man much apt to be overawed by any question that is smaller than Eternity, or by any danger that is lower than God's Displeasure, would not suit well in Oliver's place at present! Perhaps no more perilous place, that I know clearly of, was ever deliberately accepted by a man. "The post of honour,"—the post of terror and of danger and forlornhope: this man has all along been used to occupy such.

To see a little what kind of England it was, and what kind of incipient Protectorate it was, take, as usual, the following small and few fractions of Authenticity, of various complexion, fished from the doubtful slumber-lakes and dust-vortexes, and hang them out at their places in the void night of things. They are not very luminous; but if they were well let alone, and the positively tenebrific were well forgotten, they might assist our

imaginations in some slight measure.

Sunday, 18th December 1653. A certain loud-tongued, loud-minded Mr. Feak, of Anabaptist-Leveller persuasion, with a Colleague, seemingly Welsh, named Powel, have a Preaching-Establishment, this good while past, in Blackfriars; a Preaching-Establishment every Sunday, which on Monday Evening becomes a National-Charter Convention as we should now call it: there Feak, Powel and Company are in the habit of vomiting forth from their own inner-man, into other inner-men

greedy of such pabulum, a very flamy fuliginous set of doctrines, - such as the human mind, superadding Anabaptistry to Sansculottism, can make some attempt to conceive. Sunday the 18th, which is two days after the Lord Protector's Installation, this Feak-Powel Meeting was unusually large; the Feak-Powel inner-man unusually charged. Elements of soot and fire really copious: fuliginous-flamy in a very high degree! At a time, too, when all Doctrine does not satisfy itself with spouting, but longs to become instant Action. "Go and tell your Protector," said the Anabaptist Prophet, That he has deceived the Lord's People; "that he is a perjured villain,"-"will not reign long," or I am deceived; "will end worse than the last Protector did," Protector Somerset who died on the scaffold, or the tyrant Crooked Richard himself! Say, I said it! - A very foul chimney indeed, here got on fire. And "Major-General Harrison, the most eminent man of the Ana-"baptist Party, being consulted whether he would own the "new Protectoral Government, answered frankly, No;" was thereupon ordered to retire home to Staffordshire, and keep quiet.*

Does the reader bethink him of those old Leveller Corporals at Burford, and Diggers at St. George's Hill five years ago; of Quakerisms, Calvinistic Sansculottisms, and one of the strangest Spiritual Developments ever seen in any country? The reader sees here one foul chimney on fire, the Feak-Powel chimney in Blackfriars: and must consider for himself what masses of combustible material, noble fuel and base soot and smoky explosive fire-damp, in the general English Household it communicates with! Republicans Proper, of the Long Parliament; Republican Fifth-Monarchists of the Little Parliament; the solid Ludlows, the fervent Harrisons: from Harry Vane down to Christopher Feak, all manner of Republicans find Cromwell unforgivable. To the Harrison-and-Feak species Kingship in every sort, and government of man by man, is carnal, expressly contrary to various Gospel Scriptures. Very horrible for a man to think of governing men; - whether

[•] Thurloe, i. 641; - 442, 591, 621.

he ought even to govern cattle, and drive them to field and to needful penfold, "except in the way of love and persuasion," seems doubtful to me! But fancy a Reign of Christ and his Saints; Christ and his Saints just about to come, — had not Oliver Cromwell stept in and prevented it! The reader discerns combustibilities enough; conflagrations, plots, stubborn disaffections and confusions, on the Republican and Republican-Anabaptist side of things. It is the first Plot-department, which my Lord Protector will have to deal with, all his life long. This he must wisely damp down, as he may. Wisely: for he knows what is noble in the matter, and what is base in it; and would not sweep the fuel and the soot both out of doors at once.

Tuesday, 14th February 1658-4. "At the Ship-Tavern in the Old Bailey, kept by Mr. Thomas Amps," we come upon the second lifelong Plot-department: Eleven truculent, rather threadbare persons, sitting over small drink there, on the Tuesday night, considering how the Protector might be assassinated. Poor broken Royalist men; payless Old-Captains, most of them, or such like; with their steeple-hats worn very brown, and jackboots slit, — and projects that cannot be executed. Mr. Amps knows nothing of them, except that they came to him to drink; nor do we. Probe them with questions; clap them in the Tower for a while: "Guilty, poor knaves; but not worth hanging: — disappear again into the general mass of Royalist Plotting, and ferment there.

The Royalists have lain quiet ever since Worcester; waiting what issue matters would take. Dangerous to meddle with a Rump Parliament, or other steadily regimented thing; safer if you can find it fallen out of rank; hopefullest of all, when it collects itself into a Single Head. The Royalists judge, with some reason, that if they could kill Oliver Protector, this Commonwealth were much endangered. In these Easter weeks, too, or Whitsun weeks, there comes "from our Court" (Charles Stuart's Court) "at Paris," great encouragement to all men of spirit in straitened circumstances. A Royal Pro-

Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 135).

clamation "By the King," drawn up, say some, by Secretary Clarendon: setting forth that "Whereas a certain base me-"chanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell, has usurped our "throne," much to our and other people's inconvenience, whosoever will kill the said mechanic fellow "by sword, pistol or poison," shall have 500 l. a-year settled upon him, with colonelcies in our Army, and other rewards suitable, and be a made man. - "on the word and faith of a Christian King." A Proclamation which cannot be circulated except in secret; but is well worth reading by all loyal men. And so Royalist Plots also succeed one another, thick and threefold through Oliver's whole life; - but cannot take effect. Vain for a Christian King and his cunningest Chancellors to summon all the Sinners of the Earth, and whatsoever of necessitous Truculent-Flunkeyism there may be, and to bid, in the name of Heaven and of Another place, for the Head of Oliver Cromwell: once for all, they cannot have it, that Head of Cromwell; - not till he has entirely done with it, and can make them welcome to their benefit from it! We shall come upon these Royalist Plots, Rebellion Plots and Assassin Plots, in the order of time; and have to mention them, though with brevity. Oliver Protector, I suppose, understands and understood his Protectorship moderately well, and what Plots and other Hydra-coils were inseparable from it; and contrives to deal with these too, like a conscientious man, and not like a hungry slave.

Secretary Thurloe, once St John's Secretary in Holland, has come now, ever since the Little-Parliament time, into decided action as Oliver's Secretary, or the State Secretary; one of the expertest Secretaries, in the real meaning of the word Secretary, any State or working King could have. He deals with all these Plots; it is part of his function, supervised by his Chief. Mr. John Milton, we all lament to know, has fallen blind in the Public Service; lives now in Bird-cage Walk, still doing a little when called upon; bating no jot of heart or hope. Mr. Milton's notion is, That this Protectorate of his Highness

^{*} Thurloe, ii. 248. "Given at Paris, 3d May (23d April by old style), 1854."

Oliver was a thing called for by the Necessities and the Everlasting Laws; and that his Highness ought now to quit himself like a Christian Hero in it. as in other smaller things he has been used to do.*

March 20th, 1653-4. By the Instrument of Government. the Lord Protector with his Council. ** till once the First Parliament were got together, was empowered not only to raise moneys for the needful supplies, but also "to make Laws and Ordinances for the peace and welfare of these Nations:" which latter faculty he is by no means slack to exercise. Of his "Sixty Ordinances" passed in this manner before the Parliament met, which are well approved of by good judges, we cannot here afford to say much: but there is one bearing date as above, which must not be omitted. First Ordinance relating to the Settlement of a Gospel Ministry in this Nation; Ordinance of immense interest to Puritan England at that time. An object which has long been on the anvil, this same "Settlement;" much laboured at, and striven for, ever since the Long Parliament began: and still, as all confess, no tolerable result has been attained. Yet is it not the greatest object; properly the soul of all these struggles and confused wrestlings and battlings, since we first met here? For the thing men are taught, or get to believe, that is the thing they will infallibly do; the kind of "Gospel" you settle, kind of "Ministry" you settle, or do not settle, the root of all is there! Let us see what the Lord Protector can accomplish in this business.

Episcopacy being put down, and Presbytery not set up, and Church-Government for years past being all a Church-Anarchy, the business is somewhat difficult to deal with. The Lord Protector, as we find, takes it up in simplicity and integrity, intent upon the real heart or practical outcome of it: and makes a rather satisfactory arrangement. Thirty-eight chosen Men, the acknowledged Flower of English Puritanism.

[&]quot; Defensio Secunda.

Telephone in number, which he may enlarge to Twenty-one, if he see good. Not removable any of them, except by himself with advice of the rest. A very remarkable Majesty's Ministry; — of which, for its own sake and the Majesty's, take this List, as it stood in 1654:

are nominated by this Ordinance of the 20th of March.* nominated a Supreme Commission for the Trial of Public Preachers. Any person pretending to hold a Church-living, or levy tithes or clergy-dues in England, has first to be tried and approved by these men. Thirty-eight, as Scobell teaches us: nine are Laymen, our friend old Francis Rouse at the head of them: twenty-nine are Clergy. His Highness, we find, has not much inquired of what Sect they are; has known them to be Independents, to be Presbyterians, one or two of them to be even Anabaptists; - has been careful only of one characteristic. That they were men of wisdom, and had the root of the matter in them. Owen, Goodwin, Sterry, Marshall, Manton, and others not yet quite unknown to men, were among these Clerical Triers: the acknowledged Flower of Spiritual England at that time; and intent, as Oliver himself was, with an awful earnestness, on actually having the Gospel taught to England.

This is the First branch or limb of Oliver's scheme for Church-Government, this Ordinance of the 20th March 1653-4. A Second, which completes what little he could do in the matter at present, developed itself in August following. By this August Ordinance,** a Body of Commissioners, distinguished Puritan Gentry, distinguished Puritan Clergy, are nominated in all Counties of England, from Fifteen to Thirty in each County; who are to inquire into "scandalous, ignorant, insufficient," and otherwise deleterious alarming Ministers of the

Philip Viscount Lisle (Algernon Sidney's Brother); Fleetwood; Lambert; Montague (of Hinchinbrook); Desborow (Protector's Brother-in-law); Ashley Cooper (Earl of Shaftesbury afterwards); Walter Strickland (Member for Minehead in the Long Parliament, once Ambassador in Holland); Colonel Henry Lawrence (for Westmoreland in the Long Parliament, owhom we have transiently heard, — became President of the Council); Mayor (of Hursley); Francis Rouse (our old friend); pious old Major-General Skippon; Colonols Philip Jones and Sydenham, Sirs Gilbert Pickering and Charles Wolseley, of whom my readers do not know much. Pifteen Councillors in all. To whom Nathaniel Fiennes (son of Lord Say and Sele) was afterwards added; with the Earl of Mulgrave; and another, Colonel Mackworth, who soon died (Thurlne, ill. 581). Thurloo is Secretary; and blind Milton, now with assistants, is Latin Secretary.

Scobell, il. 279, 80.

Gospel; to be a tribunal for judging, for detecting, ejecting them (only in case of ejection, if they have wives, let some small modicum of living be allowed them): and to sit there, judging and sifting, till gradually all is sifted clean, and can be kept clean. This is the Second branch of Oliver's form of Church-Government: this, with the other Ordinance, makes at last a kind of practicable Ecclesiastical Arrangement for England.

A very republican arrangement, such as could be made on the sudden; contains in it, however, the germ or essence of all conceivable arrangements, that of worthy men to judge of the worth of men; - and was found in practice to work well. As indeed, any arrangement will work well, when the men in it have the root of the matter at heart; and, alas, all arrangements, when the men in them have not, work ill and not well! Of the Lay Commissioners, from fifteen to thirty in each County, it is remarked that not a few are political enemies of Oliver's: friends or enemies of his. Oliver hopes they are men of pious probity, and friends to the Gospel in England. My Lord General Fairfax, the Presbyterian; Thomas Scott, of the Long Parliament, the fanatical Republican: Lords Wharton. Say, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Colonel Robert Blake, Mayor of Hursley, Dunch of Pusey, Montague of Hinchinbrook, and other persons known to us, - are of these Commissioners. Richard Baxter, who seldom sat, is one of the Clergy for his County: he testifies, not in the willingest manner, being no friend to Oliver, That these Commissioners, of one sort and the other, with many faults, did sift out the deleterious alarming Ministers of the Gospel, and put-in the salutary in their stead, with very considerable success, - giving us "able, "serious Preachers who lived a godly life, of what tolerable "opinion soever they were;" so that "many thousands of "souls blessed God" for what they had done; and grieved sore when, with the return of the Nell-Gwynn Defender, and his Four Surplices or what remained of them, it was undone again.* And so with these Triers and these Expurgators

Baxter's Life, Part i. 72.

both busy, and a faithful eve to watch their procedure, we will hope the Spiritual Teaching-Apparatus of England stood now on a better footing than usual, and actually succeeded in teaching somewhat.

Of the Lord Protector's other Ordinances; Ordinance "declaring the Law of Treason," Ordinances of finance, of Amnesty for Scotland, of Union with Scotland, and other important matters, we must say nothing. One elaborate Ordinance, "in sixty-seven Articles," for "Reforming the Court of Chancery," will be afterwards alluded to with satisfaction. by the Lord Protector himself. Elaborate Ordinance; containing essential improvements, say some; - which has perhaps saved the Court of Chancery from abolition for a while longer! For the rest, "not above Two-hundred Hackneycoaches" shall henceforth be allowed to ply in this Metropolis and six miles round it; the ever-increasing number of them, blocking up our thoroughfares, threatens to become insupportable. *

April 14th, 1654. This day, let it be noted for the sake of poor Editors concerned with undated Letters, and others, his Highness removed from his old Lodging in the Cockpit, into new properly Royal Apartments in Whitehall, now ready for him, ** and lived there henceforth, usually going out to Hampton Court on the Saturday afternoon. He has "assumed somewhat of the state of a King;" due ceremonial, decent observance beseeming the Protector of the Commonwealth of England; life-guards, ushers, state-coaches, — in which my erudite friend knows well what delight this Lord Protector Better still, the Lord Protector has concluded good Treaties: received congratulatory Embassies, - France, Spain itself have sent Embassies. Treaty with the Dutch, with Denmark, Sweden, Portugal: *** all much to our satisfaction. Of the Portuguese Treaty there will perhaps another word be said. As for the Swedish, this, it is well known, was managed

Scobell, il. 313; Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 139).
 Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 139).
 Dutch Troaty signed, 5th April 1634; Swedish, 28th April; Portuguese, 10th July; Danish Claims settled, 31st July (Godwin iv. 49-56).

by our learned friend Bulstrode at Upsal itself; whose Narrative of that formidable Embassy exists, a really curious lifepicture by our Pedant friend; whose qualities are always fat and good; — whose parting from poor Mrs. Whitlocke at Chelsea, in those interesting circumstances, may be said to resemble that of Hector from Andromache, in some points.

And now for our Four small Letters, for our First Protectorate Parliament, without waste of another word!

LETTER CXCIL

For my loving Brother Richard Mayor, Esquire, at Hursley, in Hampshire: These.

DEAR BROTHER, 'Whitehall,' 4th May 1654.

I received your loving Letter; for which I thank you: and surely were it fit to proceed in that Business, you should not in the least have been put upon anything but the trouble; for indeed the land in Essex, with some money in my hand, should have gone towards it.

But indeed I am so unwilling to be a seeker after the world, having had so much favour from the Lord in giving me so much without seeking; and 'am' so unwilling that men should think me so, which they will though you only appear in it (for they will, by one means or other, know it), — that indeed I dare not meddle nor proceed therein. Thus I have told you my plain thoughts.

My hearty love I present to you and my Sister, my blessing and love to dear Doll and the little one.

With love to all,

I rest, Your loving brother, OLIVER P. §

§ Noble, i. 330; Harris, p. 515; - one of the Pusey Letters.

A "business" seemingly of making an advantageous purchase of land for Richard: which Mayor will take all the trouble of, and even advance the money for; but which Oliver P., for good reasons given, "dare not meddle with." No man can now guess what land it was, - nor need much. In the Pamphletary dust-mountains is a confused story of Cornet Joyce's. F concerning Fawley Park in Hampshire: which, as the dim dateless indications point to the previous winter or summer, and to the "Lord General Cromwell" as looking towards that property for his Son Richard, - may be the place, for aught we know! The story sets forth, with the usual bewildered vivacity of Joyce: How Joyce, the same who took the King at Holmby, and is grown now a noisy Anabaptist and Lieutenant-Colonel, - how Joyce, I say, was partly minded and fully entitled to purchase Fawley Park. and Richard Cromwell was minded and not fully entitled: how Richard's Father thereupon dealt treacherously with the said Joyce; spake softly to him, then quarrelled with him. menaced him (owing to Fawley Park); nav ended by flinging him into prison, and almost reducing him to his needle and thimble again, - greatly to the enragement and distraction of the said Joyce. All owing to Fawley Park, thinks Joyce and prints: - so that my Lord Protector, if this Park be the place, is very wise "not to meddle or proceed therein." And so we leave it.

LETTER CXCIII.

MONK, in these summer months, has a desultory kind of Rebellion in the Highlands, Glencairn's or Middleton's Rebellion, to deal with; and is vigorously coercing and strangling it. Colonel Alured, an able officer, but given to Anabaptist notions, has been sent into Ulster to bring over certain forces to assist Monk. His loose tongue, we find, has disclosed de-

True Narrative of the Causes of the Lord General Cromwell's anger and indignation against Lieutenant Colonel George Joyce: reprinted (without date) in Harleian Miscellany v. 557, &c. — Joyce "is in jail," 19th Sept. 1635 (Thurloe, I. 470).

signs or dispositions in him which seem questionable. The Lord Protector sees good to revoke his Commission to Alured, and order him up to Town.

'To the Lord Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland: These.'
Sir., 'Whitehall,' 16th May 1654.

By the Letter I received from you, and by the information of the Captain you sent to me, I am sufficiently satisfied of the evil intentions of Colonel Alured; and by some other considerations amongst ourselves, tending to the making up a just suspicion, — by the advice of friends here, I do revoke Colonel Alured from that Employment.

Wherefore I desire you to send for him to return to you to Dublin; and that you cause him to deliver up the Instructions and Authorities into your hands, which he hath in reference to that Business; as also such moneys and accounts concerning the same, — according to the Letter, herein enclosed, directed to him, which I entreat you to deliver when he comes to you.

I desire 'you' also, to the end the Service may not be neglected, nor 'for' one day stand, it being of so great concernment, To employ some able Officer to assist in Colonel Alured's room, until the men be shipped off for their design. We purpose also, God willing, to send one very speedily who, we trust, shall meet them at the place, to command in chief. As for provision of victual and other necessaries, we shall hasten them away; desiring that these Forces may by no means stay in Ireland; because we purpose they shall meet their provision in the place they are designed 'for.'

If any farther discovery be with you about any other passages on Colonel Alured's part, I pray examine them, and speed them to us; and send Colonel Alured over hither with the first opportunity. Not having more upon this subject at present,

Your loving father, OLIVER P.

'P.S.' I desire you that the Officer, whom you appoint to assist the shipping of the Forces, may have the money in Colonel Alured's hands, for carrying on the Service; and also that he may leave what remains at Carrickfergus for the Commander-in-chief, who shall call for it there. §

This is the Enclosure, above spoken of:

LETTER CXCIV.

'To Colonel Alured: These.'

'Whitehall,' 16th May 1654.

SIR, I desire you to deliver-up into the hands of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood such Authorities and Instructions as you had for the prosecution of the Business of the Highlands in Scotland; and 'that' you forthwith repair to me to London; the reason whereof you shall know when you come hither, which I would have you do with all speed. I would have you also give an account to the Lieutenant-General, before you come away, how far you have proceeded in this Service, and what money you have in your hands, which you are to leave with him. I rest.

> Your loving friend, OLIVER P. §§ 88 Thid. ii. 286.

This Colonel Alured is one of several Yorkshire Alureds somewhat conspicuous in these wars; whom we take to be Nephews or Sons of the valuable Mr. Alured or Ald'red who wrote "to old Mr. Chamberlain," - in the last generation, one morning, during the Parliament of 1628, when certain honourable Gentlemen held their Speaker down, - a Letter which we thankfully read. * One of them, John, was Member in this Long Parliament: a Colonel too, and King's Judge: who is now dead. Here is another. Colonel Matthew Alured. a distinguished soldier and republican; who is not dead; but whose career of usefulness is here ended. "Repairing forthwith to London," to the vigilant Lord Protector, he gives what account he can of himself; none that will hold water, I perceive: lingers long under a kind of arrest "at the Mews" or elsewhere: soliciting either freedom and renewed favour. or a fair trial and punishment; gets at length committal to the Tower, trial by Court Martial,—dismissal from the service.** A fate like that of several others in a similar case to his. — Poor Alured! But what could be done with him? He had Republican Anabaptist notions; he had discontents, enthusiasms, which might even ripen into tendencies to correspond with Charles Stuart. Who knows if putting him in a stone waistcoat, and general strait-waistcoat of a mild form, was not the mercifullest course that could be taken with him?

He must stand here as the representative to us of one of the fatallest elements in the new Lord Protector's position: the Republican discontents and tendencies to plot, fermenting in his own Army. Of which we shall perhaps find elsewhere room to say another word. Republican Overton, Milton's friend, whom we have known at Hull and elsewhere; Okey, the fierce dragoon Colonel and zealous Anabaptist; Alured, whom we see here; Ludlow, sitting sulky in Ireland: all these are already summoned up, or about being summoned, to give account of themselves. Honourable, brave and faithful men:

^{*} Vol. i. p. 58 et seq.

** Whitlocke, pp. 499, 510; Thurloe, ii. 294, 313, 414; Burton's Diary (London, 1828), iii. 46; Commons Journals, vii. 678.

it is, as Oliver often says, the saddest thought of his heart that he must have old friends like them for enemies! But he cannot help it; they will have it so. They must go their way, he his.

Much need of vigilance in this Protector! Directly on the back of these Republican commotions, come out Royalist ones; with which however the Protector is less straitened to deal. Lord Deputy Fleetwood has not yet received his Letter at Dublin, when here in London emerges a Royalist Plot; the first of any gravity; known in the old Books and State-Trials 25 Vowel and Gerard's Plot, or Somerset Fox's Plot. Plot for assassinating the Protector, as usual. Easy to do it, as he goes to Hampton Court on a Saturday, - Saturday the 20th of May, for example. Provide thirty stout men; and do it Gerard, a young Royalist Gentleman, connected with Royalist Colonels afterwards Earls of Macclesfield, - he will provide Five-and-twenty; some Major Henshaw, Colonel Finch, or I know not who, shall bring the other Five. "Vowel a Schoolmaster at Islington, who taught many young gentlemen." strong for Church and King, cannot act in the way of shooting; busies himself consulting, and providing arms. "Billingsley the Butcher in Smithfield," he, sided by Vowel, could easily "seize the Troopers' horses grazing in Islington fields;" while others of us unawares fall upon the soldiers at the Mews? Easy then to proclaim King Charles in the City; after which Prince Rupert arriving with "Ten-thousand Irish, English and French," and all the Royalists rising, the King should have his own again, and we were all made men; and Oliver once well killed, the Commonwealth itself were as good as dead! Saturday the 20th of May; then, say our Paris expresses, then! -

Alas, in the very birthtime of the hour, "five of the Conspirators are seized in their beds;" Gerard, Vowel, all the leaders are seized; Somerset Fox confesses for his life; whosoever is guilty can be seized: and the Plot is like water spilt upon the ground!* A High Court of Justice must decide

[•] French Le Bas dismissed for his share in it: Appendix, No. 30.

upon it; and with Gerard and Vowel it will probably go hard.

LETTER CXCV.

REFERS to a small private or civic matter: the Vicarage of Christ-Church, Newgate Street, the patronage of which belongs to "the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of London as Governors of the Royal Hospital of St. Bartholomew" ever since Henry the Eighth's time. * The former Incumbent, it would seem, had been removed by the Council of State; some Presbyterian probably, who was, not without cause, offensive to them. If now the Electors and the State could both agree on Mr. Turner, — it would "silence" several questions, thinks the Lord Protector. Whether they did agree? Who "Mr. Turner," of such "repute for piety and learning," was? These are questions.

To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Vyner, Knight, Lord Mayor of London: These.

My LORD MAYOR, 'Whitehall,' 5th July 1654.

It is not my custom now, nor shall be, without some special cause moving, to interpose anything to the hindrance of any in the free course of their presenting persons to serve in the Public Ministry.

But, well considering how much it concerns the public peace, and what an opportunity may be had of promoting the interest of the Gospel, if some eminent and fit person of a pious and peaceable spirit and conversation were placed in Christ-Church, — and though I am not ignorant what interest the State may justly challenge to supply that place, which by an Order of State is become void, notwithstanding any resignation that is made:

^{*} Elmes's Topographical Dictionary of London, in voce.

Yet forasmuch as your Lordship and the rest of the Governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital are about to present thereunto a person of known nobility and integrity before you, namely Mr. Turner, I am contented, if you think good so to improve the present opportunity as to present him to the place, to have all other questions silenced; — which will not alone be the fruit thereof; but I believe also the true good of the Parish therein concerned will be thereby much furthered.

I rest, Your assured friend, OLIVER P.

'P.S.' I can assure you few men of his time in England have a better repute for piety and learning than Mr. Turner. §

I am apt to think the Mr. Turner in question may have been Jerom Turner, of whom there is record in Wood:* a Somersetshire man, distinguished among the Puritans; who takes refuge in Southampton, and preaches with zeal, learning, piety and general approbation during the Wars there. He afterwards removed "to Neitherbury, a great country Parish in Dorsetshire," and continued there, "doing good in his zealous way." If this were he, the Election did not take effect according to Oliver's program; — perhaps Jerom himself declined it? He died, still at Neitherbury, next year; hardly yet past middle age. "He had a strong memory, which he maintained good to the last by temperance," says old Antony: "He was well skilled in Greek and Hebrew, was "a fluent preacher, but too much addicted to Calvinism," — which is to be regretted. "Pastor vigilantissimus, doctrina et

[§] Lansdowne mss. 1236, fol. 104. The Signature alone of the Letter is Oliver's; but he has added the Postscript in his own hand.

Athens, iii. 404.

pietate insignis:" so has his Medical Man characterised him; one "Dr. Loss of Dorchester," who kept a Note-book in those days. Requiescat, requiescant.

The High Court of Justice has sat upon Vowel and Gerard: found them both guilty of High Treason; they lie under sentence of death, while this Letter is a-writing; are executed five days hence, 10th July 1654; and make an edifying end.* Vowel was hanged at Charing Cross in the morning; strong for Church and King. The poor young Gerard, being of gentle blood and a soldier, petitioned to have beheading; and had it, the same evening, in the Tower. So ends Plot First. Other Royalists, Plotters or suspect of Plotting, -Ashburnham, who rode with poor Charles First to the Isle of Wight on a past occasion; Sir Richard Willis, who, I think, will be useful to Oliver by and by,—these and a list of others** were imprisoned; were questioned, dismissed; and the Assassin Project is rather cowed down for a while.

Writs for the New Parliament are out, and much electioneering interest over England: but there is still an anecdote connected with this poor Gerard and the 10th of July, detailed at great length in the old Books, which requires to be mentioned here. About an hour after Gerard, there died, in the same place, by the same judicial axe, a Portuguese Nobleman. Don Pantaleon Sa, whose story, before this tragic end of it, was already somewhat twisted up with Gerard's. To wit, on the 23d of November last, this same young Major Gerard was walking in the crowd of Exeter 'Change, where Don Pantaleon, Brother of the Portuguese Ambassador, chanced also to be. Some jostling of words, followed by drawing of rapiers, took place between them; wherein as Don Pantaleon had rather the worse, he hurried home to the Portuguese Embassy; armed some twenty of his followers, in headpieces, breastpieces, with sword and pistol, and returned to seek revenge. Gerard was gone; but another man, whom they took for him, these rash Portugals slew there; and had to be repressed, after

<sup>State Trials (London, 1810), v. 516-39.
Newspapers, 1st-8th June 1654 (in Cromwelliana, p. 143).</sup>

1654.]

much other riot, and laid in custody, by the watch or soldiery. Assize-trial, in consequence, for Don Pantaleon; clear Trial in the "Upper Bench Court," jury half foreigners; and rigorous sentence of death; — much to Don Pantaleon's amazement, who pleaded and got his Brother to plead the rights of Ambassadors, all manners of rights and considerations; all to no purpose. The Lord Protector would not and could not step between a murderer and the Law: poor Don Pantaleon perished on the same block with Gerard; two Tragedies, once already in contact, had their fifth-act together. Don Pantaleon's Brother, all sorrow and solicitation being fruitless, signed the Portuguese Treaty that very day, and instantly departed for his own country, with such thoughts as we may figure.

SPEECH II.

But now the New Parliament has got itself elected; not without much interest:—the first Election there has been in England for fourteen years past. Parliament of Four-hundred, thirty Scotch, thirty Irish; freely chosen according to the Instrument, according to the Bill that was in progress when the Rump disappeared. What it will say to these late inarticulate births of Providence, and high transactions? Something edifying, one may hope.

Open Malignants, as we know, could not vote or be voted for, to this Parliament; only active Puritans or quiet Neutrals, who had clear property to the value of 200%. Probably as fair a Representative as, by the rude method of counting heads, could well be got in England. The bulk of it, I suppose, consists of constitutional Presbyterians and use-and-wont Neutrals; it well represents the arithmetical account of heads in England: whether the real divine and human value of thinking-souls in England, — that is a much deeper question; upon which the Protector and this First Parliament of his may much disagree. It is the question of questions, nevertheless;

and he that can answer it best will come best off in the longrun. It was not a successful Parliament this, as we shall find. The Lord Protector and it differed widely in certain fundamental notions they had!—

We recognise old faces, in fair proportion, among those Pour-hundred; - many new withal, who never become known to us. Learned Bulstrode, now safe home from perils in Hyperborean countries, is here; elected for several places, the truly valuable man. Old-Speaker Lenthall sits, old Major-General Skippon, old Sir William Masham, old Sir Francis Rouse. My Lord Herbert (Earl of Worcester's son) is here; Owen, Doctor of Divinity, for Oxford University; - a certain not entirely useless Guibon Goddard, for the Town of Lynn, to whom we owe some Notes of the procedure. Leading Officers and high Official persons have been extensively elected; several of them twice and thrice: Fleetwood, Lambert, the Claypoles, Dunches, both the young Cromwells; Montague for his County, Ashley Cooper for his. On the other hand, my Lord Fairfax is here; nay Bradshaw, Haselrig, Robert Wallop, Wildman, and Republicans are here. Old Sir Harry Vane; not young Sir Harry, who sits meditative in the North. Of Scotch Members we mention only Laird Swinton, and the Earl of Hartfell; of the Irish, Lord Broghil and Commissary-General Reynolds, whom we once saw fighting well in that country.* - And now hear the authentic Bulstrode; and then the Protector himself.

"Seplember 3d, 1654. — The Lord's day, yet the day of the "Parliament's meeting. The Members met in the afternoon "at sermon, in the Abbey Church at Westminster: after sermon "they attended the Protector in the Painted Chamber; who "made a Speech to them of the cause of their summons," Speech unreported; "after which, they went to the House, "and adjourned to the next morning.

"Monday, September 4th. — The Protector rode in state from Whitchall to the Abbey Church in Westminster. Some hundreds of Gentlemen and Officers went before him bare;

^{*} Letter CVII., vol. ii. p. 177.

"with the Life-guard; and next before the coach, his pages "and laqueys richly clothed. On the one side of his coach "went Strickland, one of his Council, and Captain of his Guard, "with the Master of the Ceremonies; both on foot. On the "other side went Howard. " Captain of the Life-guard. In "the coach with him were his son Henry, and Lambert: both "sat bare. After him came Claypole, Master of the Horse; "with a gallant led horse richly trapped. Next came the "Commissioners of the Great Seal," Lisle, Widdrington, and I; "Commissioners of the Treasury, and divers of the Council "in coaches: last the ordinary Guards.

"He alighting at the Abbey Church door," and entering, "the Officers of the Army and the Gentlemen went first; next "them four maces: then the Commissioners of the Seal, Whit-"locke carrying the Purse; after, Lambert carrying the Sword bare: the rest followed. His Highness was seated over "against the Pulpit; the Members of the Parliament on both "sides.

"After the sermon, which was preached by Mr. Thomas "Goodwin, his Highness went, in the same equipage, to the "Painted Chamber. Where he took seat in a chair of state "set upon steps," raised chair with a canopy over it, under which his Highness sat covered, "and the Members upon "benches round about sat all bare. All being silent, his "Highness," rising, "put off his hat, and made a large and "subtle speech to them." **

Here is a Report of the Speech, "taken by one who stood very near," and "published *** to prevent mistakes." As we, again, stand at some distance, - two centuries with their chasms and ruins, - our hearing is nothing like so good! To help a little, I have, with reluctance, admitted from the latest of the Commentators a few annotations; and intercalated them the best I could; suppressing very many. Let us listen well; and again we shall understand somewhat.

Colonel Charles, ancestor of the Earl of Carlisle.
 Whitlocke, p. 582.
 By G. Sawbridge, at the Bible on Ludgate Hill, London, 1654.

GENTLEMEN,

You are met here on the greatest occasion that, I believe, England ever saw; having upon your shoulders the Interests of Three great Nations with the territories belonging to them; — and truly, I believe I may say it without any hyperbole, you have upon your shoulders the Interest of all the Christian People in the world. And the expectation is, that I should let you know, as far as I have cognisance of it, the occasion of your assembling together at this time.

It hath been very well hinted to you this day,* that you come hither to settle the Interests above mentioned: for your work here, in the issue and consequences of it, will extend so far, 'even to all Christian people.' In the way and manner of my speaking to you, I shall study plainness; and to speak to you what is truth, and what is upon my heart, and what will in some measure reach to these great concernments.

After so many changings and turnings, which this Nation hath laboured under, — to have such a day of hope as this is, and such a door of hope opened by God to us, truly I believe, some months since, would have been beyond all our thoughts! — I confess it would have been worthy of such a meeting as this is, To have remembered** that which was the rise 'of,' and gave the first beginning to, all these Troubles which have been upon this Nation: and to have given you a series of the Transactions, — not of men, but of the Providence of God, all along unto our late changes: as also the ground of our first undertaking to oppose that usurpation and tyranny*** which was upon

[•] in the Sermon we have just heard.
• commemorated.

^{***} of Charles, Wentworth, Laud and Company.

us, both in civils and spirituals; and the several grounds particularly applicable to the several changes that have been. But I have two or three reasons which divert me from such a way of proceeding at this time.

If I should have gone in that way, 'then' that which lies upon my heart 'as to these things,' - which is 'so' written there that if I would blot it out I could not, - would 'itself' have spent this day: the providences and dispensations of God have been so stunendous. As David said in the like case, Psalm xl. 5. "Many, O Lord my God, are thy wonderful works "which thou hast done, and thy thoughts which are to-"us-ward: they cannot be reckoned up in order unto "thee: if I would declare and speak of them, they are "more than can be numbered." — Truly, another reason, unexpected by me, you had today in the Sermon:* you had much recapitulation of Providence; much al-Insion to a state and dispensation in respect of discipline and correction, of mercies and deliverances, 'to a state and dispensation similar to ours,' - to, in truth, the only parallel of God's dealing with us that I know in the world, which was largely and wisely held forth to you this day: To Israel's bringing-out of Egypt through a wilderness by many signs and wonders, towards a Place of Rest, - I say towards it.** And that having been so well remonstrated to you this day, is another argument why I shall not trouble you with a recapitulation of those things; - though they are

This Sermon of Goodwin's is not in the collected Edition of his Works; not among the King's Pamphlets; not in the Bodleian Library. We gather what the subject was, from this Speech, and know nothing of it otherwise.

things which I hope will never be forgotten, because written in better Books than those of paper; — written, I am persuaded, in the heart of every good man!

'But' a third reason was this: What I judge to be the end of your meeting, the great end, which was likewise remembered to you this day;* to wit, Healing and Settling. The remembering of Transactions too particularly, perhaps instead of healing, - at least in the hearts of many of you, - might set the wound fresh a-bleeding. 'And' I must profess this unto you, whatever thoughts pass upon me: That if this day, if this meeting, prove not healing, what shall we do! But, as I said before, I trust it is in the minds of you all. and much more in the mind of God, to cause healing. It must be first in His mind: - and He being pleased to put it into yours, this will be a Day indeed, and such a Day as generations to come will bless you for! - I say, for this and the other reasons, I have forborne to make a particular remembrance and enumeration of things, and of the manner of the Lord's bringing us through so many changes and turnings as have passed upon us.

Howbeit, I think it will be more than necessary to let you know, at least so well as I may, in what condition this Nation, or rather these Nations were, when the present Government** was undertaken. And for order's sake: It's very natural to consider what our condition was, in Civils; 'and then also' in Spirituals.

What was our condition! Every man's hand alin the Sermon.

• Protectorate.

most was against his brother; — at least his heart 'was;' little regarding anything that should cement, and might have a tendency in it to cause us to grow into one. All the dispensations of God; His terrible ones, when He met us in the way of His judgment* in a Ten-years Civil War; and His merciful ones: they did not, they did not work upon us!** 'No.' But we had our humours and interests; — and indeed I fear our humours went for more with us than even our interests. Certainly, as it falls out in such cases, our passions were more than our judgments. — Was not everything almost grown arbitrary? Who of us knew where or how to have right 'done him,' without some obstruction or other intervening? Indeed we were almost grown arbitrary in everything.

What was the face that was upon our affairs as to the Interest of the Nation? As to the Authority in the Nation; to the Magistracy; to the Ranks and Orders of men, — whereby England hath been known for hundreds of years? [The Levellers!] A nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman; 'the distinction of these:' that is a good interest of the Nation, and a great one! The 'natural' Magistracy of the Nation, was it not almost trampled under foot, under despite and contempt, by men of Levelling principles? I beseech you, For the orders of men and ranks of men, did not that Levelling principle tend to the reducing of all to an equality? Did it 'consciously' think to do so; or did it 'only unconsciously' practise towards that for property and interest? 'At all events,' what was the purport of it but to make the Tenant as liberal a fortune as the Land-

punishment for our sins.
 Reiteration of the word is not an uncommon mode of emphasis with Oliver.

lord? Which, I think, if obtained, would not have lasted long! The men of that principle, after they had served their own turns, would then have cried up property and interest fast enough! — This instance is instead of many. And that the thing did 'and might well' extend far, is manifest; because it was a pleasing voice to all Poor Men, and truly not unwelcome to all Bad Men. [Far-extended classes, these two both!] To my thinking, this is a consideration which, in your eadeavours after settlement, you will be so well minded of, that I might have spared it here: but let that pass. —

'Now as to Spirituals.' Indeed in Spiritual things the case was more sad and deplorable 'still;' - and that was told to you this day eminently. The prodigious blasphemies; contempt of God and Christ, denying of Him, contempt of Him and His ordinances, and of the Scriptures: a spirit visibly acting* those things foretold by Peter and Jude; yea those things spoken of by Paul to Timothy! Paul declaring some things to be worse than the Antichristian state (of which he had spoken in the First to Timothy, Chapter fourth, verses first and second, 'under the title of the Latter times'), tells us what should be the lot and portion of the Last Times. He says (Second to Timothy, Chapter third, verses second, third, fourth), "In the "Last Days perilous times shall come; men shall be "lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, "blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful," and so on. But in speaking of the Antichristian state, he told us (First to Timothy, Chapter fourth, verses first

^{*} a general temper visibly bringing out in practice.

and second), that "in the latter days" that state shall come in; 'not the last days but the latter,' — wherein "there shall be a departing from the faith, and a giving "heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, "speaking lies in hypocrisy," and so on. This is only his description of the latter times, or those of Antichrist; and we are given to understand that there are last times coming, which will be worse!*— And surely it may be feared, these are our times. For when men forget all rules of Law and Nature, and break all the bonds that fallen man hath on him; 'obscuring' the remainder of the image of God in their nature, which they cannot blot out, and yet shall endeavour to blot out, "having a form of godliness without the power," — 'surely' these are sad tokens of the last times!

And indeed the character wherewith this spirit and principle is described in that place 'of Scripture,' is so legible and visible, that he who runs may read it to be amongst us. For by such "the grace of God is "turned into wantonness," and Christ and the Spirit of God made a cloak for all villany and spurious appre-

There is no express mention of Antichrist either here or elsewhere in the Text of Timothy at all; but, I conclude, a full conviction on the part of Cromwell and all sound Commentators that Antichrist is indubitably shadowed forth there. Antichrist menas, with them and him, the Pops; to whom Laud, &c., with his "four surplices at Allhallowtide" and other clothweb and cobweb furniture, are of kindred. "We have got rid of Antichrist: And are we now coming to something warse? To the Lovellers, namely! The Latter times are over, then; and we are coming now into the Last times?" It is on this contrast of comparative and superlative, Latter and Laut, that Oliver's logic seems to ground itself: Paul says nothing of Antichrist, nor anything directly of the one time being worse or better than the other; only the one time is "latter," the other is "last."—This paragraph is not important; but to gain any meaning from it whatever, some small changes have been necessary. I do not encumber the reader with duble samples of what at best is grown obsolote to him: such as wish to see the original unadulterated unintelligibility, will find it, in clear print, p. 321, vol. xx. of Parliamentary History, and satisfy themselves whether I have read well or ill.

hensions. [Threatening to go a strange course, those Antinomian, Levelling, day-dreaming Delusionists of ours! And though nobody will own these things publicly as to practice, the things being so abominable and odious; vet 'the consideration' how this principle extends itself, and whence it had its rise, makes me to think of a Second sort of Men, 'tending in the same direction;' who, it's true, as I said, will not practise nor own these things, yet can tell the Magistrate "That he hath no-"thing to do with men holding such notions: These, "'forsooth' are matters of conscience and opinion: they "are matters of Religion; what hath the Magistrate to "do with these things? He is to look to the outward "man, not to the inward," -- 'and so forth.' And truly it so happens that though these things do break out visibly to all, yet the principle wherewith these things are carried on so forbids the Magistrate to meddle with them, that it hath hitherto kept the offenders from punishment.*

Such considerations, and pretensions to "liberty of conscience," 'what are they leading us towards!' Liberty of Conscience, and Liberty of the Subject, — two as glorious things to be contended for, as any that God hath given us; yet both these abused for the patronising of villanies! Insomuch that it hath been an ordinary thing to say, and in dispute to affirm,

The latest of the Commentators says: "This drossy paragraph has "not much Political Philosophy in it, according to our modern established "Litany of 'toloration,' 'freedom of opinion,' no man responsible for "what opinions he may form,' &c. &c.; but it has some honest human "sagacity in it, of a much more perennial and valuable character. Worth "looking back upon, worth looking up towards, —as the blue skies and "stars might be, if through the great deep element of 'temporary London "Fog' there were any character of seeing them! — Strange exhalations have "risen upon us, and the Fog is very deep: nevertheless very indubitably "the stars_still are."

"That the restraining of such pernicious notions was "not in the Magistrate's power; he had nothing to do "with it. Not so much as the printing of a Bible in "the Nation for the use of the People, 'was competent "to the Magistrate,' lest it should be imposed upon "the consciences of men," — for "they would receive "the same traditionally and implicitly from the Magistrate, if it were thus received!" The afore-mentioned abominations did thus swell to this height among us.

'So likewise' the axe was laid to the root of the Ministry.* It was Antichristian, it was Babylonish, 'said they.' It suffered under such a judgment, that the truth is, as the extremity was great according to the former system,** I wish it prove not as great according to this. The former extremity 'we suffered under' was, That no man, though he had never so good a testimony, though he had received gifts from Christ. might preach, unless ordained. So now 'I think we are at the other extremity, when' many affirm, That he who is ordained hath a nullity, or Antichristianism, stamped 'thereby' upon his calling; so that he ought not to preach, or not be heard. — I wish it may not be too justly said, That there was severity and sharpness 'in our old system!' Yea, too much of an imposing spirit in matters of conscience; a spirit Unchristian enough in any times, most unfit for these 'times;' — denying liberty 'of conscience' to men who have earned it with their blood; who have earned civil liberty, and religious also, for those [Stifled murmurs from the Presbyterian Sect] who would thus impose upon them! -

Preaching Clergy.
 "on that hand" in orig. He alludes to the Presbyterian system.

We may reckon among these our Spiritual evils, an evil that hath more refinedness in it, more colour for it, and hath deceived more people of integrity than the rest have done; — for few have been catched by the former mistakes except such as have apostatised from their holy profession, such as being corrupt in their consciences have been forsaken by God, and left to such noisome opinions. But, I say, there is another error of more refined sort; 'which' many honest people whose hearts are sincere, many of them belonging to God, 'have fallen into:' and that is the mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy —

[Yes, your Highness! — But will his Highness and the old Parliament be pleased here to pause a little, till a faithful Editor take the great liberty of explaining somewhat to the modern part of the audience? Here is a Note saved from destruction; not without difficulty. To his Highness and the old Parliament it will be inaudible; to them, standing very impassive, — serene, immovable in the fixedness of the old Eternities, — it will be no hardship to wait a little! And to us who still live and listen, it may have its uses.

"The common mode of treating Universal History," says our latest impatient Commentator, "not yet entirely fallen "obsolete in this country, though it has been abandoned with "much ridicule everywhere else for half a century now, was "to group the Aggregate Transactions of the Human Species "into Four Monarchies: the Assyrian Monarchy of Nebuchad-"nezzar and Company; the Persian of Cyrus and ditto; the "Greek of Alexander; and lastly the Roman. These I think "were they, but am no great authority on the subject. Under "the dregs of this last, or Roman Empire, which is maintained "yet by express name in Germany, Das heilige Römische Reich, "we poor moderns still live. But now say Major-General "Harrison and a number of men, founding on Bible Pro-"phecies, Now shall be a Fifth Monarchy, by far the bless-

"edest and the only real one, - the Monarchy of Jesus "Christ, his Saints reigning for Him here on Earth, - if not "He himself, which is probable or possible, — for a thousand "years, &c. &c. — O Heavens, there are tears for human "destiny; and immortal Hope itself is beautiful because it is "steeped in Sorrow, and foolish Desire lies vanquished under "its feet! They who merely laugh at Harrison take but a "small portion of his meaning with them. Thou, with some "tear for the valiant Harrison, if with any thought of him at "all, tend thou also valiantly, in thy day and generation, "whither he was tending; and know that, in far wider and "diviner figure than that of Harrison, the Prophecy is very "sure. - that it shall be sure while one brave man survives "among the dim bewildered populations of this world. Good "shall reign on this Earth: has not the Most High said it? To "approve Harrison, to justify Harrison, will avail little for "thee; go and do likewise. Go and do better, thou that disap-"provest him. Spend thou thy life for the Eternal: we will "call thee also brave, and remember thee for a while!"

So much for "that mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy:" and now his Highness, tragically audible across the Centuries, continues again:

— Fifth Monarchy. A thing pretending more spirituality than anything else. A notion I hope we all honour, and wait, and hope for 'the fulfilment of:' That Jesus Christ will have a time to set up His Reign in our hearts; by subduing those corruptions and lusts and evils that are there; which now reign more in the world than, I hope, in due time they shall do. And when more fulness of the Spirit is poured forth to subdue iniquity, and bring-in everlasting righteousness, hen will the approach of that glory be. [Most true; — ad not till then!] The carnal divisions and contentions mong Christians, so common, are not the symptoms 'that Kingdom! — But for men, on this principle,

to betitle themselves, that they are the only men to rule kingdoms, govern nations, and give laws to people, and determine of property and liberty and everything else, - upon such a pretension as this is: - truly they had need to give clear manifestations of God's presence with them, before wise men will receive or submit to their conclusions! Nevertheless, as many of these men have good meanings, which I hope in my soul they have, it will be the wisdom of all knowing and experienced Christians to do as Jude saith. 'Jude,' when he reckoned up those horrible things, done upon pretences, and haply by some upon mistakes: some," says he, "have compassion, making a difference; others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire."* I fear they will give too often opportunity for this exercise! But I hope the same will be for their good. If men do but 'so much as' pretend for justice and righteousness, and be of peaceable spirits, and will manifest this, let them be the subjects of the Magistrate's encouragement. And if the Magistrate, by punishing visible miscarriages, save them by that discipline, God having ordained him for that end. -I hope it will evidence love and not hatred, 'so' to punish where there is cause. [Hear!]

Indeed this is that which doth most declare the danger** of that spirit. For if these were but notions,—I mean these instances I have given you of dangerous doctrines both in Civil things and Spiritual; if, I say, they were but notions, they were best let alone. Notions will hurt none but those that have them. But when they come to such practices as telling us, 'for

Jude, 22, 23. A passage his Highness frequently refers to.
 This fact, that they come so often to "visible miscarriages," these Fifth-Monarchists and Speculative Levellers, who "have good meanings."

instance,' That Liberty and Property are not the badges of the Kingdom of Christ; when they tell us, not that we are to regulate Law, but that Law is to be abrogated, indeed subverted; and perhaps wish to bring in the Judaical Law—

[Latest Commentator loquitur: "This, as we observed, "was the cry that Westminster raised when the Little Par-"liament set about reforming Chancery. What countenance "this of the Mosaic Law might have had from Harrison and "his minority, one does not know. Probably they did find the "Mosaic Law, in some of its enactments, more cognate to "Eternal Justice and 'the mind of God' than Westminster-"Hall Law was; and so might reproachfully or admonitorily "appeal to it on occasion, as they had the clearest title and "call to do: but the clamour itself, as significant of any "practical intention, on the part of that Parliament, or of any "considerable Sect in England, to bring in the Mosaic Law, "is very clearly a long-wigged one, rising from the Chancery "regions, and is descriptive of nothing but of the humour that "prevailed there. His Highness alludes to it in passing; and "from him it was hardly worth even that allusion."

— Judaical Law; instead of our known laws settled among us: this is worthy of every Magistrate's consideration. Especially where every stone is turned to bring in confusion. I think, I say, this will be worthy of the Magistrate's consideration. [Shall he step beyond his province, then, your Highness? And interfere with freedom of opinion? — "I think, I say, it will be worth his while to consider about it!"]

Whilst these things were in the midst of us; and whilst the Nation was rent and torn in spirit and principle from one end to the other, after this sort and

manner I have now told you; family against family. husband against wife, parents against children; and nothing in the hearts and minds of men but "Overturn, overturn, overturn!" (a Scripture phrase very much abused, and applied to justify unpeaceable practices by all men of discontented spirits). — the common Enemy sleeps not: our adversaries in civil and religious respects did take advantage of these distractions and divisions, and did practise accordingly in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland. We know very well that Emissaries of the Jesuits never came in such swarms as they have done since those things* were set on foot. And I tell you that divers Gentlemen here can bear witness with me How that they, 'the Jesuits,' have had a Consistory abroad which rules all the affairs of things ["Affairs of things:" rough and ready!] in England, from an Archbishop down to the other dependents upon him. And they had fixed in England. - of which we are able to produce the particular Instruments in most of the limits of their Cathedrals 'or pretended Dioceses,' - an Episcopal Power [Regular Episcopacy of their own!], with Archdeacons, &c. And had persons authorised to exercise and distribute those things [I begin to love that rough-and-ready method, in comparison with some others!]; who pervert and deceive the people. And all this, while we were in that sad, and as I said deplorable condition.

And in the mean time all endeavours possible were used to hinder the work 'of God' in Ireland, and the progress of the work of God in Scotland; by continual intelligences and correspondences, both at home and

[·] Speculations of the Levellers, Fifth-Monarchists, &c. &c.



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abroad, from hence into Ireland, and from hence into Scotland.* Persons were stirred up, from our divisions and discomposure of affairs, to do all they could to ferment the War in both these places. add yet to our misery, whilst we were condition, we were in a 'foreign' War. Deeply engaged in War with the Portuguese;** whereby our Trade ceased: the evil consequences by that War were manifest and very considerable. And not only this, but we had a War with Holland; consuming our treasure; occasioning a vast burden upon the people. A War that cost this Nation full as much as the 'whole' Taxes came unto; the Navy being a Hundred-and-sixty Ships, which cost this Nation above 100,000/. a-month; besides the contingencies, which would make it 120,000l. That very one War (sic) did engage us to so great a charge. - At the same time also we were in a War with France. [A Bickering and Skirmishing and Liability to War;*** — Mazarin as yet thinking our side the weaker. The advantages that were taken of the discontents and divisions among ourselves did also ferment that War, and at least hinder us of an honourable peace; every man being confident we could not hold out long. And surely they did not calculate amiss, if the Lord had not been exceedingly gracious to us! I say, at the same time we had a War with France. [Yes; your Highness said so, - and we admit it! And besides the sufferings in respect to the Trade of the Nation, it's most evident that the Purse of the Nation could not have been able much

Middleton-Glencairn Revolts, and what not.
 Who protected Rupert in his quasi-piracles, and did require chastisement from us.

*** See Appendix, No. 30.

longer to bear it, — by reason of the advantages taken by other States to improve their own, and spoil our Manufacture of Cloth, and hinder the vent thereof; which is the great staple commodity of this Nation. [And has continued to be!] Such was our condition: spoiled in our Trade, and we at this vast expense; thus dissettled at home, and having these engagements abroad.

Things being so, - and I am persuaded it is not hard to convince every person here they were so, — what a heap of confusions were upon these poor Nations! And either things must have been left to sink into the miseries these premises would suppose, or else a remedy must be applied. [Apparently!] A remedy hath been applied: that hath been this Government:* a thing I shall say little unto. The thing is open and visible to be seen and read by all men; and therefore let it speak for itself. [Even so, your Highness; there is a silence prouder and nobler than any speech one is used to hear. Only let me say this, - because I can speak it with comfort and confidence before a Greater than you all: That in the intention of it, as to the approving of our hearts to God, let men judge as they please, it was calculated 'with our best wisdom' for the interest of the People. For the interest of the People alone, and for their good, without respect had to any other interest. And if that be not true [With animation!], I shall be bold to say again, Let it speak for itself. Truly I may, - I hope, humbly before God, and modestly before you, - say somewhat on

^{*} He means, and his hearers understand him to mean, "Form of Government" mainly; but he diverges now and then into our modern acceptation of the word "Government,"—Administration or Supreme Authority.

the behalf of the Government. [Recite a little what it "speaks for itself," after all?] Not that I would discourse of the particular heads of it, but acquaint you a little with the effects it has had: and this not for ostentation's sake, but to the end I may at this time deal faithfully with you; and acquaint you with the state of things, and what proceedings have been enteredinto by* this Government, and what the state of our affairs is. This is the main end of my putting you to this trouble.

The Government hath had some things in desire; and it hath done some things actually. It hath desired to reform the Laws. I say to reform them [Hear!]:—and for that end it hath called together Persons, without offence be it spoken, of as great ability and as great interest as are in these Nations,** to consider how the Laws might be made plain and short, and less chargeable to the People; how to lessen expense, for the good of the Nation. And those things are in preparation, and Bills prepared; which in due time, I make no question, will be tendered to you. 'In the mean while' there hath been care taken to put the administration of the Laws into the hands of just men [Matthew Hale, for instance]; men of the most known integrity and ability. The Chancery hath been reformed—

[FROM THE MODERES: "Only to a very small extent and in a "very temporary manner, your Highness! His Highness re"turns upon the Law, on subsequent occasions, and finds the "reform of it still a very pressing matter. Difficult to sweep "the intricate foul chimneys of Law his Highness found it, —

^{• &}quot;been upon" in orig.
• Ordinance for the Reform of Chancery: antea, p. 199.

"as we after two centuries of new soot and accumulation now "acknowledge on all hands, with a sort of silent despair, a "silent wonder each one of us to himself, 'What, in God's "name, is to become of all that?'"]

— hath been reformed; I hope, to the satisfaction of all good men: and as for the things, 'or causes,' depending there, which made the burden and work of the honourable Persons intrusted in those services too heavy for their ability, it* hath referred many of them to those places where Englishmen love to have their rights tried, the Courts of Law at Westminster.

This Government hath, 'further,' endeavoured to put a stop to that heady way (likewise touched of 'in our Sermon' this day) of every man making himself a Minister and Preacher. [Commission of Triers; Yea!] It hath endeavoured to settle a method for the approving and sanctioning of men of piety and ability to discharge that work. And I think I may say it hath committed the business to the trust of Persons, both of the Presbyterian and Independent judgments, of as known ability, piety and integrity, as any, I believe, this Nation hath. And I believe also that, in that care they have taken, they have laboured to approve themselves to Christ, to the Nation and to their own consciences. And indeed I think, if there be anything of quarrel against them, - though I am not here to iustify the proceedings of any, - it is that they, 'in fact,' go upon such a character as the Scripture warrants: To put men into that great Employment, and to approve men for it, who are men that have "received gifts from Him that ascended up on high, and

gave gifts" for the work of the Ministry, and for the edifying of the Body of Christ. The Government hath also taken care, we hope, for the expulsion [Commission of Expurgation, too,] of all those who may be judged any way unfit for this work; who are scandalous, and the common scorn and contempt of that function.

One thing more this Government hath done: it hath been instrumental to call a free Parliament; — which, blessed be God, we see here this day! I say, a free Parliament. [Mark the iteration!] And that it may continue so, I hope is in the heart and spirit of every good man in England, — save such discontented persons as I have formerly mentioned. It's that which as I have desired above my life, so I shall desire to keep it above my life. [Verily?]—

I did before mention to you the plunges we were in with respect to Foreign States; by the War with Portugal, France, the Dutch, the Danes, and the little assurance we had from any of our neighbours round about. I perhaps forgot, but indeed it was a caution upon my mind, and I desire now it may be so understood, That if any good hath been done, it was the Lord, not we His poor instruments. —

[Pity if this pass entirely for "cant", my esteemed modern friends! It is not cant, nor ought to be. O Higginbotham, there is a Selbsttödtung, a killing of Self, as my friend Novalis calls it, which is, was, and forever will be, "the beginning of all morality," of all real work and worth for man under this Sun.]

— I did instance the Wars; which did exhaust your treasure; and put you into such a condition that you

must have sunk therein, if it had continued but a few months longer: this I can affirm, if strong probability may be a fit ground. And now you have, though it be not the first in time, — Peace with Swedeland; an honourable peace; through the; endeavours of an honourable Person here Present as the instrument. [Whitlocke seen blushing!] I say you have an honourable peace with a Kingdom which, not many years since, was much a friend to France, and lately perhaps inclinable enough to the Spaniard. And I believe you expect not much good from any of your Catholic neighbours [No; we are not exactly their darlings!] nor yet that they would be very willing you should have a good understanding with your Protestant friends. Yet, thanks be to God, that Peace is concluded; and as I said before, it is an honourable Peace.

You have a Peace with the Danes; — a State that lay contiguous to that part of this Island which hath given us the most trouble. [Your Montroses, Middletons came always, with their Mosstroopers and Harpy hosts, out of the Danish quarter.] And certainly if your enemies abroad be able to annoy you, it is likely they will take their advantage (where it best lies) to give you trouble from that country. But you have a Peace there, and an honourable one. Satisfaction to your Merchants' ships; not only to their content, but to their rejoicing.* I believe you will easily know it is so, — 'an honourable peace.' You have the Sound open; which used to be obstructed. That which was

e "Danish claims settled," as was already said somewhere, "on the 31st of July: "Dutch and English Commissioners did it, in Goldsmiths' Hall; met on the 27th of June; if the business were not done when August began, they were then to be "shut-up without fire, candle, meat or drink,"—and to do it out very speedily! They allowed our Merchants 98,000!. for damages against the Danes. (Godwin, iv. 49,—who cites Dumont, Traité 24.)

and is the strength of this Nation, the Shipping, will now be supplied thence. And, whereas you were glad to have anything of that kind* at secondhand, you have now all manner of commerce there, and at as much freedom as the Dutch themselves, 'who used to be the carriers and venders of it to us;' and at the same rates and tolls; — and I think, by that Peace, the said rates now fixed-upon cannot be raised to you 'in future.'

You have a Peace with the Dutch: a Peace unto which I shall say little, seeing it is so well known in the benefit and consequences thereof. And I think it was as desirable, and as acceptable to the spirit of this Nation, as any one thing that lay before us. And, as I believe nothing so much gratified our enemies as to see us at odds 'with that Commonwealth;' so I persuade myself nothing is of more terror or trouble to them than to see us thus reconciled. 'Truly' as a Peace with the Protestant States hath much security in it. so it hath as much of honour and of assurance to the Protestant Interest abroad; without which no assistance can be given thereunto. I wish it may be written upon our hearts to be zealous for that Interest! For if ever it were like to come under a condition of suffering, it is now. In all the Emperor's Patrimonial Territories, the endeavour is to drive the Protestant part of the people out, as fast as is possible; and they are necessitated to run to Protestant States to seek their bread. And by this conjunction of Interests, I hope you will be in a more fit capacity to help them. And it begets some reviving of their spirits, that

[•] Baltic Produce, namely.

you will help them as opportunity shall serve. [We will!]

You have a Peace likewise with the Crown of Portugal; which Peace, though it hung long in hand, yet is lately concluded. It is a Peace which, your Merchants make us believe, is of good concernment to their trade; the rate of insurance to that Country having been higher, and so the profit which could bear such rate,* than to other places. And one thing hath been obtained in this treaty, which never 'before' was, since the Inquisition was set up there: That our people which trade thither have Liberty of Conscience, — 'liberty to worship in Chapels of their own.'

Indeed Peace is, as you were well told today, desirable with all men, as far as it may be had with conscience and honour! We are upon a Treaty with France. And we may say this, That if God give us honour in the eyes of the Nations about us, we have reason to bless Him for it, and so to own it. And I dare say that there is not a Nation in Europe but is very willing to ask a good understanding with you.

I am sorry I am thus tedious: but I did judge that it was somewhat necessary to acquaint you with these things. And things being so, — I hope you will not be unwilling to hear a little again of the Sharp as well as of the Sweet! And I should not be faithful to you, nor to the interest of these Nations which you and I serve, if I did not let you know all.

As I said before, when this Government was undertaken, we were in the midst of those 'domestic' divisions and animosities and scatterings; engaged also with

[&]quot;their assurance being greater, and so their profit in trade thither," is orig.

those 'foreign' enemies round about us, at such a vast charge, - 120,000 l. a-month for the very Fleet. Which sum was the very utmost penny of your Assessments. Ay; and then all your treasure was exhausted and spent when this Government was undertaken: all accidental ways of bringing in treasure 'were.' to a very inconsiderable sum, consumed: - the 'forfeited' Lands sold, the sums on hand spent; Rents, Fee-farms, Delinquents' Lands, King's, Queen's, Bishops', Dean-and-Chapters' Lands, sold. These were spent when this Government was undertaken. I think it's my duty to let you know so much. And that's the reason why the Taxes do yet lie so heavy upon the People; - of which we have abated 30,000 l. a-month for the next three months. Truly I thought it my duty to let you know, That though God hath dealt thus 'bountifully' with you,* yet these are but entrances and doors of hope. Whereby, through the blessing of God, you may enter into rest and peace. But you are not yet entered! [Looking up, with a mournful toss of the head, I think .-"Ah, no, your Highness; not yet!"

You were told, today, of a People brought out of Egypt towards the Land of Canaan; but through unbelief, murmuring, repining, and other temptations and sins wherewith God was provoked, they were fain to come back again, and linger many years in the Wilderness before they came to the Place of Rest. We are thus far, through the mercy of God. We have cause to take notice of it, That we are not brought into misery, 'not totally wrecked;' but 'have,' as I said before, a door of hope open. And I may say this to you: If the Lord's blessing and His presence go

In regard to our Successes and Treaties, &c. enumerated above.

along with the management of affairs at this Meeting, you will be enabled to put the topstone to the work, and make the Nation happy. But this must be by knowing the true state of affairs! [Hear!] You are yet, like the People under Circumcision, but raw.* Your Peaces are but newly made. And it's a maxim not to be despised, "Though peace be made, yet it's interest that keeps peace;" - and I hope you will not trust such peace except so far as you see interest upon 'But all settlement grows stronger by mere continuance.' And therefore I wish that you may go forward, and not backward; and 'in brief' that you may have the blessing of God upon your endeavours! It's one of the great ends of calling this Parliament, that the Ship of the Commonwealth may be brought into a safe harbour; which, I assure you, it will not be, without your counsel and advice.

You have great works upon your hands. You have Ireland to look unto. There is not much done to the Planting thereof, though some things leading and preparing for it are. It is a great business to settle the Government of that Nation upon fit terms, such as will bear that work** through. — You have had laid before you some considerations, intimating your peace with several foreign States. But yet you have not made peace with all. And if they should see we do not manage our affairs with that wisdom which becomes us, — truly we may sink under disadvantages, for all that's done. [Truly, your Highness!] And our enemies will have their eyes open, and be revived, if they see

See, in Joshua, v. 2-8, the whole Jewish Nation circumcised at once.
Se, too, your Settlements of Discord are yet but indifferently cleatrised.
See Of planting Ireland with persons that will plough and pray, instead of quarrel and blarney!

animosities amongst us; which indeed will be their great advantage.

I do therefore persuade you to a sweet, gracious and holy understanding of one another, and of your business. [Alas!] Concerning which you had so good counsel this day; which as it rejoiced my heart to hear, so I hope the Lord will imprint it upon your spirits, — wherein you shall have my Prayers. [Prayers, your Highness? — If this be not "cant," what a noble thing is it, O reader! Worth thinking of, for a moment.]

Having said this, and perhaps omitted many other material things through the frailty of my memory, I shall exercise plainness and freeness with you; and say, That I have not spoken these things as one who assumes to himself dominion over you; but as one who doth resolve to be a fellow servant with you to the interest of these great affairs, and of the People of these Nations. I shall trouble you no longer; but desire you to repair to your House, and to exercise your own liberty in the choice of a Speaker, that so you may lose no time in carrying on your work. §

At this Speech, say the old Newspapers, "all generally "seemed abundantly to rejoice, by extraordinary expressions "and hums at the conclusion,"—Hum-m-m! * "Ilis Highness "withdrew into the old House of Lords, and the Members of "Parliament into the Parliament House. His Highness, so "soon as the Parliament were gone to their House, went back "to Whitehall, privately in his barge, by water."

This Report of Speech Second, "taken by one that stood "near," and "published to prevent mistakes," may be con-

[§] Old Pamphlet cited above: reprinted in Parliamentary History, xx. 318-33.

Cromwelliana, p. 147; see also Guibon Goddard, Member for Lynn (in Barton, 1. Introd. p. xviii.).

sidered as exact enough in respect of matter, but in manner and style it is probably not so close to the Original Deliverance as the foregoing Speech was. He "who stood near" on this occasion seems to have had some conceit in his abilities as a Reporter; has pared off excrescences, peculiarities, somewhat desirous to present the Portrait of his Highness without the warts. He, or his Parliamentary-History Editor and he, have, for one thing, very arbitrarily divided the Discourse into little fractional paragraphs; which a good deal obstruct the sense here and there; and have accordingly been disregarded in our Transcript. Our changes, which, as before, have been insignificant, are indicated wherever they seem to have importance or physiognomic character, - indicated too often perhaps for the reader's convenience. As to the meaning, I have not anywhere remained in doubt, after due study. The rough Speech when read faithfully becomes transparent, every word of it; credible, calculated to produce conviction, every word of it; — and that I suppose is or should be, as our impatient Commentator says, "the definition of a good Speech. Other "good speeches," continues he, "ought "to be spoken in Bedlam; - unless, indeed, you will concede "them Drury Lane, and admittance one shilling. Spoken in "other localities than these, without belief on the speaker's "part, or hope or chance of producing belief on the hearer's "- Ye Heavens, as if the good-speeching individual were "some frightful Wood-and-leather Man, made at Nürnberg, "and tenanted by a Devil; set to increase the Sum of Human "Madness, instead of lessening it -!" - But we here cut short our impatient Commentator. - The Reporter of Cromwell, we may say for ourselves, like the painter of him, has not to suppress the warts, the natural rugged physiognomy of the man; which only very poor tastes would exchange for any other. He has to wash the natural face clean, however; that men may see it, and not the opaque mass of mere soot and featureless confusions which, in two Centuries of considerable Stupidity in regard to that matter, have settled there.

SPEECH III.

Tens First Protectorate Parliament, we said, was not successful. It chose, judiciously enough, old Lenthall for Speaker; appointed, judiciously enough, a Day of general Fasting: - but took, directly after that, into constitutional debate about Sanctioning the Form of Government (which nobody was especially asking it to "sanction"); about Parliament and Single Person; powers of Single Person and of Parliament; Coördination, Subordination; and other bottomless subjects; - in which getting always the deeper the more it puddled in them, inquiry or intimation of inquiry rose not obscurely in the distance, Whether this Government should be by a Parliament and Single Person? These things the honourable gentlemen, with true industry, debated in Grand Committee, "from eight in the morning till eight at night, with an "hour for refreshment about noon," debates waxing ever hotter, question ever more abstruse, - through Friday, Saturday, Monday; ready, if Heaven spared them, to debate it further for unlimited days. Constitutional Presbyterian persons. Use-and-wont Neuters; not without a spicing of sour Republicans, as Bradshaw, Haselrig, Scott, to keep the batch in leaven.

His Highness naturally perceived that this would never do, not this; — sent therefore to the Lord Mayor, late on Monday night I think, to look after the peace of the City; to Speaker Lenthall, that he must bring his people to the Painted Chamber before going farther: and early on Tuesday morning, poor Mr. Guibon Goddard, Member for Lynn, just about to proceed again, from the Eastern parts, towards his sublime constitutional day's work, is overwhelmed by rumours, "That "the Parliament is dissolved; that, for certain, the Council of State, and a Council of War, had sat together all the "Sabbath-day before, and had then contrived this Dissolu-"tion!"

"Notwithstanding," continues Guibon, "I was resolved to "go to Westminster, to satisfy myself of the truth; and to

"take my share of what I should see or learn there. Going by "water to Westminster, I was told that the Parliament-doors "were locked up, and guarded with soldiers, and that the "Barges were to attend the Protector to the Painted Chamber. "As I went, I saw two Barges at the Privy Stairs." River and City in considerable emotion. "Being come to the Hall, I "was confirmed in what I had heard. Nevertheless I did pur-"pose not to take things merely upon trust; but would receive "an actual repulse, to confirm my faith. Accordingly, I at-"tempted up the Parliament stairs; but a guard of Soldiers "was there, who told me, 'There was no passage that way; "the House was locked up, and command given to give no ad-"mittance to any; - if I were a Member, I might go into the "Painted Chamber, where the Protector would presently be." "The Mace had been taken away by Commissary-General "Whalley. The Speaker and all the Members were walking "up and down the Ilall, the Court of Requests, and the Painted "Chamber; expecting the Protector's coming. The passages "there likewise were guarded with soldiers."*

No doubt about it, therefore, my honourable friend! Dissolution, or something, is not far. Between nine and ten, the Protector arrived, with due escort of Officers, halberts, Lifeguards; took his place, covered, under "the state" as before, we all sitting bareheaded on our benches as before; and with it salutation spake to us;—as follows. "Speech of an hour and a half long;" taken in characters by the former individual who "stood near;" audible still to modern men. Tuesday morning, 12th September 1651; a week and a day since the last Speech here.

In this remarkable Speech, the occasion of which and the Speaker of which are very extraordinary, an assiduous reader, or modern hearer, will find Historical indications, significant shadowings forth both of the Protectorate and the Protector; which, considering whence they come, he will not fail to regard as documentary in those matters. Nay perhaps, here for the first time, if he read with real industry, there may begin to

^{*} Ayscough mss., printed in Burton's Diary, i. Introd. p. xxxiii.



paint itself for him, on the void Dryasdust Abyss, hitherto called History of Oliver, some dim adumbration of How this business of Assuming the Protectorate may actually have been. It was, many years ago, in reading these Speeches, with a feeling that they must have been credible when spoken, and with a strenuous endeavour to find what their meaning was, and try to believe it, that to the present Editor the Commonwealth, and Puritan Rebellion generally, first began to be conceivable. Such was his experience.—

But certainly the Lord Protector's place, that September Tuesday, 1654, is not a bed of roses! His painful asseverations, appeals and assurances have made the Modern part of his audience look, more than once, with questioning eyes. On this point, take from a certain Commentator sometimes above cited from, and far oftener suppressed, the following rough words:

"says the Lord Protector. What a position for a hero, to be reduced continually to say He does not lie! — Consider well, nevertheless, What else could Oliver do? To get on with this new Parliament was clearly his one chance of governing peaceably. To wrap himself up in stern pride, and refuse to give any explanation: would that have been the wise plan of dealing with them? Or the stately and not-so-wise plan? Alas, the wise plan, when all lay yet as an experiment, with so dread issues in it to yourself and the whole world, was not very discoverable. Perhaps not quite reconcilable with the stately plan, even if it had been discovered!"

And again, with regard to the scheme of the Protectorship, which his Highness says was done by "the Gentlemen that undertook to frame this Government," after divers days consulting, and without the least privity of his: "You never guessed 'what they were doing, your Highness? Alas, his Highness guessed it, — and yet must not say, or think, he guessed it. There is something sad in a brave man's being reduced to explain himself from a barrel-head in this manner! Yet

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PART VIII. FIRST PARLIAMENT.

[12 Sept.

"what, on the whole, will he do? Coriolanus curled his lip, "and scowled proudly enough on the sweet voices: but Corio"lanus had likewise to go over to the Volscians; Coriolanus
"had not the slightest chance to govern by a free Parliament
"in Rome! Oliver was not prepared for these extremities; if
"less would serve. Perhaps in Oliver there is something of
"better than 'silent pride?" Oliver will have to explain him"self before God Most High, ere long; — and it will not stead
"him there, that he went wrong because his pride, his 'perso"nal dignity,' his &c. &c. were concerned. — Who would
"govern men! 'Oh, it were better to be a poor fisherman,'
"exclaimed Danton, 'than to meddle with governing of man!'
"I would rather keep a flock of sheep!' said Oliver. And
"who but a Flunkey would not, if his real trade lay in keeping
"sheep?" —

On the whole, concludes our Commentator: "As good an "explanation as the case admits of, - from a barrel-head or "'raised platform under a state.' Where so much that is true "cannot be said; and yet nothing that is false shall be said, -"under penalties forgotten in our Time! With regard to those "asseverations and reiterated appeals, note this also: An "oath was an oath then; not a solemn piece of blasphemous "cant, as too often since. No contemporary that I have met "with, who had any opportunity to judge, disbelieved Oliver "in these protestations; though many believed that he was "unconsciously deceiving himself. Which, of course, we too, "where needful, must ever remember that he was liable to do: "nay, if you will, that he was continually doing. But to this "Commentator, at this stage in the development of things, "'Apology' seems not the word for Oliver Cromwell; - not "that, but a far other word! The Modern part of his High-"ness's audience can listen now, I think, across the Time-gulfs. "in a different mood: - with candour, with human brother-"hood, with reverence and grateful love. Such as the noble "never claim in vain from those that have any nobleness. "This of tasking a great soul continually to prove to us that "he was not a liar, is too unwashed a way of welcoming a

"Great Man! Scrubby Apprentices of tender years, to them "it might seem suitable; — still more readily to Apes by the "Dead Sea!" Let us have done with it, my friend; and listen to the Speech itself, of date, Painted Chamber, 12th September 1654, the best we can!

GENTLEMEN,

It is not long since I met you in this place, upon an occasion which gave me much more content and comfort than this doth. That which I have now to say to you will need no preamble, to let me into my discourse: for the occasion of this meeting is plain enough. I could have wished with all my heart there had been no cause for it.

At our former meeting I did acquaint you what was the first rise of this Government, which hath called you hither, and by the authority of which you have come hither. Among other things which I then told you of, I said, You were a Free Parliament. And 'truly' so you are, — whilst you own the Government and Anthority which called you hither. But certainly that word 'Free Parliament' implied a reciprocity,* or it implied nothing at all! Indeed there was a reciprocity implied and expressed; and I think your actions and carriages ought to be suitable! But I see it will be necessary for me now a little to magnify my Office. Which I have not been apt to do. I have been of this mind, I have been always of this mind, since I first entered upon my Office, If God will not bear it up, let it sink! [Yea!] But if a duty be incumbent upon me to bear my testimony unto it (which in modesty I have hitherto forborne), I am in some measure necessitated

thereunto. And therefore that will be the prologue to my discourse.

I called not myself to this place. I say again, I called not myself to this place! Of that God is witness: — and I have many witnesses who, I do believe, could lay down their lives bearing witness to the truth of that. Namely, That I called not myself to this place! [His Highness is growing emphatic.] And being in it, I bear not witness to myself 'or my office;' but God and the People of these Nations have also borne testimony to it 'and me.' If my calling be from God, and my 'testimony from the People, — God and the People shall take it from me, else I will not part with it. [Do you mark that, and the air and manner of it, my honourable friends!] I should be false to the trust that God hath placed in me, and to the interest of the People of these Nations, if I did.

"That I called not myself to this place," is my first assertion. "That I bear not witness to myself, but have many witnesses," is my second. These two things I shall take the liberty to speak more fully to you of.

— To make plain and clear what I have here asserted,

I must take liberty to look 'a little' back.

I was by birth a Gentleman; living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity. I have been called to several employments in the Nation: To serve in Parliament, 'and others;' and, — not to be overtedious, — I did endeavour to discharge the duty of an honest man, in those services, to God and His People's Interest, and to the Commonwealth; having, when time was, a competent acceptation in the hearts of men, and some evidences thereof. I resolve, not to

recite the times and occasions and opportunities, which have been appointed me by God to serve Him in; nor the presence and blessings of God therein bearing testimony to me. [Well said, and well forborne to be said!]

Having had some occasions to see, together with my brethren and countrymen, a happy period put to our sharp Wars and contests with the then common Enemy, I hoped, in a private capacity, to have reaped the fruit and benefit, together with my brethren, of our hard labours and hazards: the enjoyment, to wit, of Peace and Liberty, and the privileges of a Christian and a Man, in some equality with others, according as it should please the Lord to dispense unto me. And when, I say, God had put an end to our Wars, or at least brought them to a very hopeful issue, very near an end, - after Worcester Fight, - I came up to London to pay my service and duty to the Parliament which then sat: hoping that all minds would have been disposed to answer what seemed to be the mind of God, namely, To give peace and rest to His People, and especially to those who had bled more than others in the carrying on of the Military affairs, - I was much disappointed of my expectation. For the issue did not prove so. [Suppressed murmurs from Bradshaw and Company.] Whatever may be boasted or misrepresented, it was not so, not so!

I can say, in the simplicity of my soul, I love not, I love not, — I declined it in my former Speech,* — I say, I love not to rake into sores, or to discover nakednesses! The thing I drive at is this: I say to you, I hoped to have had leave, 'for my own part,' to

^{*} Antes, Speech I. vol. ii. p. 148.

retire to a private life. I begged to be dismissed of my charge; I begged it again and again; - and God be Judge between me and all men if I lie in this matter! [Groans from Dryasdust, scarcely audible, in the deep silence.] That I lie not in matter of fact is known to very many ["Hum-m-m!" Look of "Yea!" from the Military Party]: but whether I tell a lie in my heart, as labouring to represent to you what was not upon my heart, I say the Lord be Judge.* Let uncharitable men, who measure others by themselves. judge as they please. As to the matter of fact, I say, It is true. As to the ingenuity and integrity of my heart in that desire, - I do appeal as before upon the truth of that also! — But I could not obtain 'what I desired,' what my soul longed for. And the plain truth is, I did afterwards apprehend some were of opinion (such the difference of their judgment from mine), That it could not well be.**

I confess I am in some strait to say what I could say, and what is true, of what then followed. I pressed the Parliament, as a Member, To period themselves; once and again, and again, and ten, nay twenty times over. I told them, - for I knew it better than any one man in the Parliament could know it; because of my manner of life, which had led me everywhere up and down the Nation,*** thereby giving me to see and know the temper and spirits of all men, and of the best of men, - that the Nation loathed their sitting. [Haselrig, Scott and others looking very grim.] I knew it. And, so far as I could discern, when they were dis-

<sup>He: Believe you about that as you see good.
That I could not be spared from my post.
While soldiering, &c.: the Original has, "which was to run up and</sup> down the Nation."

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solved, there was not so much as the barking of a dog, or any general and visible repining at it! [How astonishing there should not have been!] You are not a few here present who can assert this as well as myself.

And that there was high cause for their dissolution, is most evident: not only in regard there was a just fear of that Parliament's perpetuating themselves, but because it 'actually' was their design. 'Yes:' had not their heels been trod upon by importunities from abroad, even to threats, I believe there never would have been 'any' thoughts of rising, or of going out of that Room, to the world's end. I myself was sounded, and, by no mean persons [O Sir Harry Vane!], tempted; and proposals were made me to that very end: That the Parliament* might be thus perpetuated; that the vacant places might be supplied by new elections; — and so continue from generation to generation.

I have declined, I have declined very much, to ppen these things to you. [What noble man would not, nour Highness?] But, having proceeded thus far, I nust tell you 'this also:' That poor men, under this rbitrary power, were driven, like flocks of sheep by rty in a morning; to the confiscation of goods and tates; without any man being able to give a reason many two of them had deserved to forfeit a shilling!** ell you the truth. And my soul, and many persons' om I see in this place, were exceedingly grieved at see things; and knew not which way to help them, spt by our mournings, and giving our negatives noccasion served. — I have given you but a taste miscarriages 'that then were.' I am confident you

have had opportunities to hear much more of them; for nothing was more obvious. It's true this will be said, That there was a remedy endeavoured: To put an end to this Perpetual Parliament, by giving us a future Representative. How that was gotten, by what importunities that was obtained, and how unwillingly yielded unto, is well known.

'But' what was this remedy? It was a seeming willingness to give us Successive Parliaments. And what was 'the nature of' that Succession? It was, That when one Parliament had left its seat, another was to sit down immediately in the room thereof, without any caution to avoid what was the real danger, namely, Perpetuating of the same 'men in' Parliaments. Which is a sore, now, that will ever be running, so long as men are ambitious and troublesome, — if a remedy be not found.

Nay, at best what will such a remedy amount to? It is a conversion of a Parliament that would have been and was Perpetual, to a Legislative Power Always Sitting! [Which, however, consists of different men, your Highness!] And so the liberties and interests and lives of people not judged by any certain known Laws and Power, but by an arbitrary Power; which is incident and necessary to Parliaments. [So!] By an arbitrary Power, I say:* to make men's estates liable to confiscation, and their persons to imprisonment, — sometimes 'even' by laws made after the fact committed; often by the Parliament's assuming to itself to give judgment both in capital and criminal things, which in former times was not known to exercise such a judicature.**

^{*} Such as the Long Parliament did continually exert.

** Intricate paragraphs, this and the foregoing; treating of a subject complex in itself, and very delicate to handle before such an audience. His

This, I suppose, was the case 'then before us.' And. in my opinion, the remedy was fitted to the disease! Especially coming in the rear of a Parliament which had so exercised its power and authority as that Parliament had done but immediately before.

Truly I confess, - upon these grounds, and with the satisfaction of divers other persons who saw nothing could be had otherwise, - that Parliament was dissolved: [Not a doubt of it!] and we, desiring to see if a few might have been called together for some short time who might put the Nation into some way of certain settlement, — did call those Gentlemen [The Little Parliament; we remember them!] out of the several parts of the Nation. And as I have appealed to God before vou already. * - though it be a tender thing to make appeals to God, yet in such exigences as these I trust it will not offend His Majesty; especially to make them before Persons that know God, and know what conscience is, and what it is to "lie before the Lord!" I say. As a principal end in calling that Assembly was the settlement of the Nation, so a chief end to myself was to lay down the Power which was in my hands. [Hum-m-m!] I say to you again, in the Presence of

Highness's logic perhaps hobbles somewhat: but this strain of argument, which to us has fallen so dim and obsolete, was very familiar to the audience he was now addressing, — the staple indeed of what their debates for the last three days had been (Burton, i. Introd. pp. 25-33; Whitlocke, p. 587, &c.). "Perpetuating of the same men in Parliament:" that clearly is intolerable, says the first Paragraph. But not only so, says the second Paragraph, "a Legislative Assembly always sitting," though it consist of new men, is likewise intolerable: any Parliament, as the Long Parliament has too fatally taught us, if left to itself, is, by its nature, arbitrary, of unimited power, liable to grow tyrannous; — ought therefore only to sit at due intervals, and to have other Powers (Protectorate, for example) ready to check it on occasion. All this the ancient audience understands very well; and the modern needs only to understand that they understood it.

"I know, and I hope I may say it," follows in orig., — deleted here, for light's sake, though characteristic.

that God who hath blessed, and been with me in all my adversities and successes: That was, as to myself, my greatest end! [Your Highness -? - And "God" with you ancients is not a fabulous polite Hearsay, but a tremendous all-irradiating Fact of Facts, not to be "lied before" without consequences?] A desire perhaps, I am afraid, sinful enough, To be quit of the Power God had most clearly by His Providence* put into my hands, before He called me to lay it down; before those honest ends of our fighting were attained and settled. - I say, the Authority I had in my hand being so boundless as it was, - for, by Act of Parliament, I was General of all the Forces in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland; in which unlimited condition I did not desire to live a day, - we called that Meeting, for the ends before expressed.

What the event and issue of that Meeting was, we may sadly remember. It hath much teaching in it,** and I hope will make us all wiser for the future! But, 'in short,' that Meeting not succeeding, as I already said unto you, and giving such a disappointment to our hopes, I shall not now make any repetition thereof: only the result was, That they came and brought to me a Parchment, signed by very much the major part of them; expressing their re-delivery and resignation of the power and authority that had been committed them back again into my hands. And I can say it, in the presence of divers persons here, who do know whether I lie in that [Hum-m-m!], That I did not know one tittle of that Resignation 'of theirs,' till they all came and brought it, and delivered it into my hands. Of

[&]quot; "most providentially" is orig.: has not the modern meaning; means only as in the Text.

** Warning us not to quarrel, and get into insoluble theories, as they did.

this also there are in this presence many witnesses. [Yes, many are convinced of it, — some not.] I received this Resignation; having formerly used my endeavours and persuasions to keep them together. Observing their differences, I had thought it my duty to give advice to them, that so I might prevail with them for union. But it had the effect I told you; and I had my disappointment.

When this proved so, we were exceedingly to seek how to settle things for the future. My 'own' Power was again, by this resignation, 'become' as boundless and unlimited as before; all things being subjected to arbitrariness; and myself, 'the only constituted authority that was left,' a person having power over the three Nations, without bound or limit set; — and all Government, upon the matter, being dissolved; all civil administration at an end,* — as will presently appear. ["A grave situation: but who brought us to it?" murmur my Lord Bradshaw and others.]

The Gentlemen that undertook to frame this Government** did consult divers days together (men of known integrity and ability), How to frame somewhat that might give us settlement. They did consult;—and that I was not privy to their councils they know it. [Alas!] — When they had finished their model in some measure, or made a good preparation of it, they became communicative. [Hum-m-m!] They told me that except I would undertake the Government, they thought things would hardly come to a composure or settlement, but blood and confusion would break in upon us. [A plain truth they told.] I refused it again

^{*} Civil Office-bearers feeling their commission to be ended.

^{**} Plan or Model of Government.

and again; not complimentingly, - as they know, and as God knows! I confess, after many arguments, they urging on me, "That I did not hereby receive any-"thing which put me into a higher capacity than be-"fore; but that it limited me; that it bound my hands "to act nothing without the consent of a Council. until "the Parliament, and then limited 'me' by the Parlia-"ment, as the Act of Government expresseth." - I did accept it. I might repeat again to you, if it were needful, but I think it hardly is: I was arbitrary in power; having the Armies in the three Nations under my command; — and truly not very ill beloved by them, nor very ill beloved by the People. By the good People. And I believe I should have been more beloved if they had known the truth, as things were, before God and in themselves, and also before divers of those Gentlemen whom I but now mentioned unto you. [His Highness is rallying; getting out of the Unutterable into the Utterable! I did, at the entreaty of divers Persons of Honour and Quality, at the entreaty of very many of the chief Officers of the Army then present, - 'at their entreaty' and at their request, I did accept of the place and title of PROTECTOR: and was, in the presence of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Judges, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, the Soldiery, divers Gentlemen, Citizens, and divers other people and persons of quality, and so forth, - accompanied to Westminster Hall; where I took the Oath to this Government. [Indisputably: draw your own inferences from it!] This was not done in a corner: it was open and public! — This Government hath been exercised by a Council:* with

[·] According to the "Instrument ' or Program of it.

a desire to be faithful in all things: — and, among all other trusts, to be faithful in calling this Parliament.

And thus I have given you a very bare and lean Discourse;* which truly I have been necessitated to 'do,' - and contracted in 'the doing of,' because of the unexpectedness of the occasion, and because I would not quite weary you nor myself. But this is a Narrative that discovers to you the series of Providences and of Transactions leading me into the condition wherein I now stand. The next thing I promised 'to demonstrate to' you, wherein, I hope, I shall be briefer - Though I am sure the occasion does require plainness and freedom! - 'But as to this first thing,' ** That I brought not myself into this condition: surely in my own apprehension I did not! And whether I did not, the things being true which I have told you, I shall submit to your judgment. And there shall I leave it. Let God do what He pleaseth.

The other thing, I say, that I am to speak of to you is, "That I have not 'borne,' and do not bear, witness to myself." I am far from alluding to Him that said so!*** Yet truth, concerning a member of

^{*} Narration. ** Narration.

** This paragraph is characteristic. One of Oliver's warts. His Highness, in haste to be through, is for breaking-off into the "next thing," with hope of greater "brevity;" but then suddenly bethinks him that he has not yet quite completely winded-off the "first thing," and so returns to that. The paragraph, stark nonsense in the original (where they that are patient of such can read it, Parliamentary History, xx. 357), indicates, on intense inspection, that this is the purport of it. A glimpse afforded us, through one of Oliver's confused regurgitations, and incondite misutterances of speech, into the real inner man of him. Of which there will be other interested.

stances as we proceed.

••• "Then answered Jesus, and said unto them, — — If I bear witness "of myself, my winess is not true. There is Another that beareth witness "of me." (John, v. 81, 32.)

His, He will own, though men do not. - But I think, if I mistake not, I have a cloud of witnesses. I think so; let men be as froward as they will. [My honourable friends! I have witness Within, - Without, - and Above! But I shall speak of my witnesses Without; having fully spoken of the Witness who is Above, and 'who is' in my own conscience, before. Under the other head* I spoke of these; because that subject had more obscurity in it, and I in some sort needed appeals: and, I trust, might lawfully make them (as lawfully as take an oath), where the things were not so ant to be made evident 'otherwise.' [In such circumstances. Yea! - I shall enumerate my witnesses as well as I can.

When I had consented to accept of the Government, there was some Solemnity to be performed. And that was accompanied by some persons of considerableness in all respects: there were the persons before mentioned to you;** these accompanied me, at the time of my entering upon this Government, to Westminster Hall to receive my Oath. There was an express*** consent on the part of these and other interested per-And 'there was also' an implied consent of many; showing their good liking and approbation thereof. And, Gentlemen, I do not think you are altogether strangers to it in your countries. Some did not nauseate it; very many did approve it.

I had the approbation of the Officers of the Army, in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland.

[&]quot;upon the other account" in orig.
"" before expressed" in orig.
"" "explicit" and "implicit" in the original; but we must say "express" and "implicit" having now got itself tacked to "faith" (implicit-faith), and become thereby hopelessly degraded from any independent meaning.

I say, of the Officers: I had that by their 'express' Remonstrances,* and under signature. But there went along with that express consent of theirs, an implied consent also 'of a body' of persons who had 'had' somewhat to do in the world: who had been instrumental, by God, to fight down the Enemies of God and of His People in the three Nations. [The Soldiery of the Commonwealth. Persons of "some considerableness," these too! And truly, until my hands were bound, and I 'was' limited (to my own great satisfaction, as many can bear me witness); while I had in my hands so great a power and arbitrariness, - the Soldiery were a very considerable part of these Nations, especially all Government being dissolved. I say, when all Government was thus dissolved, and nothing to keep things in order but the Sword! And yet they, - which many Histories will not parallel, - even they were desirous that things might come to a consistency; and arbitrariness be taken away; and the Government be put into the 'hands of' a person limited and bounded, as in the Act of Settlement, whom they distrusted the least, and loved not the worst. [Hear!] There was another evidence 'of consent, implied if not express.'

I would not forget the honourable and civil entertainment, with the approbation I found in the great City of London;**— which the City knows whether I directly or indirectly sought. And truly I do not think it folly to remember this. For it was very great and high; and very public; and 'included' as numerous a body of those that are known by names and titles,—

Means "Public Letters of Adherence."
 Dinner, with all manner of gala, in the common Royal Style; 8th
 February 1658-4 (Whitlocke, 2d edition, p. 581).



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the several Corporations and Societies of Citizens in this City, — as hath at any time been seen in England. And not without some appearance of satisfaction also. — And I had not this witness only. I have had from the greatest County in England, and from many Cities and Boroughs and Counties, express approbations. 'Express approbations' not of men gathered here and there, but from the County General-Assizes; — the Grand Jury, in name of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Yeomen and Inhabitants of that County, giving very great thanks to me for undertaking this heavy burden at such a time; and giving very great approbation and encouragement to me to go through with it.* These are plain; I have them to show. And by these, in some measure, it will appear "I do not bear witness to myself."

This is not all. The Judges, — truly I had almost forgotten it [Another little window into his Highness!], — the Judges, thinking that there had now come a dissolution to all Government, met and consulted; and did declare one to another, That they could not administer justice to the satisfaction of their consciences, until they had received Commissions from me. And they did receive Commissions from me; and by virtue of those Commissions they have acted: — and all Justices of the Peace that have acted have acted by virtue of like Commissions. Which was a little more than an implied approbation! And I believe all the Justice administered in the Nation hath been

[&]quot;Humble Petition and Representation of the Grand Jury at the Assizes held at York, March 1653 (1654), in name of &c. &c.: Newspapers; Perfect Diurnal, 3d-10th April 1654 (King's Pamphlets, large éto, no. 83, § 13), and others.—Similar recognition "by the Mayor" &c. &c. "of the ancient City of York" (ibid.).

by this authority. Which also I lay before you; desiring you to think, Whether all those persons now mentioned must not come to you for an Act of Oblivion and General Pardon, for having acted under and testified to this Government, if it be disowned by you!—

And I have two or three witnesses more, - equivalent to all these I have yet mentioned, if I be not mistaken, and greatly mistaken! If I should say, All you that are here are my witnesses, - I should say no untruth! I know that you are the same persons here that you were in your countries* - But I will reserve this for a little; this will be the issue, 'the general outcome and climax,' of my Proof. [Another little window: - almost a half-soliloguy; you see the Speech getting ready in the interior of his Ilighness.] I say I have two or three witnesses, of still more weight than all I have counted and reckoned vet. All the People in England are my witnesses; and many in Ireland and Scotland! All the Sheriffs in England are my witnesses: and all that have come-in upon a Process issued out by Sheriffs are my witnesses. [My honourable friends, how did YOU come in? Yea, the Returns of the Elections to the Clerk of the Crown, - not a thing to be blown away by a breath, - the Return on behalf of the Inhabitants in the Counties, Cities and Boroughs, all are my witnesses of approbation to the Condition and Place I stand in.

And I shall now make you my last witnesses! [Here comes it, "the issue of my Proof!"] And shall ask you, Whether you came not hither by my Writs directed to the several Sheriffs 'of Counties,' and through

[•] Where you had to acknowledge me before election, he means, but see not yet see good to say.

the Sheriffs to the other Officers of Cities and Liberties? To which 'Writs' the People gave obedience; having also had the Act of Government communicated to them, — to which end great numbers of copies 'thereof' were sent down to be communicated to them. And the Government* 'was' also required to be distinctly read unto the People at the place of election, to avoid surprises, 'or misleadings of them through their ignorance;' — where also they signed the Indenture,** with proviso, "That the Persons so chosen should "not have power to alter the Government as now settled "in one Single Person and a Parliament!" [My honourable friends —?] — And thus I have made good my second Assertion, "That I bear not witness to myself;" but that the good People of England, and you all are my witnesses.

Yea, surely! — And 'now' this being so, — though I told you in my last Speech "that you were a Free Parliament," yet I thought it was understood withal that I was the Protector, and the Authority that called you! That I was in possession of the Government by a good right from God and men! And I believe if the learnedest men in this Nation were called to show a precedent, equally clear, of a Government so many ways approved of, they would not in all their search find it. — I did not in my other Speech take upon me to justify the 'Act of' Government in every particular; and I told you the reason, which was plain: The Act of Government was public, and had long been published, 'in order' that it might be under the most serious inspection of all that pleased to peruse it.

Act or Instrument of Government.

Writ of Return.

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This is what I had to say at present for approving* myself to God and my conscience in my actions throughout this undertaking; and for giving cause of approving myself to every one of your consciences in the sight of God. — And if the fact be so, why should we sport with it? With a business so serious! May not this character, this stamp [Stamp put upon a man by the Most High and His providences, bear equal poise with any Hereditary Interest that could furnish, or hath furnished, in the Common Law or elsewhere, matter of dispute and trial of learning? In the like of which many have exercised more wit, and spilt more blood. than I hope ever to live to see or hear of again in this Nation! [Red and White Roses, for example; Henry of Bolingbroke, and the last 'Protector.'] - I say, I do not know why I may not balance this Providence, in the sight of God, with any Hereditary Interest [Nor do I!]; as a thing less subject to those cracks and flaws which that 'other' is commonly incident unto; the disputing of which has cost more blood in former times in this Nation than we have leisure to speak of now! —

Now, if this be thus, and I am deriving a title from God and men upon such accounts as these are — Although some men be froward, yet that your judgments who are Persons sent from all parts of the Nation under the notion of approving this Government — [His Highness, bursting with meaning, completes neither of these sentences; but pours himself, like an irregular torrent, through other orifices and openings.] — For you to disown or not to own it: for you to act with Parliamentary Authority especially in the disowning of it;

^{* &}quot;By what I have said, I have approved," &c. in orig.: but rhetorical charity required the change.

contrary to the very fundamental things, yea against the very root itself of this Establishment: to sit, and not own the Authority by which you sit, — — is that which I believe astonisheth more men than myself; and doth as dangerously disappoint and discompose the Nation as any thing 'that' could have been invented by the greatest enemy to our peace and welfare, or 'that' could well have happened. [Sorrow, anger, and reproach on his Highness's countenance; the voice risen somewhat into ALT, and rolling with a kind of rough music in the tones of it!]

It is true, as there are some things in the Establishment which are Fundamental, so there are others which are not, but are Circumstantial. Of these no question but I shall easily agree to vary, to leave out, 'according' as I shall be convinced by reason. But some things are Fundamentals! About which I shall deal plainly with you: These may not be parted with; but will, I trust, be delivered over to Posterity, as the fruits of our blood and travail. The Government by a Single Person and a Parliament is a Fundamental! It is the esse, it is constitutive. And as for the Person, - though I may seem to plead for myself, yet I do not: no, nor can any reasonable man say it. If the things throughout this Speech be true, I plead for this Nation, and for all honest men therein who have borne their testimony as aforesaid, and not for myself! And if things should do otherwise than well (which I would not fear), and the Common Enemy and discontented persons take advantage of these distractions, the issue will be put up before God: let Him own it, or let Him disown it, as He pleases! -

In every Government there must be Somewhat

Fundamental [Will speak now of Fundamentals], Somewhat like a Magna Charta, which should be standing. be unalterable. Where there is a stipulation on one side, and that fully accepted, as appears by what hath been said, - surely a return* ought to be; else what does that stipulation signify? If I have, upon the terms aforesaid, undertaken this great Trust, and exercised it; and by it called you, - surely it ought 'by you' to be owned. - That Parliaments should not make themselves perpetual is a Fundamental. [Yea: all know it: taught by the example of the Rump! Of what assurance is a Law to prevent so great an evil, if it lie in the same Legislature to unlaw it again? [Must have a single Person to check your Parliament.] Is such a Law like to be lasting? It will be a rope of sand; it will give no security; for the same men may unbuild what they have built.

'Again,' is not Liberty of Conscience in Religion a Fundamental? So long as there is Liberty of Conscience for the Supreme Magistrate to exercise his conscience in erecting what Form of Church-Government he is satisfied he should set up ["He is to decide on the Form of Church-Government, then?" The Moderns, especially the Voluntary Principle, stare], — why should he not give the like liberty to others? Liberty of Conscience is a natural right; and he that would have it, ought to give it; having 'himself' liberty to settle what he likes for the Public. ["Where then are the limits of Dissent?" An abstruse question, my Voluntary friends; especially with a Gospel really Believed! Indeed that hath been one of the vanities of our Contest. Every Sect saith: "Oh, give me liberty!" But give

a reciprocal engagement.

it him, and to his power he will not yield it to anybody else. Where is our ingenuousness? 'Liberty of Conscience' — truly that is a thing ought to be very reciprocal! The Magistrate hath his supremacy; he may settle Religion, 'that is, Church-Government,' according to his conscience. And 'as for the People' -I may say it to you, I can say it: All the money of this Nation would not have tempted men to fight upon such an account as they have here been engaged in, if they had not had hopes of Liberty 'of Conscience' better than Episcopacy granted them, or than would have been afforded by a Scots Presbytery, — or an English either, if it had made such steps, and been as sharp and rigid, as it threatened when first set up!* This, I say, is a Fundamental. It ought to be so. It is for us and the generations to come. And if there be an absoluteness in the Imposer [As you seem to argue], without fitting allowances and exceptions from the rule ["Fitting:" that is a wide word!], - we shall have the People driven into wildernesses. As they were, when those poor and afflicted people, who forsook their estates and inheritances here, where they lived plentifully and comfortably, were necessitated, for enjoyment of their Liberty, to go into a waste howling wilderness in New England; - where they have, for Liberty's sake, stript themselves of all their comfort; embracing rather loss of friends and want than be so ensnared and in bondage. [Yea!]

Another 'Fundamental' which I had forgotten is

That is judged a Fundamental if anythe Militia.

Liberty of Conscience must not be refused to a People who have fought and conquered "upon such an account" as ours was! For more of Oliver's notions concerning the Magistrate's power in Church matters, see his Letter to the Scotch Clergy, Letter CXLVIII. vol. ii. p. 361.

thing be so. That it should be well and equally placed is very necessary. For, put the absolute power of the Militia into 'the hands of' one 'Person,' - without a check, what doth it serve? 'On the other hand.' I pray you, what check is there upon your Perpetual Parliaments, if the Government be wholly stript of this of the Militia? 'This as we now have it' is equally placed, and men's desires were to have it so: namely, in one Person, and in the Parliament 'along with him' while the Parliament sits. What signified a provision against perpetuating of Parliaments, if this power of the Militia be solely in them? Think, Whether without some check, the Parliament have it not in their power to alter the Frame of Government altogether, - into Aristocracy, Democracy, into Anarchy, into anything, if this 'of the Militia' be fully in them! Yea, into all confusion; and that without remedy! If this one thing be placed in one 'party,' that one, be it Parliament, be it Supreme Governor, hath power to make what he pleases of all the rest. ["Hum-m-m!" from the old Parliament.] - Therefore if you would have a balance at all; if you agree that some Fundamentals must stand, as worthy to be delivered over to Posterity, - truly I think it is not unreasonably urged that 'this power of' the Militia should be disposed as we have it in the Act of Governnent; - should be placed so equally that no one varty neither in Parliament nor out of Parliament have ne power of ordering it. 'Well;' - the Council are Trustees of the Commonwealth, in all intervals of urliament; and have as absolute a negative upon the preme Officer in the said intervals, as the Parliament hath while it is sitting. [So that we are safe—or safeish, your Highness? No one party has power of the Militia at any time.] The power of the Militia cannot be made use of; not a man can be raised, nor a penny charged upon the People, nothing can be done, without consent of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliament, without consent of the Council. Give me leave to say, There is very little power, none but what is coördinate, 'placed' in the Supreme Officer; and yet enough in him in that particular. He is bound in strictness by the Parliament, and out of Parliament by the Council, who do as absolutely bind him as the Parliament while sitting doth.—

As for that of Money - I told you some things were Circumstantials; [Comes to the Circumstantials] as, for example, this is: That we should have 200,000%. to defray Civil Offices, - to pay the Judges and other Officers; to defray the charges of the Council in sending their embassies, in keeping intelligence, and doing what is necessary; and to support the Governor in Chief:* All this is, by the Instrument, supposed and intended. But it is not of the esse so much; nor 'is it' limited 'so strictly' as 'even' the number of Soldiers is, -20.000 Foot and 10,000 Horse. [Guard even afar of against any sinking below the minimum in that! Yet if the spirits of men were composed, 5,000 Horse and 10,000 Foot might serve. These things are 'Circumstantial,' are between the Chief Officer and the Parliament, to be moderated, 'regulated,' as occasion shall offer,

Of this sort there are many Circumstantial things, which are not like the laws of the Medes and Persians.

[•] Instrument of Government, Art. 27 (Somers Tracts, vi. 294).

But the things which shall be necessary to deliver over to Posterity, these should be unalterable. Else every succeeding Parliament will be disputing to alter the Government; and we shall be as often brought into confusion as we have Parliaments, and so make our remedy our disease. The Lord's Providence, evil 'effects' appearing, and good appearing, and better judgment 'in ourselves,' will give occasion for ordering of things to the best interest of the People. Those 'Circumstantial' things are the matter of consideration between you and me.

I have indeed almost tired myself. What I have farther to say is this [Does not yet say it] - I would it had not been needful for me to call you hither to expostulate these things with you, and in such a manner as this! But Necessity hath no law. Feigned necessities, imaginary necessities, - 'certainly these' are the greatest cozenage that men can put upon the Providence of God, and make pretences to break known rules by. 'Yes;' but it is as legal, 'contrary to God's free Grace,' as carnal, and as stupid [A tone of Anger], to think that there are no Necessities which are manifest 'and real,' because necessities may be abused or feigned! And truly that were my case* if I should so think 'here;' and I hope none of you so think. I have to say [Says it now]: The wilful throwing away of this Government, such as it is, so owned by God, so approved by men, so witnessed to (in the Fundamentals of it) as was mentioned above, were a thing which,' - and in reference 'not to my good, but' to the good of these Nations and of Posterity, - I can sooner be willing to be rolled into my grave and

^{*} To be legal, and carnal and stupid.

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buried with infamy, than I can give my consent unto! [Never! — Do you catch the tone of that voice, reverberating, like thunder from the roof of the Painted Chamber, over the heads of Bradshaw, Haselrig, Scott and Company; the aspect of that face, with its lion-mouth, and mournful eyes, — kindled now and radiant all of it, with sorrow, with rebuke, and wrathful defiance? — Bradshaw and Company look on it unblanched; but will be careful not to provoke such a one. There lie penalties in him!]

You have been called hither to save a Nation. -Nations. You had the best People, indeed, of the Christian world put into your trust, when you came hither. You had the affairs of these Nations delivered over to you in peace and quiet; you were, and we all are, put into an undisturbed possession, nobody making title to us. Through the blessing of God, our enemies were hopeless and scattered. We had peace at home; peace with almost all our Neighbours round about, - apt 'otherwise' to take advantages where God did administer them. 'These things we had, few days ago, when you came hither. And now?' - To have our peace and interest, whereof those were our hopes the other day, thus shaken, and put under such a confusion; and ourselves [Chiefly "I"] rendered hereby almost the scorn and contempt of those strangers [Dutch Ambassadors and the like] who are amongst us to negotiate their masters' affairs! To give them opportunity to see our nakedness as they do: "A people that have been unhinged this twelve-years day,* and are unhinged still," - as if scattering, division and confusion came upon us like things we desired: 'these,'

^{*} An old phrase; "day" emphatic.

which are the greatest plagues that God ordinarily lave upon Nations for sin!

I would be loath to say these are matters of our desire.* But if not, then why not matters of our care, — as wisely as by our utmost endeavours we might, to avoid them! Nay if, by such actings as these 'now' are, these poor Nations shall be thrown into heaps and confusion, through blood, and ruin, and trouble **—'And upon the saddest account that ever was, if breaking 'and confusion' should come upon us;— all because we would not settle when we could, when God put it into our hands! Your affairs now almost settled everywhere: and to have all recoil upon us; and ourselves 'to be' shaken in our affections, loosened from all known and public interests: — as I said before, who shall answer for these things to God?

Who can answer for these things to God, or to men? "To men" — to the People who sent you hither; who looked for refreshment from you; who looked for nothing but peace and quietness, and rest and settlement? When we come to give an account to them, we shall have it to say, "Oh, we quarrelled for the "Liberty of England; we contested, and 'went to con"fusion,' for that!" — 'Now,' Wherein, I pray you, for the "Liberty of England?" I appeal to the Lord, that the desires and endeavours we have had — — Nay the things will speak for themselves. The "Liberty of England," the Liberty of the People; the avoiding of tyrannous impositions either upon men as men, or Christians as Christians; — is made so safe by this Act of Settlement, that it will speak for itself.

^{*} Politely oblique for "your desire."

** "what shall we then say?" his Highness means, but does not complete the sentence,—as is sometimes his habit.

And when it shall appear to the world what 'really' hath been said and done by all of us, and what our real transactions were — For God can discover; no Privilege [What! Not even Privilege of Parliament?] will hinder the Lord from discovering! No Privilege, or condition of man can hide from the Lord; He can and will make all manifest, if He see it for His glory!*
— And when these 'things, as I say,' shall be manifested; and the People will come and ask, "Gentlemen, "what condition is this we are in? We hoped for "light; and behold darkness, obscure darkness! We "hoped for rest after ten-years Civil War, but are "plunged into deep confusion again!" — Ay; we know these consequences will come upon us, if God Almighty shall not find out some way to prevent them.

I had a thought within myself, That it would not have been dishonest nor dishonourable, nor against true Liberty, no not 'the Liberty' of Parliaments, 'if,' when a Parliament was so chosen 'as you have been,' in pursuance of this Instrument of Government, and in conformity to it, and with such an approbation and consent to it, - some Owning of your Call and of the Authority which brought you hither, had been required before your entrance into the House. [Deep silence in the audience.] This was declined, and hath not been done, because I am persuaded scarce any man could doubt you came with contrary minds. And I have reason to believe the people that sent you least of all doubted thereof. And therefore I must deal plainly with you: What I forbore upon a just confidence at first, you necessitate me unto now! [Paleness on some

[&]quot;Privilege" of Parliament, in those days, strenuously forbids reporting; but it will not serve in the case referred to!

faces.] Seeing the Authority which called you is so little valued, and so much slighted, — till some such Assurance be given and made known, that the Fundamental Interest shall be settled and approved according to the proviso in the 'Writ of' Return, and such a consent testified as will make it appear that the same is accepted, I have caused a stop to be put to your entrance into the Parliament House. [You understand that, my honourable friends?]

I am sorry, I am sorry, and I could be sorry to the death, that there is cause for this! But there is cause: and if things be not satisfied which are reasonably demanded, I, for my part, will do that which becomes me, seeking my counsel from God. — There is therefore Somewhat [A bit of written Parchment!] to be offered to you; which, I hope, will answer, being understood with the qualifications I have told you, -'namely, of' reforming as to Circumstantials, and agreeing in the Substance and Fundamentals, 'that is to say,' in the Form of Government now settled, which is expressly stipulated in your Indentures "not to be altered." The making of your minds known in that by giving your assent and subscription to it, is the means that will let you in, to act those things as a Parliament which are for the good of the People. And this thing [The Parchment!], 'when once it is' shown to you and signed as aforesaid, doth determine the controversy; and may give a happy progress and issue to this Parliament. [Honourable gentlemen look in one another's faces, - find general blank.]

The place where you may come thus and sign, as many as God shall make free thereunto, is in the

[12 Sept.

Lobby without the Parliament Door. [My honourable friends, you know the way, don't you?] ——

The 'Instrument of' Government doth declare that you have a legislative power without a negative from me. As the Instrument doth express it, you may make any Laws; and if I give not my consent, within twenty days, to the passing of your Laws, they are ipso facto Laws, whether I consent or no, — if not contrary to the 'Frame of' Government. You have an absolute Legislative Power in all things that can possibly concern the good and interest of the public; and I think you may make these Nations happy by this Settlement. And I, for my part, shall be willing to be bound more than I am, in Anything concerning which I can become convinced that it may be for the good of the People, or tend to the preservation of the Cause and Interest so long contended for. §

Go your ways, my honourable friends, and sign, so many of you as God hath made free thereunto! The place, I tell you, is in the Lobby without the Parliament Door. The "Thing," as you will find there, is a bit of Parchment with these words engrossed on it: "I do hereby freely promise, and "engage myself, to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and "the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland; and shall "not (according to the tenor of the Indenture whereby I am re-"turned to serve in this present Parliament) propose, or give my "consent, to alter the Government as it is settled in a Single Person "and a Parliament."* Sign that, or go home again to your countries.

Let honourable gentlemen therefore consider what they will do!—"About a Hundred signed directly, within an hour." Guibon Goddard and all the Norfolk Members (except one,

[§] Old Pamphlet, brother to the foregoing; reprinted in Parliamentary History, xx. 349-69.

 Whittocke, p. 587.

who was among the direct Hundred) went and "had dinner together," to talk the matter over; — mostly thought it would be better to sign; and did sign, all but some two. The number who have signed this first day, we hear, is a Hundred-and-twenty, a Hundred-and-thirty, nay a Hundred-and-forty.* Blank faces of honourable gentlemen begin to take meaning again, — some mild, some grim. Tomorrow being Fastday, there is an adjournment. The recusants are treated "with all tenderness;" most of them come in by degrees: "Three-hundred before the month ends."

Deep Republicans, Bradshaw, Haselrig, Thomas Scott and the like, would not come in; still less would shallow noisy ones, as Major Wildman; - went home to their countries again. their blank faces settling into permanent grim. My Lord Protector molested no man for his recusancy; did indeed take that absence as a comparative favour from the parties. Harrison and other suspect persons are a little looked after: the Parliament resumes its function as if little had happened. With a singular acquiescence on the part of the Public, write our correspondents, Dutch and other. The Public, which I have known rebel against crowned Kings for twitching the tippet of a Parliament, permits this Lord Protector to smite it on the cheek, and say, "Have a care, wilt thou!" Perhaps this Lord Protector is believed to mean better than the King did? There is a difference in the objects of men, as the Public understands; — a difference in the men too for rebelling against! At any rate, here is singular submission everywhere; and my Lord Protector getting ready a powerful Sea-Armament, neither his Parliament nor any other creature can yet guess for what. **

Goddard's report of this Parliament is distinct enough; brief, and not without some points of interest; "the misfortune is," says one Commentator, "he does not give us names." Alas, a much greater misfortune is, the Parliament itself is

Goddard, Whitlocke, Letter in Thurloe.
 Dutch Ambassadors, French, &c., in Thurloe, ii. 606, 613, 638 (15th, 18th Sept.; 9th Oct.). — See also Appendix, No. 30.

hardly worth naming! It did not prove a successful Parliament;—it held on by mere Constitution-building; and effected, so to speak, nothing. Respectable Pedant persons; never doubting but the Ancient sacred Sheepskins would serve for the New Time, which also has its sacredness; thinking, full surely, constitutional logic was the thing England now needed of them! Their History shall remain blank, to the end of the world. I have read their Debates, and counsel no other man to do it. Wholly upon the "Institution of Government," modelling, new-modelling of that: endless anxious spider-webs of constitutional logic; vigilant checks, constitutional jealousies, &c. &. To be forgotten by all creatures.

They had a Committee of Godly Ministers sitting in the Jerusalem Chamber: a kind of miniature Assembly of Divines: intent upon "Scandalous Ministers and Schoolmasters," upon tender consciences, and the like objects: but there were only Twenty in this Assembly; they could hardly ever get fairly under way at all; - and have left in English History no trace that I could see of their existence, except a very reasonable Petition, noted in the Record, That the Parliament would be pleased to advance them a little money towards the purchase of fire and candle, - in these cold dark months. The Parliament, I hope, allowed them coals and a few tallow-lights; but neither they nor it could accomplish anything towards the Settling of a Godly Ministry in England: my Lord Protector and his Commissions will have to settle that too; an object dear to all good men. The l'arliament spent its time in constitutional jangling, in vigilant contrivance of balances, checks, and that species of entities. With difficulty could, at rare intervals, a hasty stingy vote, not for the indispensable Supplies, but for some promise of them, be wrung. An unprofitable Parliament.

For the rest, they had Biddle the Socinian before them; a poor Gloucester Schoolmaster once, now a very conspicuous Heresiarch, apparently of mild but entirely obstinate manners, — poor devil: him they put into the Gatehouse; him and various others of that kidney. Especially "Theauro John, who

laid about him with a drawn sword at the door of the Parliament House one day," * - a man clearly needing to be confined. "Theauro John:" his name had originally been John Davy, if I recollect; but the Spirit, in some preternatural hour, revealed to him that it ought to be as above. Poor Davy: his labours, life-adventures, financial arrangements, painful biography in general, are all unknown to us: till, on this "Saturday 30th December 1654," he very clearly "knocks loud at the door of the Parliament House," as much as to say, "What is this you are upon?" and "lays about him with a drawn sword;" - after which all again becomes unknown. Seemingly a kind of Quaker. Does the reader know James Nayler, and the devout women worshipping him? George Fox, in his suit of leather, independent of mankind, looks down into the soft Vale of Belvoir, native "Vale of Bever:" Do not the whispering winds and green fields, do not the still smoke-pillars from these poor cottages under the eternal firmaments, say in one's heart, "George, canst thou do nothing for us? George, wilt thou not help us from the wrath to come?" George finds in the Vale of Bever "a very tender people." In fact, most singular Quakerisms, frightful Socinianisms, and other portents, are springing up rife in England.

Oliver objected, now and always, to any very harsh punishment of Biddle and Company, much as he abhorred their doctrines. Why burn, or brand, or otherwise torment them, poor souls? They, wandering as we all do seeking for a door of hope into the Eternities, have, being tempted of the Devil as we all likewise are, missed the door of hope; and gone tumbling into dangerous gulfs, — dangerous, but not yet beyond the mercy of God. Do not burn them. They meant, some of them, well; bear, visibly to me, the scars of stern true battle against the Enemy of Man. Do not burn them; — lock them up, that they may not mislead others. On frugal wholesome diet in Pendennis Castle, or Elizabeth Castle in Jersey, or here in the Clink Prison at London, they will not cost you much, and may

Whitlocke, p. 592. See Goddard (in Burton, i. Introd. exxvi.).

arrive at some composure. Branding and burning is an ugly business; as little of that as you can.

Friday, 29th September 1654. His Highness, say the old Lumber-Books, went into Hyde Park; made a small picnic dinner under the trees, with Secretary Thurloe, attended by a few servants; - was, in fact, making a small pleasure excursion, having in mind to try a fine new team of horses, which the Earl or Duke of Oldenburg had lately sent him. Dinner done, his Highness himself determined to drive. - two in hand I think, with a postilion driving other two. The horses, beautiful animals, tasting of the whip, became unruly; galloped, would not be checked, but took to plunging; plunged the postilion down; plunged or shook his Highness down, "dragging him by the foot for some time," so that "a pistol went off in his pocket," to the amazement of men. Whereupon? Whereupon - his Highness got up again, little the worse; was let blood; and went about his affairs much as usual!* Small anecdote, that figures, larger than life, in all the Books and Biographies. I have known men thrown from their horses on occasion, and less noise made about it, my erudite friend! But the essential point was, his Highness wore a pistol. - Yes, his Highness is prepared to defend himself; has men, and has also truculent-flunkeys, and devils and devil's-servants of various kinds, to defend himself against; - and wears pistols, and what other furniture outward and inward may be necessary for the object. Such of you as have an eye that way can take notice of it! -

Thursday, 16th November 1654. On the other hand, what a glimpse into the interior domesticities of the Protector Household have we in the following brief Note! Amid the darkness and buzzard dimness, one light-beam, clear, radiant, mournfully beautiful, like the gleam of a sudden star, disclosing for a moment many things to us! On Friday, Secretary Thurloe writes incidentally: "My Lord Protector's mother, of Ninety-"four years old, died last night. A little before her death she "gave my Lord her blessing, in these words: 'The Lord cause

^{*} Thurloe, i. 652, 3; Ludlow, if. 508.

"His face to shine upon you; and comfort you in all your ad-"versities; and enable you to do great things for the glory of "your Most High God, and to be a relief unto His People. My "dear Son, I leave my heart with thee. A good night!" *and therewith sank into her long sleep. Even so. Words of ours are but idle. Thou brave one, Mother of a Hero, farewell! - Ninety-four years old: the royalties of Whitehall, says Ludlow very credibly, were of small moment to her: "at the "sound of a musket she would often be afraid her Son was "shot: and could not be satisfied unless she saw him once a "day at least." ** She, old, weak, wearied one, she cannot help him with his refractory Pedant Parliaments, with his Anabaptist plotters, Royalist assassins, and world-wide confusions; but she bids him, Be strong, be comforted in God. And so Good night! And in the still Eternities and divine Silences — Well, are they not divine? —

December 26th, 1654. The refractory Parliament and other dim confusions still going on, we mark as a public event of some significance, the sailing of his Highness's Sea-Armament. It has long been getting ready on the Southern Coast; sea-forces, land-forces; sails from Portsmouth on Christmas morrow, as above marked.***-None yet able to divine whither bound; not even the Generals, Venables and Penn, till they reach a certain latitude. Many are much interested to divine! Our Brussels Correspondent writes long since, "The Lord "Protector's Government makes England more formidable "and considerable to all Nations than ever it has been in my "days."+

LETTERS CXCVI., CXCVII.

HERE are Two small Letters, harmlessly reminding us of far interests and of near; - otherwise yielding no new light; but capable of being read without commentary. Read them;

Thurlos to Pell, 17th November 1654: in Vanghan's Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell (London, 1839), 1. 81.

Penn's Narrative, in Thurlos, iv. 28.
† Thurlos, i. 160 (1th March 1653-4).

and let us hasten to dissolve the poor Constitutioning Parliament, which ought not to linger on these pages, or on any page.

LETTER CXCVL

To Richard Bennet, Esq., Governor of Virginia: These.

SIR. Whitehall. 12th January 1654.

Whereas the differences between the Lord Baltimore and the Inhabitants of Virginia, concerning the Bounds by them respectively claimed, are depending before our Council, and yet undetermined; and whereas we are credibly informed, you have notwithstanding gone into his Plantation in Maryland, and countenanced some people there in opposing the Lord Baltimore's Officers; whereby, and with other forces from Virginia, you have much disturbed that Colony and People, to the endangering of tumults and much bloodshed there, if not timely prevented:

We therefore, at the request of the Lord] Baltimore, and 'of' divers other Persons of Quality here, who are engaged by great adventures in his interest, do, for preventing of disturbances or tumults there, will and require you, and all others deriving any authority from you, To forbear disturbing the Lord Baltimore, or his Officers or People in Maryland; and to permit all things to remain as they were before any disturbance or alteration made by you, or by any other upon pretence of authority from you till the said Differences above mentioned be determined by us here, and we give farther order therein.

We rest your loving friend,

OLIVER P. §

[§] Thurloe, i. 724. The Signature only is Oliver's; signature, and sense. Thurloe has jotted on the back of this: "A duplicate also hereof was writ, signed by his Highness."

Commissioners, it would appear, went out to settle the business; got it, we have no doubt, with due difficulty settled. See Letter CCIII., — 26th September 1655, "To the Commissioners of Maryland."

LETTER CXCVIL

HERE again, while the Pedant Parliament keeps arguing and constitutioning, are discontents in the Army that threaten to develop themselves. Dangerous fermentings of Fifth-Monarchy and other bad ingredients, in the Army and out of it; encouraged by the Parliamentary height of temperature. Charles Stuart, on the word of a Christian King, is extensively bestirring himself. Royalist preparations, provisions of arms; Anabaptist Petitions: abroad and at home very dangerous designs on foot: but we have our eye upon them.

The Scotch Army seems, at present, the questionablest. "The pay of the men is thirty weeks in arrear," for one thing; the Anabaptist humour needs not that addition! Colonel Alured, we saw, had to be dismissed the Service, last year; Overton and others were questioned, and not dismissed. But now some desperate scheme has risen among the Forces in Scotland, of deposing General Monk, of making Republican Overton Commander, - and so marching off, all but the indispensable Garrison-troops, south into England, there to seek pay and other redress.* This Parliament, now in its Fourth Month, supplies no money; nothing but constitutional debatings. My Lord Protector had need be watchful! He again, in this December, summons Overton from Scotland; again questions him; - sees good, this time, to commit him to the Tower,** and end his military services. The Army, in Scotland and elsewhere, with no settlement yet to its vague fermenting humours, and not even money to pay its arrears, is dangerous enough.

^{*} Postea, Speech IV.; and Thurloe, iii. 110, &c. ** 16th January 1654-5 (Overton's Letter, Thurloe, iii. 110).

Of Adjutant-General Allen whom this Letter concerns, it may be proper to say that Ludlow in mentioning him has mistaken his man. The reader recollects, a good while ago, Three Troopers, notable at the moment, who appeared once before the Long Parliament, with a Petition from the Army. in the year Forty-seven? Their names were Allen, Sexby, Sheppard: Ludlow will have it, the Trooper Allen was this Adjutant-General Allen; * which is a mistake of Ludlow's. Trooper Sexby we did since see, as Captain Sexby, after Preston Fight; and shall again, in sad circumstances see: but of Trooper Allen there is no farther vestige anywhere except this imaginary one; of Trooper Sheppard not even an imaginary vestige. They have vanished, these two; and Adjutant-General Allen, vindicating his identity such as it is, enters here on his own footing. A resolute devout man, whom we have seen before; the same who was deep in the Prayer-Meeting at Windsor years ago: ** this is his third, and we hope his last appearance on the stage of things.

Allen has been in Ireland, since that Prayer-Meeting; in Ireland and elsewhere, resolutely fighting, earnestly praying, as from of old; has had many darkenings of mind; expects, for almost a year past, "little good from the Governments of "this world," one or the other. He has honoured, and still would fain honour, "the Person now in chief place," having seen in him much "upright-heartedness to the Lord;" must confess, however, "the late Change hath more stumbled me than any ever did;"—and on the whole knows not what he will resolve upon.*** We find he has resolved on quitting Ireland, for one thing; has come over to "his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's in Devonshire:"—and, to all appearance, is not building established-churches there! "Captain Unton Crook,"

^{*} Ludlow, i. 189: "Edward Sexby," "William Allen;" but in the name of the third Trooper, which is not "Philips" but Sheppard, he is mistaken (Commons Journals, 30th April 1647); and as to "Adjutant-General Allen" and the impossibility of his identity with this William Allen, see vol. i. pp. 265, 320.

** Vol. i, p. 326.

^{***} Two intercepted Letters of Allen's (Thurloe, ii. 214,5), "Dublin, 6th April 1654."

of whom we shall hear afterwards, is an active man, son of a learned Lawyer; * very zealous for the Protector's interest; — sealous for his own and his Father's promotion, growls Ludlow. Desborow, who fitted out the late mysterious Sea-Armament on the Southern Coast (not too judiciously, I doubt), is Commander-in-chief in those parts.

'For Captain Unton Crook, at Exeter: These.'

SIR, Whitehall, 20th January 1654.

Being informed by a Letter of yours and General Desborow, also by a Letter from the High Sheriff of Devon, that Adjutant-General Allen doth very ill offices by multiplying dissatisfaction in the minds of men to the present Government, I desire you and the High Sheriff to make diligent inquiry after him, and try to make out what can be made in this kind, and to give me speedy notice thereof. Not doubting of your care herein, I rest,

Your loving friend, OLIVER P.

If he be gone out of the Country, learn whither he is gone, and send me word by next post.§

Allen was not gone out of the Country; he was seized by Crook "in his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's house," on the 31st of January 1654-5; his papers searched, and himself ordered to be and continue prisoner, at a place agreed upon, — Sand in Somersetshire, — "under his note of hand." So much we learn from the imbroglios of Thurloe; *** where also are authentic Depositions concerning Allen, "by Captains John Copleston and the said Unton Crook;" and two Letters of Allen's own, — one to the Protector; and one to "Colonel Daniel Axtel" (the Regicide Axtel), "Dr. Philip Carteret, or either of them,"

** iii. 143; see pp. 140, 1.

Made Sergeant Crook in 1655 (Heath, p. 693).
 Lansdowne MSS. 1236; fol. 102. Superscription torn off; — only the Signature is in Oliver's hand: Address supplied here by inference.

enclosing that other Letter, and leaving it to them to present it or not, he himself thinking earnestly that they should. Both of these Letters, as well as Unton Crook's to the Protector, and the authentic Deposition of Copleston and Crook against Allen, are dated February 7th, 1654-5.

The witnesses depose,* That he has bragged to one "Sir John!Davis Baronet," of an interview he had with the Protector not long since, - wherein he, Allen, told the Protector a bit of his mind; and left him in a kind of huff, and even at a nonplus; and so came off to the West Country in a triumphant manner. Farther he talks questionable things of Ireland, of discontents there, and in laud of Lieutenant-General Ludlow; says, There is plenty of discontent in Ireland: he himself means to be there in February, but will first go to London again. The Country rings with rumour of his questionable speeches. He goes to "meetings" about Bristol, whither many persons convene, - for Anabaptist or other purposes. Such meetings are often on week-days. Questionabler still, he rides thither "with a vizard or mask over his "face;" "with glasses over his eyes," - barnacles, so to speak! Nay, questionablest of all, riding, "on Friday the 5th "of last month," month of January 1654-5, "to a meeting at "Luppit near Honiton, Devon," there rode also (but not I think to the same place!) a Mr. Hugh Courtenay, once a flaming Royalist Officer in Ireland, and still a flaming zealot to the lost Cause; who spake nothing all that afternoon but mere treason, of Anabaptists that would rise in London. of &c. &c. Allen, as we say, on the last morning of January was awoke from sleep in his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's, by the entrance of two armed troopers; who informed him that Captain Crook and the High Sheriff were below, and that he would have to put on his clothes, and come down.

Allen's Letter to the Lord Protector, from Sand in Somersetshire, we rather reluctantly withhold, for want of room. A stubborn, sad, stingily respectful piece of writing: Wife and baby terribly ill off at Sand; desires to be resigned to the

^{*} Thurloe, iii, 140.

Lord, "before whom both of us shall ere long nakedly ap"pear;" — petitions that at least he might be allowed "to
"attend ordinances;" which surely would be reasonable! Are
there not good horses that require to be ridden with a dexterous bridle-hand, — delicate, and yet hard and strong?
Clearly a strenuous Anabaptist, this Allen; a rugged, truehearted, not easily governable man; given to Fifth-Monarchy
and other notions, though with a strong head to control them.
Fancy him duly cashiered from the Army, duly admonished
and dismissed into private life. Then add the Colonel Overtons and Colonel Alureds, and General Ludlows and MajorGeneral Harrisons, and also the Charles Stuarts and Christian
Kings; — reflect once more what kind of task this of my Lord
Protector's is, and whether he needs refractory Pedant Parliaments to worsen it for him!

SPEECH IV.

FINDING this Parliament was equal to nothing in the Spiritual way but tormenting of poor Heretics, receiving Petitions for a small advance towards coal and candle; and nothing in the Temporal, but constitutional air-fabrics and vigilant checkings and balancings, - under which operations such precious fruits at home and abroad were ripening. — Oliver's esteem for this Parliament gradually sank to a marked degree. Check, check, - like maladroit ship-carpenters hammering, adzing, sawing at the Ship of the State, instead of diligently caulking and paying it; idly gauging and computing, nay, recklessly tearing up and remodelling; - when the poor Ship could hardly keep the water as yet, and the Pirates and Sea-Krakens were gathering round! All which most dangerous. not to say half-frantic operations, the Lord Protector discerning well, and swallowing in silence as his hest was, - had for a good while kept his eye upon the Almanac, with more and more impatience for the arrival of the Third of February. That will be the first deliverance of the poor labouring Commonwealth, when at the end of Five Months we send these Parliament philosophers home to their countries again. Five Months by the Instrument they have to sit; — O fly, lazy Time; it is yet but Four Months and — — Somebody suggested, Is not the Soldier-month counted by Four Weeks? Eight-and-twenty days are a Soldier's Month: they have, in a sense, already sat five months, these vigilant Honourable Gentlemen!

Oliver Protector, on Monday morning, 22d of January 1654-5, surprises the Constitutioning Parliament with a message to attend him in the Painted Chamber, and leave "Settling of the Government" for a while. They have yet voted no Supplies; nor meant to vote any. They thought themselves very safe till February 3d, at soonest. But my Lord Protector, from his high place, speaks, and dissolves.

Speech Fourth, "printed by Henry Hills, Printer to his Highness the Lord Protector," is the only one of these Speeches, concerning the reporting, printing or publishing of which there is any visible charge or notice taken by the Government of the time. It is ordered in this instance, by the Council of State, That nobody except Henry Hills or those appointed by him shall presume to print or reprint the present Speech, or any part of it. Perhaps an official precaution considered needful; perhaps also only a matter of copyright; for the Order is so worded as not to indicate which. At all events, there is no trace of the Report having been anywhere interfered with; which seems altogether a spontaneous one; probably the product of Rushworth or some such artist.*

The Speech, if read with due intensity, can be understood; and what is equally important, be believed; nay, be found to contain in it a manful, great and valiant meaning, — in tone and manner very resolute, yet very conciliatory; intrinsically not ignoble but noble. For the rest, it is, as usual, sufficiently incondite in phrase and conception; the hasty outpouring of a mind which is full of such meanings. Somewhat difficult to read. Practical Heroes, unfortunately, as we once said, do not speak in blank-verse; their trade does not altogether

admit of that! Useless to look here for a Greek Temple with its porticoes and entablatures, and styles. But the Alp Mountain, with its chasms and cataracts and shaggy pine-forests, and huge granite masses rooted in the Heart of the World: this too is worth looking at, to some. I can give the reader little help; but will advise him to try.

GENTLEMEN,

I perceive you are here as the House of Parliament, by your Speaker whom I see here, and by your faces which are in a great measure known to me. [Doubtless we are here, your Highness!]

When I first met you in this room, it was to my apprehension the hopefullest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to the considerations of this world. For I did look at, as wrapt up in you together with myself, the hopes and the happiness of, - though not of the greatest, - yet a very great 'People;' and the best People in the world. And truly and unfeignedly I thought 'it' so: as a People that have the highest and clearest profession amongst them of the greatest glory, namely Religion: as a People that have been, like other Nations, sometimes up and sometimes down in our honour in the world, but yet never so low but we might measure with other Nations: - and a People that have had a stamp upon them from God [Hah?]; God having, as it were, summed up all our former honour and glory in the things that are of glory to Nations, in an Epitome, within these Ten or Twelve years last past! So that we knew one another at home, and are well known abroad.

And if I be not very much mistaken, we were arrived, — as I, and truly I believe as many others, did think, — at a very safe port; where we might sit

down and contemplate the Dispensations of God, and our Mercies; and might know our Mercies not to have been like to those of the Ancients, - who did make out their peace and prosperity, as they thought, by their own endeavours; who could not say, as we, That all ours were let down to us from God Himself! Whose appearances and providences amongst us are not to be outmatched by any Story. [Deep silence; from the old Parliament, and from us.] Truly this was our condition. And I know nothing else we had to do, save as Israel was commanded in that most excellent Psalm of David: "The things which we have heard and known, and "our fathers have told us, we will not hide them from "our children; showing to the generation to come the "praises of the Lord, and His strength, and His won-"derful works that He hath done. For He established "a Testimony in Jacob, and appointed a Law in "Israel; which He commanded our fathers that they "should make known to their children; that the "generation to come might know them, even the "children which should be born, who should arise and "declare them to their children: that they might set "their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, "but keep His commandments." *

This I thought had been a song and a work worthy of England, whereunto you might happily have invited them, — had you had hearts unto it. [Alas!] You had this opportunity fairly delivered unto you. And if a history shall be written of these Times and Transactions, it will be said, it will not be denied, that these things that I have spoken are true! [No response from the Moderns: mere silence, stupor, not without sad-

^{*} Psalm lxxviii. 3-7.

ness.] This talent was put into your hands. And I shall recur to that which I said at the first: I came with very great joy and contentment and comfort, the first time I met you in this place. But we and these Nations are, for the present, under some disappointment! — If I had proposed to have played the Orator, — which I never did affect, nor do, nor I hope shall [Hear!], — I doubt not but upon easy suppositions, which I am persuaded every one among you will grant, we did meet upon such hopes as these.

I met you a second time here: and I confess, at that meeting I had much abatement of my hopes; though not a total frustration. I confess that that which damped my hopes so soon was somewhat that did look like a parricide. It is obvious enough unto you that the 'then' management of affairs did savour of a Not owning, - too-too much savour, I say, of a Not owning of the Authority that called you hither. But God left us not without an expedient that gave a second possibility - Shall I say possibility? It seemed to me a probability, - of recovering out of that dissatisfied condition we were all then in, towards some mutuality of satisfaction. And therefore by that Recognition [The Parchment we had to sign: Hum-m/], suiting with the Indenture that returned you hither: to which afterwards was also added your own Declaration.* conformable to, and in acceptance of, that expedient: - thereby, 'I say,' you had, though with a little check, another opportunity renewed unto you to have made this Nation as happy as it could have been if everything had smoothly run on from that first hour of your meeting. And indeed, - you will give me liberty of

Commons Journals (vil. 368), 14th Sept. 1654.

my thoughts and hopes, - I did think, as I have formerly found in that way that I have been engaged in as a soldier, That some affronts put upon us, some disasters at the first, have made way for very great and happy successes;* and I did not at all despond but the stop put upon you, in like manner, would have made way for a blessing from God. That Interruption being, as I thought, necessary to divert you from violent and destructive proceedings; to give time for better deliberations; - whereby leaving the Government as you found it, you might have proceeded to have made those good and wholesome Laws which the People expected from you and might have answered the Grievances, and settled those other things proper to you as a Parliament: for which you would have had thanks from all that entrusted you. [Doubtful "Hum-m-m!" from the old Parliament.]

What hath happened since that time I have not taken public notice of; as declining to intrench on Parliament privileges. For sure I am you will all bear me witness, That from your entering into the House upon the Recognition, to this very day, you have had no manner of interruption or hindrance of mine in proceeding to what blessed issue the heart of a good man could propose to himself, — to this very day 'none.' You see you have me very much locked up, as to what you have transacted among yourselves, from that time to this. ["None dare report us, or whisper what we do."] But some things I shall take liberty to speak of to you.

As I may not take notice what you have been doing; so I think I have a very great liberty to tell

[·] Characteristic sentence, and sentiment; - not to be meddled with.

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you That I do not know what you have been doing! With a certain tone; as one may hear! I do not know whether you have been alive or dead. I have not once heard from you all this time; I have not: and that you all know. If that be a fault that I have not, surely it hath not been mine! - If I have had any melancholy thoughts, and have sat down by them, - why might it not have been very lawful for me to think that I was a Person judged unconcerned in all these businesses? I can assure you I have not so reckoned myself! Nor did I reckon myself unconcerned in you. And so long as any just patience could support my expectation, I would have waited to the uttermost to have received from you the issue of your consultations and resolutions. — I have been careful of your safety, and the safety of those that you represented, to whom I reckon myself a servant. -

But what messages have I disturbed you withal? What injury or indignity hath been done, or offered, either to your persons or to any privileges of Parliament, since you sat? I looked at myself as strictly obliged by my Oath, since your recognising the Government in the authority of which you were called hither and sat, To give you all possible security, and to keep you from any unparliamentary interruption. Think you I could not say more upon this subject, if I listed to expatiate thereupon? But because my actions plead for me. I shall say no more of this. [Old Parliament dubiously rolls its eyes.] - I say, I have been caring for you, for your quiet sitting; caring for your privileges, as I said before, that they might not be interrupted; have been seeking of God, from the great God a blessing upon you, and a blessing upon these

Nations. I have been consulting if possibly I might, in anything, promote, in my place, the real good of this Parliament, of the hopefulness of which I have said so much unto you. And I did think it to be my business rather to see the utmost issue, and what God would produce by you, than unseasonably to intermeddle with you.

But, as I said before, I have been caring for you, and for the peace and quiet of these Nations: indeed I have; and that I shall a little presently manifest unto you. And it leadeth me to let you know somewhat, - which, I fear, I fear, will be, through some interpretation, a little too justly put upon you; whilst you have been employed as you have been, and, — in all that time expressed in the Government, in that Government, I say in that Government, - have brought forth nothing that you yourselves say can be taken notice of without infringement of your privileges!* I will tell you somewhat, which, if it be not news to you, I wish you had taken very serious consideration of. If it be news, I wish I had acquainted you with it sooner. And yet if any man will ask me why I did it not, the reason is given already: Because I did make it my business to give you no interruption.

There be some trees that will not grow under the shadow of other trees: There be some that choose, a man may say so by way of allusion, - to thrive under the shadow of other trees. I will tell you what

^{*}An embarrassed sentence; characteristic of his Highness. "You have "done nothing noticeable upon this 'Somewhat' that I am about to speak "of, — nor, indeed, it seems upon any Somewhat; — and this was one you "may, without much 'interpretation,' be blamed for doing nothing upon," "Government" means Instrument of Government: "the time expressed therein is Fire Months,—now, by my way of calculating it, expired! Which may account for the embarrassed iteration of the phrase, on his Highness's nart.



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hath thriven, - I will not say what you have cherished, under your shadow; that were too hard. Instead of Peace and Settlement, - instead of mercy and truth being brought together, and righteousness and peace kissing each other, by 'your' reconciling the Honest People of these Nations, and settling the woful distempers that are amongst us; which had been glorious things and worthy of Christians to have proposed. weeds and nettles, briers and thorns have thriven under your shadow! Dissettlement and division, discontent and dissatisfaction; together with real dangers to the whole, - have been more multiplied within these five months of your sitting, than in some years before! Foundations have also been laid for the future renewing of the Troubles of these Nations by all the enemies of them abroad and at home. Let not these words seem too sharp: for they are true as any mathematical demonstrations are, or can be. I say, the enemies of the peace of these Nations abroad and at home, the discontented humours throughout these Nations, which 'products' I think no man will grudge to call by that name, of briers and thorns, - they have nourished themselves under your shadow! [Old Parliament looks still more uneasy.]

And that I may clearly be understood: They have taken their opportunities from your sitting, and from the hopes they had, which with easy conjecture they might take up and conclude that there would be no Settlement; and they have framed their designs, preparing for the execution of them accordingly. Now whether, — which appertains not to me to judge of, on their behalf, — they had any occasion ministered for this, and from whence they had it, I list not to

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make any scrutiny or search. But I will say this: I think they had it not from me. I am sure they had not 'from me.' From whence they had, is not my business now to discourse: but that they had, is obvious to every man's sense. What preparations they have made, to be executed in such a season as they thought fit to take their opportunity from: that I know, not as men know things by conjecture, but by certain demonstrable knowledge. That they have been for some time past furnishing themselves with arms; nothing doubting but they should have a day for it; and verily believing that, whatsoever their former disappointments were, they should have more done for them by and from our own divisions, than they were able to do for themselves. I desire to be understood That, in all I have to say of this subject, you will take it that I have no reservation in my mind, - as I have not, — to mingle things of guess and suspicion with things of fact: but 'that' the things I am telling of are fact; things of evident demonstration.

These weeds, briers and thorns, — they have been preparing, and have brought their designs to some maturity, by the advantages given to them, as aforesaid, from your sittings and proceedings. ["Hum-m-m!"] But by the Waking Eye that watched over that Cause that God will bless, they have been, and yet are, disappointed. [Yea!] And having mentioned that Cause, I say, that slighted Cause, — let me speak a few words in behalf thereof; though it may seem too long a digression. Whosoever despiseth it, and will say, It is non Causa pro Causâ, 'a Cause without Cause,' — the All-searching Eye before mentioned will find out that man; and will judge him, as one that regardeth

not the works of God nor the operations of His hands! [Moderns look astonished.] For which God hath threatened that He will cast men down, and not build them up. That 'man who,' because he can dispute, will tell us he knew not when the Cause began, nor where it is; but modelleth it according to his own intellect; and submits not to the Appearances of God in the World: and therefore lifts up his heel against God, and mocketh at all His providences; laughing at the observations, made up not without reason and the Scriptures, and by the quickening and teaching Spirit which gives life to these other; — calling such observations "enthusiasms:" such men, I say, no wonder if they "stumble and fall backwards, and be broken and snared and taken,"* by the things of which they are so wilfully and maliciously ignorant! The Scriptures say, "The Rod has a voice, and He will make Himself known by the judgments which He executeth." And do we not think He will. and does, by the providences of mercy and kindness which He hath for His People and their just liberties; "whom He loves as the apple of His eye?" Doth He not by them manifest Himself? And is He not thereby also seen giving kingdoms for them, "giving men for them, and people for their lives," — as it is in Isaiah Forty-third?** Is not this as fair a lecture and as clear speaking, as anything our dark reason, left to the letter of the Scriptures, can collect from them? By this voice has God spoken very loud on behalf of His People, by judging their enemies in the late War, and restoring them a liberty to worship, with the freedom of their

Isaiah, xxviii. 13. A text that had made a great impression upon
 Oliver: see Letter to the General Assembly, vol. ii. p. 311.
 Isaiah, xliii. 3, 4: Another prophecy of awful moment to his Highness: see Speech 1. vol. iii. p. 167.

consciences, and freedom in estates and persons when they do so. And thus we have found the Cause of God by the works of God; which are the testimony of God. Upon which rock whosoever splits shall suffer shipwreck. But it is your glory, — and it is mine, if I have any in the world concerning the Interest of those that have an interest in a better world, — it is my glory that I know a Cause which yet we have not lost; but do hope we shall take a little pleasure rather to lose our lives than lose! [Hahl] — But you will excuse this long digression. ——

I say unto you, Whilst you have been in the midst of these Transactions, that Party, that Cavalier Party, - I could wish some of them had thrust-in here, to have heard what I say, - have been designing and preparing to put this Nation in blood again, with a witness. But because I am confident there are none of that sort here, therefore I shall say the less to that. Only this I must tell you: They have been making great preparations of arms; and I do believe it will be made evident to you that they have raked out many thousands of arms, even all that this City could afford, for divers months last past. But it will be said, "May we not arm ourselves for the defence of our houses? Will anybody find fault for that?" Not for that. But the reason for their doing so hath been as explicit, and under as clear proof, as the fact of doing so. For which I hope, by the justice of the land, some will, in the face of the Nation, answer it with their lives: and then the business will be pretty well out of doubt. -Banks of money have been framing, for these and other such like uses. Letters have been issued with Privyseals, to as great Persons as most are in the Nation,



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for the advance of money, — which 'Letters' have been discovered to us by the Persons themselves. Commissions for Regiments of horse and foot, and command of Castles, have been likewise given from Charles Stuart, since your sitting. And what the general insolences of that Party have been, the Honest People have been sensible of, and can very well testify.

It hath not only been thus. But as in a quinsy or pleurisy, where the humour fixeth in one part, give it scope, all 'disease' will gather to that place, to the hazarding of the whole: and it is natural to do so till it destroy life in that person on whomsoever this befalls. So likewise will these diseases take accidental causes of aggravation of their distemper. And this was that which I did assert, That they have taken accidental causes for the growing and increasing of those distempers. - as much as would have been in the natural body if timely remedy were not applied. And indeed things were come to that pass, - in respect of which I shall give you a particular account, — that no mortal physician, if the Great Physician had not stepped in, could have cured the distemper. Shall I lay this upon your account, or my own? I am sure I can lay it upon God's account: That if He had not stepped in, the disease had been mortal and destructive!

And what is all this? 'What are these new diseases that have gathered to this point?' Truly I must needs still say: "A company of men like briers and thorns;" and worse, if worse can be. Of another sort than those before mentioned to you. These also have been and yet are endeavouring to put us into blood and into confusion; more desperate and dangerous confusion than England ever yet saw. [Anabaptist Levellers.] And I

must say, as when Gideon commanded his son to fall upon Zeba and Zalmunna, and slay them, they thought it more noble to die by the hand of a man than of a stripling, - which shows there is some contentment in the hand by which a man falls: so it is some satisfaction if a Commonwealth must perish, that it perish by men, and not by the hands of persons differing little from beasts! That if it must needs suffer, it should rather suffer from rich men than from poor men, who, as Solomon says, "when they oppress, leave nothing behind them, but are as a sweeping rain." Now such as these also are grown up under your shadow. But it will be asked, What have they done? I hope, though they pretend "Commonwealth's Interest," they have had no encouragement from you; but have, as in the former case. rather taken it than that you have administered any cause unto them for so doing. 'Any cause' from delays, from hopes that this Parliament would not settle, from Pamphlets mentioning strange Votes and Resolves of yours; which I hope did abuse you! But thus you see that, whatever the grounds were, these have been the effects. And thus I have laid these things before you; and you and others will be easily able to judge how far you are concerned.

"What these men have done?" They also have laboured to pervert, where they could, and as they could, the Honest-meaning People of the Nation. They have laboured to engage some in the Army: — and I doubt that not only they, but some others also, very well known to you, have helped to this work of debauching and dividing the Army. They have, they have! [Overton, Allen and Company, your Highness?] I would be loath to say Who, Where, and How? much

more loath to say they were any of your own number. But I can say: Endeavours have been 'made' to put the Army into a distemper, and to feed that which is the worst humour in the Army. Which though it was not a mastering humour, yet these took advantage from delay of the Settlement, and the practices before mentioned, and the stopping of the pay of the Army, to run us into Free-quarter, and to bring us into the inconveniences most to be feared and avoided. - What if I am able to make it appear in fact, That some amongst you have run into the City of London, to persuade to Petitions and Addresses to you for reversing your own Votes that you have passed? Whether these practices were in favour of your Liberties, or tended to beget hopes of Peace and Settlement from you; and whether debauching the Army in England, as is before expressed, and starving it, and putting it upon Freequarter, and occasioning and necessitating the greatest part thereof in Scotland to march into England, leaving the remainder thereof to have their throats cut there: and kindling by the rest a fire in our own bosoms, were for the advantage of affairs here, let the world judge!

This I tell you also: That the correspondence held with the Interest of the Cavaliers, by that Party of men called Levellers, who call themselves Commonwealth'smen, 'is in our hands.' Whose Declarations were framed to that purpose, and ready to be published at the time of their 'projected' common Rising; whereof, 'I say,' we are possessed: and for which we have the confession of themselves now in custody; who confess also they built their hopes upon the assurance they had of the Parliament's not agreeing to a Settlement: — whether these humours have not nourished themselves under

your boughs, is the subject of my present discourse; and I think I shall say not amiss, if I affirm it to be so. [His Highness looks animated!] And I must say it again, That that which hath been their advantage, thus to raise disturbance, hath been by the loss of those golden opportunities which God had put into your hands for Settlement. Judge you whether these things were thus, or not, when you first sat down. I am sure things were not thus! There was a very great peace and sedateness throughout these Nations; and great expectations of a happy Settlement. Which I remembered to you at the beginning in my Speech; and hoped that you would have entered on your business as you found it. ["Hum-m-m! We had a Constitution to make!"]

There was a Government 'already' in the possession of the People, - I say a Government in the possession of the People, for many months. It hath now been exercised near Fifteen Months: and if it were needful that I should tell you how it came into their possession, and how willingly they received it; how all Law and Justice were distributed from it, in every respect, as to life, liberty and estate; how it was owned by God, as being the dispensation of His providence after Twelve Years War; and sealed and witnessed unto by the People, - I should but repeat what I said in my last Speech unto you in this place: and therefore I forbear. When you were entered upon this Government; ravelling into it — You know I took no notice what you were doing — [Nor will now, your Highness; let the Sentence drop!] — If you had gone upon that foot of account, To have made such good and wholesome provisions for the Good of the People of these Nations 'as were wanted;' for the settling of such matters in things of Religion as would have upheld and given countenance to a Godly Ministry, and yet 'as' would have given a just liberty to godly men of different judgments, - 'to' men of the same faith with them that you call the Orthodox Ministry in England, as it is well known the Independents are, and many under the form of Baptism, who are sound in the faith, and though they may perhaps be different in judgment in some lesser matters, yet as true Christians both looking for salvation only by faith in the blood of Christ, men professing the fear of God, and having recourse to the name of God as to a strong tower, — I say you might have had opportunity to have settled peace and quietness amongst all professing Godliness; and might have been instrumental, if not to have healed the breaches, yet to have kept the Godly of all judgments from running one upon another; and by keeping them from being overrun by a Common Enemy, 'have' rendered them and these Nations both secure, happy and well satisfied. [And the Constitution? Hum-m-m!]

Are these things done; or any things towards them? Is there not yet upon the spirits of men a strange itch? Nothing will satisfy them unless they can press their finger upon their brethren's consciences, to pinch them there. To do this was no part of the Contest we had with the Common Adversary. For 'indeed' Religion was not the thing at first contested for 'at all:'* but God brought it to that issue at last; and gave it unto us by way of redundancy; and at last it proved to be that which was most dear to us. And wherein con-

Power of the Militia was the point upon which the actual War began.
 A statement not false; yet truer in form than it is in essence.

sisted this more than In obtaining that liberty from the tyranny of the Bishops to all species of Protestants to worship God according to their own light and consciences? For want of which many of our brethren for sook their native countries to seek their bread from strangers, and to live in howling wildernesses [Our poor brethren of New England!]; and for which also many that remained here were imprisoned, and otherwise abused and made the scorn of the Nation. Those that were sound in the faith, how proper was it for them to labour for liberty, for a just liberty, that men might not be trampled upon for their consciences! Had not they 'themselves' laboured, but lately, under the weight of persecution? And was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy than for those who were oppressed by the Bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves, so soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that they who call for liberty now also had not too much of that spirit, if the power were in their hands! - As for profane persons, blasphemers, such as preach sedition; the contentious railers. evil-speakers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners; persons of loose conversation, — punishment from the Civil Magistrate ought to meet with these. Because, if they pretend conscience; yet walking disorderly and not according but contrary to the Gospel, and even to natural lights, - they are judged of all. And their sins being open, make them subjects of the Magistrate's sword, who ought not to bear it in vain. -The discipline of the Army was such, that a man would not be suffered to remain there, of whom we could take notice he was guilty of such practices as these. -



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And therefore how happy would England have been, and you and I, if the Lord had led you on to have settled upon such good accounts as these are, and to have discountenanced such practices as the other, and left men in disputable things free to their own consciences! Which was well provided for by the 'Instrument of Government; and liberty left to provide against what was apparently evil. Judge you, Whether the contesting for things that were provided for by this Government hath been profitable expense of time, for the good of these Nations! By means whereof you may see you have wholly elapsed your time, and done just nothing! — I will say this to you, in behalf of the Long Parliament: That, had such an expedient as this Government been proposed to them; and could they have seen the Cause of God thus provided for; and been, by debates, enlightened in the grounds 'of it.' whereby the difficulties might have been cleared 'to them.' and the reason of the whole enforced, and the circumstances of time and persons, with the temper and disposition of the People, and affairs both abroad and at home when it was undertaken might have been well weighed 'by them:' I think in my conscience, - well as they were thought to love their seats, - they would have proceeded in another manner than you have done! And not have exposed things to these difficulties and hazards they now are at; nor given occasion to leave the People so dissettled as they now are. Who, I dare say, in the soberest and most judicious part of them, did expect, not a questioning, but a doing of things in pursuance of the 'Instrument of' Government. And if I be not misinformed, very many of you came up with

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this satisfaction; having had time enough to weigh and consider the same.

And when I say "such an expedient as this Government," - wherein I dare assert there is a just Liberty to the People of God, and the just Rights of the People in these Nations provided for, — I can put the issue thereof upon the clearest reason; whatsoever any go about to suggest to the contrary. But this not being the time and place of such an averment, 'I forbear at present.' For satisfaction's sake herein, enough is said in a Book entituled 'A State of the Case of the Commonwealth,' published in January 1653.* And for myself, I desire not to keep my place in this Government an hour longer than I may preserve England in its just rights, and may protect the People of God in such a just Liberty of their Consciences as I have already mentioned. And therefore if this Parliament have judged things to be otherwise than as I have stated them, - it had been huge friendliness between persons who had such a reciprocation in so great concernments to the public, for them to have convinced me in what particulars therein my error lay! Of which I never yet had a word from you! But if, instead thereof, your time has been spent in setting up somewhat else, upon another bottom than this stands 'upon,' it looks as if the laying grounds for a quarrel had rather been designed than to give the People settlement. If it be thus, it's well your labours have not arrived to any maturity at all! [Old Parliament looks agitated: - agitated, yet constant!

[•] Read it he who wants satisfaction: "Printed by Thomas Newcomb, London, 1653-4;" — "wrote with great spirit of language and subtility of argument," says the Parliamentary History (xx. 419.)

This Government called you hither; the constitution thereof being limited so, - a Single Person and a Parliament. And this was thought most agreeable to the general sense of the Nation; - having had experience enough, by trial, of other conclusions; judging this most likely to avoid the extremes of Monarchy on the one hand, and of Democracy on the other; - and vet not to found Dominium in Gratia 'either.' [Your Highness does not claim to be here as Kings do. By Grace, then? No! And if so, then certainly to make the Authority more than a mere notion, it was requisite that it should be as it is in this 'Frame of' Government; which puts it upon a true and equal balance. It has been already submitted to the judicious, true and honest People of this Nation, Whether the balance be not equal? And what their judgment is, is visible, — by submission to it; by acting upon it; by restraining their Trustees from meddling with it. And it neither asks nor needs any better ratification! [Hear!] But when Trustees in Parliament shall, by experience, find any evil in any parts of this 'Frame of' Government, 'a question' referred by the Government itself to the consideration of the Protector and Parliament. - of which evil or evils Time itself will be the best discoverer: - how can it be reasonably imagined that a Person or Persons, coming in by election, and standing under such obligations, and so limited, and so necessitated by oath to govern for the People's good, and to make their love, under God, the best underpropping and only safe footing: - how can it, I say, be imagined that the present or succeeding Protectors will refuse to agree to alter any such thing in the Government as may be found to be for the good

of the People? Or to recede from anything which he might be convinced casts the balance too much to the Single Person? And although, for the present, the keeping-up and having in his power the Militia seems the hardest 'condition,' yet if the power of the Militia should be yielded up at such a time as this, when there is as much need of it to keep this Cause (now most evidently impugned by all Enemies), as there was to get it 'for the sake of this Cause:' - what would become of us all! Or if it should not be equally placed in him and the Parliament, but yielded up at any time, — it determines his power either for doing the good he ought, or hindering Parliaments from perpetuating themselves; from imposing what Religion they please on the consciences of men, or what Government they please upon the Nation. Thereby subjecting us to dissettlement in every Parliament, and to the desperate consequences thereof! And if the Nation shall happen to fall into a blessed Peace, how easily and certainly will their charge be taken off, and their forces be disbanded! And then where will the danger be to have the Militia thus stated? - What if I should say: If there be a disproportion, or disequality as to the power, it is on the other hand! -

And if this be so, Wherein have you had cause to quarrel? What demonstrations have you held forth to settle me to your opinion? I would you had made me so happy as to have let me know your grounds! I have made a free and ingenuous confession of my faith to you. And I could have wished it had been in your hearts to have agreed that some friendly and cordial debates might have been toward mutual conviction. Was there none amongst you to move such a thing?

No fitness to listen to it? No desire of a right understanding? If it be not folly in me to listen to Towntalk, such things have been proposed; and rejected, with stiffness and severity, once and again. Was it not likely to have been more advantageous to the good of this Nation? I will say this to you for myself; and to that I have my conscience as a thousand witnesses, and I have my comfort and contentment in it; and I have the witness 'too' of divers here, who I think truly 'would' scorn to own me in a lie: That I would not have been averse to any alteration, of the good of which I might have been convinced. Although I could not have agreed to the taking it off the foundation on which it stands; namely, the acceptance and consent of the People. ["Our sanction not needed, then!"]

I will not presage what you have been about, or doing, in all this time. Nor do I love to make conjectures. But I must tell you this: That as I undertook this Government in the simplicity of my heart and as before God, and to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the Interest, — which in my conscience 'I think' is dear to many of you; though it is not always understood what God in His wisdom may hide from us, as to Peace and Settlement: — so I can say that no particular interest, either of myself, estate, honour or family, are, or have been, prevalent with me to this undertaking. For if you had, upon the old Government,* offered me this one, this one thing, — I speak as thus advised, and before God; as having been to this day of this opinion; and this hath been my

^{*} Means "the existing Instrument of Government" without modification of yours.

constant judgment, well known to many who hear me speak; — if, 'I say,' this one thing had been inserted, this one thing, That the Government should have been placed in my Family hereditarily, I would have rejected it!* And I could have done no other according to my present conscience and light. I will tell you my reason; — though I cannot tell what God will do with me, nor with you, nor with the Nation, for throwing away precious opportunities committed to us.

ing away precious opportunities committed to us.

This hath been my principle; and I liked it, when this Government came first to be proposed to me, That it puts us off that hereditary way. Well looking that God hath declared what Government He delivered to the Jews; and 'that He' placed it upon such Persons as had been instrumental for the Conduct and Deliverance of His People. And considering that Promise in Isaiah, "That God would give Rulers as at the first, and Judges as at the beginning," I did not know but that God might 'now' begin, — and though, at present, with a most unworthy person; yet, as to the future, it might be after this manner; and I thought this might usher it in! [A noble thought, your Highness!] I am speaking as to my judgment against making Government hereditary. To have men chosen, for their love to God, and to Truth and Justice; and not to have it hereditary, For as it is in the Ecclesiastes: "Who knoweth whether he may beget a fool or a wise Honest or not honest, whatever they be, they must come in, on that plan; because the Government is made a patrimony! - And this I perhaps do declare with too much earnestness; as being my own

The matter in debate, running very high at this juncture, in the Parliament, was with regard to the Single Person's being hereditary. Hence partly the Protector's emphasis here.

concernment; — and know not what place it may have in your hearts, and in those of the Good People in the Nation. But however it be, I have comfort in this my truth and plainness.

I have thus told you my thoughts; which truly I have declared to you in the fear of God, as knowing He will not be mocked; and in the strength of God, as knowing and rejoicing that I am supported in my speaking; — especially when I do not form or frame things without the compass of integrity and honesty; 'so' that my own conscience gives me not the lie to what I say. And then in what I say, I can rejoice.

Now to speak a word or two to you. Of that, I must profess in the name of the same Lord, and wish there had been no cause that I should have thus spoken to you! I told you that I came with joy the first time; with some regret the second; yet now I speak with most regret of all! I look upon you as having among you many persons that I could lay down my life individually for. I could, through the grace of God, desire to lay down my life for you. So far am I from having an unkind or unchristian heart towards you in your particular capacities! I have this indeed as a work most incumbent upon me; 'this of speaking these things to you.' I consulted what might be my duty in such a day as this; casting up all considerations. I must confess, as I told you, that I did think occasionally. This Nation had suffered extremely in the respects mentioned; as also in the disappointment of their expectations of that justice which was due to them by your sitting thus long. 'Sitting thus long;' and what have you brought forth? I did not nor cannot comprehend what it is. I would be loath to call it a Fate; that were too paganish a word. But there has been Something in it that we had not in our expectations.

I did think also, for myself, That I am like to meet with difficulties: and that this Nation will not. as it is fit it should not, be deluded with pretexts of Necessity in that great business of raising of Money. And were it not that I can make some dilemmas upon which to resolve some things of my conscience, judgment and actions, I should sink at the very prospect of my encounters. Some of them are general, some are more special. [Hear the "dilemmas."] Supposing this Cause or this Business must be carried on, it is either of God or of man. If it be of man, I would I had never touched it with a finger. [Hear!] If I had not had a hope fixed in me that this Cause and this Business was of God, I would many years ago have run from it. If it be of God, He will bear it up. [Yea!] If it be of man, it will tumble; as everything that hath been of man since the world began hath done. what are all our Histories, and other Traditions of Actions in former times, but God manifesting Himself, that He hath shaken, and tumbled down, and trampled upon. everything that He had not planted? [Yes, your Highness; such is, was and forever will be, the History of Man, deeply as we poor Moderns have now forgotten it: and the Bible of every Nation is its Own History; if it have, or had, any real Bible! And as this is, so 'let' the All-wise God deal with it. If this be of human structure and invention, and if it be an old Plotting and Contriving to bring things to this Issue, and that they are not the Births of Providence. - then they will tumble. But if the Lord take pleasure in England. and if He will do us good, - He is very able to bear us up! Let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall in His strength be able to encounter with them. And I bless God I have been inured to difficulties; and I never found God failing when I trusted in Him. I can laugh and sing, in my heart, when I speak of these things to you or elsewhere. And though some may think it is an hard thing To raise Money without Parliamentary Authority upon this Nation; yet I have another argument to the Good People of this Nation, if they would be safe, and yet have no better principle: Whether they prefer the having of their will though it be their destruction, rather than comply with things of Necessity? That will excuse me. But I should wrong my native country to suppose this.

For I look at the People of these Nations as the blessing of the Lord: and they are a People blessed by God. They have been so; and they will be so, by reason of that immortal seed which hath been, and is, among them: those Regenerated Ones in the land, of several judgments; who are all the Flock of Christ, and lambs of Christ. 'His,' though perhaps under many unruly passions, and troubles of spirit; whereby they give disquiet to themselves and others: yet they are not so to God; since to us He is a God of other patience; and He will own the least of Truth in the hearts of His People. And the People being the blessing of God, they will not be so angry but they will prefer their safety to their passions, and their real security to forms, when Necessity calls for Supplies. Had they not well been acquainted with this principle, they had never seen this day of Gospel Liberty.

But if any man shall object, "It is an easy thing "to talk of Necessities when men create Necessities: "would not the Lord Protector make himself great and "his family great? Doth not he make these Necessi-"ties? And then he will come upon the People with "his argument of Necessity!" — This were something hard indeed. But I have not yet known what it is to "make Necessities," whatsoever the thoughts or judgments of men are. And I say this, not only to this Assembly, but to the world, That the man liveth not who can come to me and charge me with having, in these great Revolutions, "made Necessities." I challenge even all that fear God. And as God hath said, "My glory I will not give unto another," let men take heed and be twice advised how they call His Revolutions, the things of God, and His working of things from one period to another, - how, I say, they call them Necessities of men's creation! For by so doing, they do vilify and lessen the works of God, and rob Him of His glory; which He hath said He will not give unto another, nor suffer to be taken from Him! We know what God did to Herod, when he was applanded and did not acknowledge God. And God knoweth what He will do with men, when they call His Revolutions human designs, and so detract from His glory. These issues and events have not been forecast; but 'were' sudden Providences in things: whereby carnal and worldly men are enraged; and under and at which, many, and I fear some good men, have murmured and repined, because disappointed of their mistaken fancies. But still all these things have

been the wise disposings of the Almighty; though instruments have had their passions and frailties. And I think it is an honour to God to acknowledge the Necessities to have been of God's imposing, when truly they have been so, as indeed they have. Let us take our sin in our actions to ourselves; it's much more safe than to judge things so contingent, as if there were not a God that ruled the Earth!

We know the Lord hath poured this Nation from vessel to vessel, till He poured it into your lap, when you came first together. I am confident that it came so into your hands; and was not judged by you to be from counterfeited or feigned Necessity, but by Divine Providence and Dispensation. And this I speak with more earnestness, because I speak for God and not for men. I would have any man to come and tell of the Transactions that have been, and of those periods of time wherein God hath made these Revolutions; and find where he can fix a feigned Necessity! I could recite particulars, if either my strength would serve me to speak, or yours to hear. If you would consider* the great Hand of God in His great Dispensations, you would find that there is scarce a man who fell off, at any period of time when God had any work to do, who can give God or His work at this day a good word.

"It was," say some, "the cunning of the Lord Protector," — I take it to myself, — "it was the craft of such a man, and his plot, that hath brought it about!" And, as they say in other countries, "There are five or six cunning men in England that have skill; they do all these things." Oh, what blasphemy is this!

[&]quot;if that you would revolve" in orig.

Because men that are without God in the world, and walk not with Him, know not what it is to pray or believe, and to receive returns from God, and to be spoken unto by the Spirit of God, who speaks without a Written Word sometimes, yet according to it! God hath spoken heretofore in divers manners. Let Him speak as He pleaseth. Hath He not given us liberty. nay is it not our duty, To go to the Law and the Testimony? And there we shall find that there have been impressions, in extraordinary cases, as well without the Written Word as with it. And therefore there is no difference in the thing thus asserted from truths generally received, - except we will exclude the Spirit; without whose concurrence all other teachings are ineffectual. [Yea, your Highness; the true God's-Voice, Voice of the Eternal, is in the heart of every Man; - there, wherever else it be. He doth speak to the hearts and consciences of men; and leadeth them to His Law and Testimony, and there 'also' He speaks to them: and so gives them double teachings. According to that of Job: "God speaketh once, yea twice;" and to that of David: "God hath spoken once. yea twice have I heard this." These men that live upon their mumpsimus and sumpsimus [Bulstrode looks astonished], their Masses and Service-Books, their dead and carnal worship, - no marvel if they be strangers to God, and to the works of God, and to spiritual dispensations. And because they say and believe thus, must we do so too? We, in this land, have been otherwise instructed; even by the Word, and Works, and Spirit of God.

To say that men bring forth these things when God doth them, — judge you if God will bear this? I wish

that every sober heart, though he hath had temptations upon him of deserting this Cause of God, yet may take heed how he provokes and falls into the hands of the Living God by such blasphemies as these! According to the Tenth of the Hebrews: "If we sin wil-"fully after that we have received the knowledge of "the truth, there remains no more sacrifice for sin." 'A terrible word.' It was spoken to the Jews who, having professed Christ, apostatised from Him. What then? Nothing but a fearful "falling into the hands of the Living God!" - They that shall attribute to this or that person the contrivances and production of those mighty things God hath wrought in the midst of us; and 'fancy' that they have not been the Revolutions of Christ Himself, "upon whose shoulders the government is laid," - they speak against God, and they fall under His hand without a Mediator. That is, if we deny the Spirit of Jesus Christ the glory of all His works in the world; by which He rules kingdoms, and doth administer, and is the rod of His strength, - we provoke the Mediator: and He may say: I will leave you to God, I will not intercede for you; let Him tear you to pieces! I will leave thee to fall into God's hands; thou deniest me my sovereignty and power committed to me; I will not intercede nor mediate for thee; thou fallest into the hands of the Living God! - Therefore whatsoever you may judge men for, howsoever you may say, "This is cunning, and politic, and subtle," - take heed again, I say, how you judge of His Revolutions as the product of men's inventions! - I may be thought to press too much upon this theme. But I pray God it may stick upon your hearts and mine. The worldly-minded man knows nothing of this, but is a stranger to it; and thence his atheisms, and murmurings at instruments, yea repining at God Himself. And no wonder; considering the Lord hath done such things amongst us as have not been known in the world these thousand years, and yet notwithstanding is not owned by us!—

There is another Necessity, which you have put upon us, and we have not sought. I appeal to God, Angels and Men, - if I shall 'now' raise money according to the Article in the Government, 'whether I am not compelled to do it!' Which 'Government' had power to call you hither; and did; - and instead of seasonably providing for the Army, you have laboured to overthrow the Government, and the Army is now upon Free-quarter! And you would never so much as let me hear a tittle from you concerning it. Where is the fault? Has it not been as if you had a purpose to put this extremity upon us and the Nation? I hope, this was not in your minds. I am not willing to judge so: - but such is the state into which we are reduced. By the designs of some in the Army who are now in custody, it was designed to get as many of them as possible, - through discontent for want of money, the Army being in a barren country, near thirty weeks behind in pay, and upon other specious pretences, to march for England out of Scotland; and, in discontent, to seize their General there [General Monk], a faithful and honest man, that so another [Colonel Overton might head the Army. And all this opportunity taken from your delays. Whether will this be a thing of feigned Necessity? What could it signify, but "The "Army are in discontent already; and we will make "them live upon stones; we will make them cast off

"their governors and discipline?" What can be said to this? I list not to unsaddle myself, and put the fault upon your backs. Whether it hath been for the good of England, whilst men have been talking of this thing or the other [Building Constitutions], and pretending liberty and many good words, - whether it has been as it should have been? I am confident you cannot think it has. The Nation will not think so. And if the worst should be made of things, I know not what the Cornish men nor the Lincolnshire men may think. or other Counties; but I believe they will all think they are not safe. A temporary suspension of "caring for the greatest liberties and privileges" (if it were so, which is denied) would not have been of such damage as the not providing against Free-quarter hath run the Nation upon. And if it be my "liberty" to walk abroad in the fields, or to take a journey, yet it is not my wisdom to do so when my house is on fire! -

I have troubled you with a long Speech; and I believe it may not have the same resentment* with all that it hath with some. But because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God; - and conclude with this: That I think myself bound, as in my duty to God, and to the People of these Nations for their safety and good in every respect, — I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these Nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer. And therefore I do declare unto you, That I do dissolve this Parliament. §

Means "sense excited by it."
 Old Pamphlet: reprinted in Parliamentary History, xx. 404-431.

So ends the First Protectorate Parliament; suddenly, very unsuccessfully. A most poor hidebound Pedant Parliament; which reckoned itself careful of the Liberties of England; and was careful only of the Sheepskin Formulas of these; very blind to the Realities of these! Regardless of the facts and clamorous necessities of the Present, this Parliament considered that its one duty was to tie up the hands of the Lord Protector well; to give him no supplies, no power; to make him and keep him the bound vassal and errand-man of this and succeeding Parliaments. This once well done, they thought all was done: - Oliver thought far otherwise. Their painful new-modelling and rebuilding of the Instrument of Government, with an eye to this sublime object, was pointing towards completion, little now but the key-stones to be let in: - when Oliver suddenly withdrew the centres! Constitutional arch and ashlar-stones, scaffolding, workmen, mortartroughs and scaffold-poles sink in swift confusion; and disappear, regretted or remembered by no person, - not by this Editor for one.

By the arithmetical account of heads in England, the Lord Protector may surmise that he has lost his Enterprise. But by the real divine and human worth of thinking-souls in England, he still believes that he has it; by this, and by a higher mission too;—and "will take a little pleasure to lose his life" before he loses it! He is not here altogether to count heads, or to count costs, this Lord Protector; he is in the breach of battle; placed there, as he understands, by his Great Commander: whatsoever his difficulties be, he must fight them, cannot quit them; must fight there till he die. This is the law of his position, in the eye of God, and also of men. There is no return for him out of this Protectorship he has got into! Called to this post as I have been, placed in it as I am, "To quit it, is what I will be willing to be rolled into my grave, and buried with infamy, before I will consent unto!"—

PART IX.

THE MAJOR-GENERALS.

1655-1656.

CHRONOLOGICAL.

THE Plots and perils to the Commonwealth which my Lord Protector spoke of to his honourable Members, were not an imagination, but a very tragic reality. Under the shadow of this Constitutioning Parliament strange things had been ripening: without some other eye than the Parliament's, Constitution and Commonwealth in general had been, by this time, in a bad way! A universal rising of Royalists combined with Anabaptists is in a real state of progress. Dim meetings there have been of Royalist Gentlemen, on nocturnal moors, in this quarter and in that, "with cart-loads of arms," - terrified at their own jingle, and rapidly dispersing again till the grand hour come. Anabaptist Levellers have had dim meetings, dim communications; will prefer Charles Stuart himself to the traitor Oliver, who has dared to attempt actual "governing" of men. Charles Stuart has come down to Middleburg, on the Dutch coast, to be in readiness; "Hyde is cock-sure."* From the dreary old Thurloes, and rubbishcontinents, of Spy Letters, Intercepted Letters, Letters of Intelligence; where, scattered at huge intervals, the History of England for those years still lies entombed, it is manifest enough what a winter and spring this was in England. A Protector left without supplies, obliged to cut his Parliament adrift, and front the matter alone; England, from end to end

^{*} Manning's Letter, in Thurloe, iii. 384.

of it, ripe for an explosion; for a universal blazing-up of all the heterogeneous combustibilities it had; the Sacred Majesty waiting at Middleburg, and Hyde cock-sure!

Nevertheless it came all to nothing: - there being a Protector in it. The Protector, in defect of Parliaments, issued his own Ordinance, the best he could, for payment of old rates and taxes; which, as the necessity was evident, and the sum fixed upon was low, rather lower than had been expected, the Country quietly complied with. Indispensable supply was obtained: and as for the Plots, the Protector had long had his nooses round them; —the Protector strangled them everywhere at the moment suitablest for him, and lodged the ringleaders of them in the Tower. Let us, as usual, try to extricate a few small elucidative facts from the hideous old Pamphletary Imbroglio, where facts and figments, ten thousand facts of no importance to one fact of some, lie mingled, like the living with the dead, in noisome darkness all of them: once extricated, they may assist the reader's fancy a little. Of Oliver's own in reference to this period, too characteristic a period to be omitted, there is little or nothing left us: a few detached Letters, hardly two of them very significant of Oliver: which cannot avail us much, but shall be inserted at their due places.

February 12th, 1654-5. News came this afternoon that Major John Wildman, chief of the frantic Anabaptist Party, upon whom the Authorities have had their eye of late, has been seized at Exton, near Marlborough, in Wilts; "by a party of Major Butler's horse." In his furnished lodging; "in a room up stairs;" his door stood open: stepping softly up, the troopers found him leaning on his elbow, dictating to his clerk "A Declaration of the free and well-affected People "of England now in Arms" (or shortly to be in Arms) "against the Tyrant Oliver Cromwell:"* a forcible piece, which can still be read, but only as a fragment, the zealous Major never having had occasion to finish it. They carried him to Chep-

Whitlocke, p. 599; Cromwelliana, p. 151.

stow Castle; locked him up there: and the free and well-affected People of England never got to arms against the Tyrant, but were only in hopes of getting. Wildman was in the last Parliament; but could not sign the Recognition; went away in virtuous indignation, to act against the Tyrant by stratagem henceforth. He has been the centre of an extensive world of Plots this winter, as his wont from of old was: the mainspring of Royalist Anabaptistry, what we call the frantic form of Republicanism, which hopes to attain its object by assisting even Charles Stuart against the Tyrant Oliver. A stirring man; very flamy and very fuliginous: perhaps, since Freeborn John was sealed up in Jersey, the noisiest man in England. The turning of the key on him in Chepstow will be a deliverance to us henceforth.

We take his capture as the termination of the Anabaptist-Royalist department of the Insurrection. Thurloe has now got all the threads of this Wildman business in his hand: the ringleaders are laid in prison. Harrison, Lord Grey of Groby and various others; kept there out of harm's way; dealt with in a rigorous, yet gentle, and what we must call great and manful manner. It is remarked of Oliver that none of this Party was ever brought to trial: his hope and wish was always that they might yet be reconciled to him. Colonel Sexby, once Captain Sexby, Trooper Sexby, our old acquaintance, one of Wildman's people, — has escaped on this occasion: better for himself had he been captured now, and saved from still madder courses he got into.

Sunday, March, 11th, 1654-5, in the City of Salisbury, about midnight, there occurs a thing worth noting. What may be called the general outcome of the Royalist department of the Insurrection. This too over England generally has, in all quarters where it showed itself, found some "Major Butler" with due "troops of horse" to seize it, to trample it out, and lay the ringleaders under lock and key. Hardly anywhere could it get the length of fighting: too happy if it could but gallop and hide. In Yorkshire, there was some appearance, and a few shots fired; but to no effect: poor Sir Henry

Slingsby, and a Lord Malevrier, and others were laid hold of here; of whom the Lord escaped by stratagem; and poor Sir Henry lies prisoner in Hull,—where it will well behove him to keep quiet if he can! But on the Sunday night above mentioned, peaceful Salisbury is awakened from its slumbers by a real advent of Cavaliers. Sir Joseph Wagstaff, "a jolly knight" of those parts, once a Royalist Colonel; he with Squire or Colonel Penruddock, "a gentleman of fair fortune," Squire or Major Grove, also of some fortune, and about Twohundred others, did actually rendezvous in arms about the big Steeple, that Sunday night, and ring a loud alarm in those parts.

It was Assize-time: the Judges had arrived the day before. Wagstaff seizes the Judges in their beds, seizes the High Sheriff, and otherwise makes night hideous; - proposes on the morrow to hang the Judges, as a useful warning, which Mr. Hyde thinks it would have been; but is overruled by Penruddock and the rest. He orders the High Sheriff to proclaim King Charles; High Sheriff will not, not though you hang him; Town-crier will not, not even he though you hang him. The Insurrection does not speed in Salisbury, it would seem. The Insurrection quits Salisbury on Monday night, hearing that troopers are on foot; marches with all speed towards Cornwall, hoping for better luck there. Marches; - but Captain Unton Crook, whom we once saw before, marches also in the rear of it; marches swiftly, fiercely; overtakes it at South Molton in Devonshire "on Wednesday about ten at night." and there in few minutes puts an end to it. "They fired out of windows on us," but could make nothing of it. We took Penruddock, Grove, and long lists of others: Wagstaff unluckily escaped.* The unfortunate men were tried, at Exeter, by a regular assize and jury; were found guilty, some of High Treason, some of "Horse-stealing:" Penruddock and Grove, stanch Royalists both and gallant men, were

^{*} Crook's Letter, "South Molton, 15th March 1654, two or three in the moraing" (King's Pamphlets, small 4to. no. 637, § 15). State Trials, v. 767 et seeg.; Whitlocke, p. 601; Thurloe, iii. 365, 384, 391, 445; Cromwelliana, pp. 152-3. — Official Letters in reference to this Plot, Appendix, No. 30.

beheaded; several hanged; a great many "sent to Barbadoes:" - and this Royalist conflagration too, which should have blazed all over England, is entirely damped out, having amounted to smoke merely, whereby many eyes are bleared! Indeed so prompt and complete is the extinction, thankless people begin to say there had never been anything considerable to extinguish. Had they stood in the middle of it, - had they seen the nocturnal rendezvous at Marston Moor, seen what Shrewsbury, what Rufford Abbey, what North Wales in general, would have grown to on the morrow, - in that case, thinks the Lord Protector not without some indignation, they had known!* Wagstaff has escaped, and Wilmot Earl of Rochester so-called; right glad to be beyond seas again; and will look twice at an Insurrection before they embark in it in time coming.

A terrible Protector this; no getting of him overset! He has the ringleaders all in his hand, in prison or still at large; as they love their estates and their life, let them be quiet. He can take your estate: - is there not proof enough to take your head, if he pleases? He dislikes shedding blood; but is very apt "to barbadoes" an unruly man, - has sent and sends us by hundreds to Barbadoes, so that we have made an active verb of it: "Barbadoes you." ** Safest to let this Protector alone! Charles Stuart withdraws from Middleburg into the interior obscurities; and Mr. Hyde will not be so cock-sure another time. Mr. Hyde, much pondering how his secret could have been let out, finds that it is an underling of his, one Mr. Manning, a gentleman by birth, "fond of fine clothes," and in very straitened circumstances at present, who has been playing the traitor. Indisputably a traitor: wherefore the King in Council has him doomed to death; has him shot, in winter following, "in the Duke of Neuburg's territory."*** Diligent Thurloe finds others to take his place.

^{*} Postes, Speech Vr ** Intercepted Letters, Thurloe, iii. *** Clarendon, iii. 752; Whitlocke, p. 618 (Dec. 1655); Ludlow, ii. 608.

May 28th, 1655. Desborow, who commands the Regular Troops in that insurrectionary Southwest region, is, by Commission bearing date this day, appointed Major-General of the Militia-forces likewise, and of all manner of civic and military forces at the disposal of the Commonwealth in those Major-General over six counties specified in this Document; with power somewhat enlarged, and not easy to specify, - power in fact to look after the peace of the Commonwealth there, and do what the Council of State shall order him. * He coerces Royalists; questions, commits to custody suspected persons: keeps down disturbance by such methods as, on the spot, he finds wisest. A'scheme found to answer well. The beginning of a universal Scheme of Major-GENERALS, which develops itself into full maturity in the autumn of this year; the Lord Protector and his Council of State having well considered it in the interim, and found it the feasiblest; if not good, yet best.

By this Scheme, which we may as well describe here as afterwards. All England is divided into Districts; Ten Districts, a Major-General for each; let him be a man most carefully chosen, a man of real wisdom, valour and veracity, a man fearing God and hating covetousness; for his powers are great. He looks after the Good of the Commonwealth, spiritual and temporal, as he finds wisest. Ejects, or aids in ejecting, scandalous ministers; summons disaffected, suspected persons before him; demands an account of them; sends them to prison, failing an account that satisfies him; - and there is no appeal except to the Protector in Council. His force is the Militia of his Counties; horse and foot, levied and kept in readiness for the occasion; especially troops of horse. Involving, of course, new expense; - which we decide that the Plotting Royalists, who occasion it, shall pay. On all Royalist disaffected Persons the Major-General therefore, as his first duty, is to lay an Income-tax of Ten per-cent; let them pay it quietly, or it may be worse for them. They pay it very quietly. Strange as it may seem, the Country submits very quietly to

this arrangement; — the Major-Generals being men carefully chosen. "It is an arbitrary Government!" murmur many. Yes; arbitrary, but beneficial. These are powers unknown to the English Constitution, I believe; but they are very necessary for the Puritan English Nation at this time. With men of real wisdom, who do fear God and hate covetousness, when you can find such men, you may to some purpose entrust considerable powers!

It is in this way that Oliver Protector coerces the unruly elements of England; says to them: "Peace, ye! With the aid of Parliament and venerable Parchment, if so may be; without it, if so may not be, — I, called hither by a very good Authority, will hold you down. Quiet shall you, for your part, keep yourselves; or be 'barbadoesed,' and worse. Mark it; not while I live shall you have dominion, you nor the Master of you!" — Cock-matches, Horse-races and other loose assemblages are, for limited times, forbidden; over England generally, or in Districts where it may be thought somewhat is a-brewing. Without cock-fighting we can do; but not without Peace, and the absence of Charles Stuart and his Copartneries. It is a Government of some arbitrariness.

And yet singular, observes my learned friend, how popular it seems to grow. These considerable infringements of the constitutional fabric, prohibition of cockfights, amercings of Royalists, taxing without consent in Parliament, seem not to awaken the indignation of England; rather almost the gratitude and confidence of England. Next year, we have "Letters of great appearances of the Country at the Assizes; "and how the Gentlemen of the greatest quality served on "Grand Juries; which is fit to be observed." *

We mention, but cannot dwell upon it, another trait belonging to those Spring Months of 1655: the quarrel my Lord Protector had in regard to his Ordinance for the Reform of Chancery. Ordinance passed merely by the Protector in Council; never confirmed by any Parliament; which never-

[•] Whitlocke, p. 624 (April 1656).

theless he insists upon having obeyed. How our learned Bulstrode, learned Widdrington, two of the Keepers of the Great Seal, durst not obey: and Lisle the other Keeper durst: - and Old-Speaker Lenthall, Master of the Rolls, "would be hanged at the Rolls gate before he would obey." What profound consults there were among us; buzz in the Profession, in the Public generally. And then how Oliver Protector. with delicate patient bridle-hand and yet with resolute spur. made us all obey, or else go out of that, - which latter step Bulstrode and Widdrington, with a sublime conscientious feeling, preferred to take, the big heart saying to itself, "I have lost a thousand pounds a-year!" And Lenthall, for all his bragging, was not hanged at the Rolls Gate; but kent his skin whole, and his salary whole, and did as he was bidden. The buzz in the Profession, notwithstanding much abatement of fees, had to compose itself again. * - Bulstrode adds, some two months hence, "The Protector being good-natured. and sensible of his harsh proceeding against Whitlocke and Widdrington," made them Commissioners of the Treasury, which was a kind of compensation. There, with Montague and Sydenham, they had a moderately good time of it; but saw, not without a sigh, the Great Scal remain with Lisle who durst obey, and for colleague to him a certain well-known Nathaniel Fiennes, a shrewd man, Lord Say and Sele's son. - who knew nothing of that business, says Bulstrode, nay Lisle himself knew nothing of it till he learned it from us. ** Console thyself, big heart. How seldom is sublime virtue rewarded in this world!

June 3d, 1655. This day come sad news out of Piedmont; confirmation of bad rumours there had been, which deeply affects all pious English hearts, and the Protector's most of all. It appears the Duke of Savoy had, not long since, decided on having certain poor Protestant subjects of his converted at last to the Catholic Religion. Poor Protestant people, who dwell in the obscure Valleys "of Lucerna, of Perosa and St. Martin," among the feeders of the Po, in the Savoy Alps:

Whitlocke, p. 608.

^{**} Ibid. pp. 602-8.

they are thought to be descendants of the old Waldenses; a pious inoffensive people; dear to the hearts and imaginations of all Protestant men. These, it would appear, the Duke of Savoy, in the past year, undertook to himself to get converted; for which object he sent friars to preach among them. The friars could convert nobody; one of the friars, on the contrary, was found assassinated. — signal to the rest that they had better take themselves away. The Duke thereupon sent other missionaries: six regiments of Catholic soldiers: and an order to the People of the Valleys either to be converted straightway. or quit the country at once. They could not be converted all at once: neither could they quit the country well: the month was December; among the Alps; and it was their home for immemorial years! Six regiments, however, say they must; six Catholic regiments; — and three of them are Irish, made of the banished Kurisees we knew long since; whose humour, on such an occasion, we can guess at! It is admitted they behaved "with little ceremony;" it is not to be denied they behaved with much bluster and violence: ferocities, atrocities, to the conceivable amount, still stand in authentic black-onwhite against them. The Protestants of the Valleys were violently driven out of house and home, not without slaughters and tortures by the road: — had to seek shelter in French Dauphiné or where they could; and, in mute or spoken supplication, appeal to all generous hearts of men. The saddest confirmation of the actual banishment, the actual violences done, arrives at Whitehall this day, 3d June 1655.*

Pity is perennial: "Ye have compassion on one another,"
— is it not notable, beautiful? In our days too, there are
Polish Balls and such like: but the pity of the Lord Protector
and Puritan England for these poor Protestants among the
Alps is not to be measured by ours. The Lord Protector is
melted into tears, and roused into sacred fire. This day the
French Treaty, not unimportant to him, was to be signed:
this day he refuses to sign it till the King and Cardinal under-

^{*} Letter of the French Ambassador (in Thurloe, iii. 470).

take to assist him in getting right done in those poor Valleys.* He sends the poor exiles 2,000l. from his own purse; appoints a Day of Humiliation and a general Collection over England for that object; — has, in short, decided that he will bring help to these poor men; that England and he will see them helped and righted. How Envoys were sent; how blind Milton wrote Letters to all Protestant States, calling on them for coöperation; how the French Cardinal was shy to meddle, and yet had to meddle, and compel the Duke of Savoy, much astonished at the business, to do justice and not what he liked with his own: all this, recorded in the unreadablest stagnant deluges of old Official Correspondence, ** is very certain, and ought to be fished therefrom and made more apparent.

In all which, as we can well believe, it was felt that the Lord Protector had been the Captain of England, and had truly expressed the heart and done the will of England; — in this, as in some other things. Milton's Sonnet and Six Latin Letters are still readable; the Protector's Act otherwise remains mute hitherto. Small damage to the Protector, if no other suffer thereby! Let it stand here as a symbol to us of his Foreign Policy in general; which had this one object, testified in all manner of negotiations and endeavours, noticed by us and not noticed, To make England Queen of the Protestant world; her, if there were no worthier Queen. To unite the Protestant world of struggling Light against the Papist world of potent Darkness. To stand upon God's Gospel, as the actual intrinsic Fact of this Practical Earth; and defy all potency of Devil's Gospels on the strength of that. Wherein. again, Puritan England felt gradually that this Oliver was her Captain; and in heart could not but say, Long life to him; as we do now.

Let us note one other small private trait of Oliver in these months; and then hasten to the few Letters we have. Dull Bulstrode has jotted down: "The Protector feasted the Com-

^{*} Thurloe, ubi supra.

^{**} Ibid. (much of vol. iii.); Vaughan's Protectorate, &c.

missioners for Approbation of Ministers."* Means the Commission of Triers: ** whom he has to dinner with him in Whitehall. Old Sir Francis, Dr. Owen and the rest. "He sat at table with them; and was cheerful and familiar in their company:" Hope you are getting on, my friends: how this is, and how that is? "By such kind of little caresses," adds Bulstrode, "he gained much upon many persons." Me, as a piece of nearly matchless law-learning and general wisdom. I doubt he never sufficiently respected; though he knew my fat qualities too, and was willing to use and recognise them! -

LETTERS CXCVIII.—CCIII.

Six Letters of somewhat miscellaneous character; which we must take in mass, and with no word of Commentary that can be spared. Straggling accidental lightbeams, accidentally preserved to us, and still transiently illuminating this feature or that of the Protector and his business, - let them be welcome in the darkness for what they are.

LETTER CXCVIII.

Besides the great Sea-Armament that sailed from Portsmouth last December, and went Westward, with sealed orders, which men begin to guess were for the Spanish West Indies. - the Protector had another Fleet fitted out under Blake, already famous as a Sea-General; which has been in the Mediterranean, during these late months; exacting reparation for damages, old or recent, done to the English Nation or to individuals of it, by the Duke of Florence or by others; keeping an eye on Spain too, and its Plate Fleets, apparently with still ulterior objects.

The Duke of Florence has handsomely done justice: the Dey of Tunis was not so well advised, and has repented of it. There are Letters, dated March last, though they do not come

^{*} Whitlocke, April 1655.

till June: "Letters that General Blake demanding at Tunis "reparation for the losses of the English from Turkish Pirates, "the Dey answered him with scorn, and bade him behold his "Castles." Blake did behold them; "sailed into the Harbour "within musket-shot of them; and though the shore was planted "with great guns, he set upon the Turkish ships, fired nine of "them," and brought the Dey to reason, we apprehend.*

To General Blake, 'at Sea.'

SIR, Whitehall, 13th June 1655.

I have received yours of the 25th of March, which gives account of the late Transactions between yourself and the Governors of Tunis, concerning the losses which the English have sustained by the piracies of that place; and 'of' the success it pleased God to give in the attempt you made upon their shipping, after their positive refusal to give you satisfaction upon your just demands. And as we have great cause to acknowledge the good hand of God towards us in this Action, who, in all the circumstances thereof, as they have been represented by you, was pleased to appear very signally with you; so I think myself obliged to take notice of your courage and good conduct therein; and do esteem that you have done therein a very considerable service to this Commonwealth.

I hope you have received the former Despatches which were sent unto you by the way of Legorne, for your coming into Cadiz Bay with the Fleet; as also those which were sent by a Ketch immediately from hence; whereby you had also notice of three-months provisions then preparing to be sent, — which have since been sent away, under convoy of the Frigates the Centurion and Dragon; and 'I' hope they are safely

^{*} Whitlocke, p. 608 (8th June 1655).

arrived with you, they sailing from hence about the 28th of April.

With this come further Instructions concerning your disposing of the Fleet for the future; whereunto we do refer you. Besides which, we, having taken into consideration the present Design we have in the West Indies, have judged it necessary, That not only the King of Spain's Fleets coming from thence be intercepted (which as well your former Instructions as those now sent unto you require and authorise you to do), but that we endeavour also, as much as in us lies, to hinder him from sending any relief or assistance thither. You are therefore, during your abode with the Fleet in those seas, to inform yourself, by the best means you can, concerning the going of the King of Spain's Fleet for the West Indies; and shall, according to such information as you can gain, use your best endeavours to intercept at sea, and fight with and take them. or otherwise to fire and sink them; as also any other of his ships which you shall understand to be bound for the West Indies with provisions of War, for the aid and assistance of his subjects there; carrying yourself towards other of his ships and people as you are directed by your general Instructions.

'I rest,

'Your loving friend,
'OLIVER P.'§

The Sea-Armament was for the West Indies, then: good news of it were welcome!

Here is a short Letter of Blake's to the Protector, dated just the day before; in cipher; — which the reader, having never perhaps seen another Letter of Blake's, will not be dis-

§ Thurloe, iii. 547.

pleased with. Unimportant: but bringing the old Seas, with their Puritan Sea-kings, with their "Plate Fleets," and vanished populations and traffics, bodily before us for moments.

"George, 12th June 1655.

"MAT IT PLEASE FOUR HIGHNESS, — The secret instructions "sent by your Highness, referring me to a former Instruction, "touching the Silver Fleet of Spain coming from America, I "have received; and shall carefully observe the same. We "had information at Cadiz that the Fleet was expected about "a month or five weeks hence. We are now off Cape Mary's; "intending to spread with our Fleet what we can, and to range "this sea, according to the wind and the information we can "get; plying likewise over towards Cape Sprat, it being their "most likely and usual course. They of Cadiz are very distrustful of us; and there being four Galeons designed for the "Mediterranean, and six for New Spain, it is doubtful how "they may be employed.

"We shall use our best endeavours to put the Instructions "in execution. as God shall afford an opportunity; desiring "your Highness to rest assured of our diligence, and of the "integrity of, — your most humble and faithful servant,

"ROBERT BLAKE."*

June 13th is Wednesday. On the morrow is universal Fast-Day, Humiliation and Prayer, and public Collection of Money for the Protestants of Piedmont. A day of much pious emotion in England; and of liberal contribution, which continued on the following days. "Clerks come to every man's house," says a disaffected witness; "come with their papers, and you are forced to contribute." The exact amount realised I never could very authentically learn. The Dutch Ambassador says 100,000%. The disaffected witness says, "London City itself gave half a million,"—or seemed as it would give. "The Ministers played their part to the full,"—the Ministers and the people and their Ruler. No French Treaty signed

or signable till this thing be managed. At length the French were obliged to manage it; 9th September of this same year the thing was got managed; * - and by and by was got improved and still better managed, the Protector continuing all his days to watch over it, and over other similar things as they occured, and to insist on seeing justice done respecting them.

LETTER CXCIX.

THE scheme of Major-Generals for England is not yet come to maturity: but it is coming: new occasional arrests and barbadoesings continue, as the threads of old Plots are traced farther and farther. Monk keeps Scotland quiet; the hydra is for the present well under foot.

Meanwhile Henry Cromwell is despatched for Ireland, to see with his own eyes how matters stand there. A reverend godly Mr. Brewster, hardly known to us otherwise, is also proceeding thither; with whom the Lord Protector thinks good to salute his Son-in-law, Fleetwood, the Lord Deputy, Ireton's successor in Ireland. Henry Cromwell was there once before. on a somewhat similar mission, and acquitted himself well.** His title, this second time, is Major-General of the Army in Ireland. He is to command the forces in Ireland; one easily believes farther, he is to observe well and report faithfully how affairs are; and do his best to assist in rectifying them. Lord Deputy Fleetwood is by some thought to be of too lax temper for his place: he, with his Ludlows, Axtels and discontented Republicans, not to speak of other businesses, would need energy, if he have it not. Rumour has even risen that Henry Cromwell is now sent to supersede him; which, however, the Protector expressly contradicts.

The rumour nevertheless proved, if not true, yet prophetic of the truth. Henry Cromwell acquitted himself well this second time also; being, as we judge, a man of real insight,

^{*} See Thurloe, iii. 549, 623, 745, &c. ** March 1653-4 (Thurloe, ii. 149).

veracity and resolution: very fit for such a service. Many of his Letters, all creditable to him, are in Thurloe: "Petitions" from certain Irish parties come likewise to view there, That he might be appointed Deputy; which Petitions are, for the present, carefully "suppressed," yet have in the end to be complied with; - they and the nature of the case, we suppose, require compliance. Some fifteen months hence, Henry is appointed Lord Deputy;* Fleetwood, in some handsome way, recalled. In which situation Henry continues till the end of the Protectorate, making really an honourable figure; and then, the scene having altogether changed, retires from it into total obscurity, still in a very manful, simple and noble wav.**

"My dear Biddy," in this Letter, is Bridget Fleetwood, whom we once saw as Bridget Ireton; *** who, for her religious and other worth, is "a joy to my heart." Of "Mr. Brewster," and the other reverend persons, Spiritual Fathers, held in such regard by the Lord Protector as is due to Spiritual Fatherhood, and pious nobleness of Intellect under whatever guise, I can say nothing; they are Spiritual Great-grandfathers of ours, and we have had to forget them! Some slight notices of Brewster, who I think was a Norfolk man, and more of Cradock, who was Welsh, - zealous Preachers both, - are in the Milton State-Papers: + they prove the fervent zeal, faith and fearlessness of these worthies; - not necessary to extract in this place. Cradock writes to Cromwell in 1652 that his heart overflows with prayers and praise to God for sending such a man; that he has often stept aside to pray for him, in some thicket or ditch by the wayside, while travelling along. and thinking of him; - which Dryasdust Nicols, the Editor of these Milton State-Papers, considers a very ludicrous proceeding. Godly "Mr. Tillinghurst," so noble a phenomenon to Oliver and Fleetwood, is to us fallen altogether silent: seemingly some godly Preacher, of very modest nature; who,

^{* 21} st November 1657 (Thurloe, vi. 652). ** His Letter to Clarendon, in Thurlue, i. 763; see also Tanner MSS. li. 71, a prior Letter to Speaker Lenthall.

*** Vol. i. p. 258. † pp. 85, 158, &c.

in his old days, being brought once before the Lord Protector, cried it was a "shame" to trouble any Lord Protector, or Sovereign Person, with the like of him! The venerable hoary man. And goldly Mr. Troughton or "Throughton," too, was there. O Tillinghurst, O Troughton, how much lies buried!*

'To the Lord Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland.'
DEAR CHARLES. 'Whitehall,' 22d June 1655.

I write not often: at once I desire thee to know I most dearly love thee; and indeed my heart is plain to thee as thy heart can well desire: let nothing shake thee in this. The wretched jealousies that are amongst us, and the spirit of calumny turn all into gall and wormwood. My heart is for the People of God: that the Lord knows, and will in due time manifest; yet thence are my wounds; — which though it grieves me, yet through the grace of God doth not discourage me totally. Many good men are repining at everything; though indeed very many good 'are' well satisfied, and satisfying daily. The will of the Lord will bring forthgood in due time.

It's reported that you are to be sent for, and Harry to be Deputy; which truly never entered into my heart. The Lord knows, my desire was for him and his Brother to have lived private lives in the country: and Harry knows this very well, and how difficultly I was persuaded to give him his commission for his present place. This I say as from a simple and sincere heart.

^{*} Buried but indisputable traces of this Tillinghurst, certain authentic, still legible entries concerning him, in one of which Brewster too is named, have been detected by a friendly eye in the Record-Book of the Independent Church at Great Yarmouth; where Tillinghurst, it clearly enough appears, was Minister from 1651 to 1654, and much followed and valued as a Preacher and Spiritual Guide in those parts. Brewster, likewise an Independent, was of Alby in the same neighbourhood. Ms. Excerpts penes me (Note to the Third Edition).

The noise of my being crowned &c. are similar* malicious figments.

Use this Bearer, Mr. Brewster, kindly. Let him be near you: indeed he is a very able holy man; trust me you will find him so. He was a bosom-friend of Mr. Tillinghurst; ask him of him; you will thereby know Mr. Tillinghurst's spirit. This Gentleman brought him to me a little before he died, and Mr. Cradock:--Mr. Throughton, a godly minister being by, with 'Mr. Tillinghurst' himself, who cried "Shame!"

Dear Charles, my dear love to thee; 'and' to my dear Biddy, who is a joy to my heart, for what I hear of the Lord in her. Bid her be cheerful, and rejoice in the Lord once and again: if she knows the Covenant, ** she cannot but do 'so.' For that Transaction is without her; sure and stedfast, between the Father and the Mediator in His blood: therefore leaning upon the Son, or looking to Him, thirsting after Him, and embracing Him, we are His Seed; — and the Covenant is sure to all the Seed. The Compact is for the Seed: God is bound in faithfulness to Christ. and in Him to us: the Covenant is without us: a Transaction between God and Christ. *** Look up to it. God engageth in it to pardon us; to write His Law in our heart; to plant His fear 'so' that we shall never depart from Him. We, under all our sins and infirmities, can daily offer a perfect Christ; and thus we have peace and safety, and apprehension of love, from a Father in Covenant. — who cannot deny Himself.

The reader who discerns no spiritual meaning in all this, shall try it again, if I may advise him.

^{* &#}x27;like' in orig.

** Covenant of Grace; much expounded, and insisted on, by Dr. Owen, among others; and ever a most fundamental point of God's Arrangement, according to the theory of Oliver.

And truly in this is all my salvation; and this helps me to bear my great burdens.

If you have a mind to come over with your dear Wife &c., take the best opportunity for the good of the Public and your own convenience. The Lord bless you all. Pray for me, that the Lord would direct, and keep me His servant. I bless the Lord I am not my own; - but my condition to flesh and blood is very hard. Pray for me: I do for you all. Commend me to all friends.

> I rest, Your loving father,

OLIVER P. §

Courage, my brave Oliver! 'Thou hast but some three years more of it, and then the coils and puddles of this Earth, and of its poor unthankful doggery of a population, are all behind thee; and Carrion Heath, and Chancellor Hyde, and Charles Stuart the Christian King, can work their will; for thou hast done with it, thou art above it in the serene azure forevermore!

Fleetwood, I observe, did come over: in January next we find the "Lord Deputy" busy here in London with Bulstrode, and others of the Treasury, on high matters of State.* He did not return to Ireland; got into Major-Generalings, into matters of State, on this side the Channel; and so ended his Deputyship; — dropping without violence, like fruit fully ripe; the management of Ireland having gradually all shifted into Henry Cromwell's hand in the interim.

LETTER CC.

HERE, fluttering loose on the dim confines of Limbo and the Night-realm, is a small Note of Oliver's, issuing one knows not whence, but recognisable as his, which we must snatch * Whitlocke, p. 618 (7th Jan. 1655-6).

& Thurloe, iii. 572.

and save. A private and thrice-private Note, for secretary Thurloe; curiously disclosing to us, as one or two other traits clsewhere do, that, with all his natural courtesies, noble simplicities and affabilities, this Lord Protector knew on occasion the word-of-command too, and what the meaning of a Lord Protector, King, or Chief Magistrate in the Commonwealth of

England was.

"Margery Beacham," Wife of William Beacham, Mariner, lives, the somnolent Editors do not apprise us where, - probably in London or some of the Out Ports; certainly in considerable indigence at present. Her poor Husband, in the course of "many services to the Commonwealth by sea and land," has quite lost the use of his right arm; has a poor "Pension of Forty shillings allowed him from Chatham;" has Margery, and one poor Boy Randolph, "tractable to learn," but who can get no schooling out of such an income. Wherefore, as seems but reasonable, Margery petitions his Highness that the said Randolph might be admitted "a Scholar of Sutton's Hospital, commonly called the Charterhouse," in London.*

His Highness, who knows the services of William Beacham, and even "a secret service" of his not mentioned in the Petition or Certificates, straightway decides that the Boy Beacham is clearly a case for Sutton's Bounty, and that the Commissioners of the same shall give it him. But now it seems the Chief Commissioner, whose name in this Note stands — -Blank Blank, is not so prompt in the thing; will consider it, will &c. Consider it? His Highness dockets the Petition; "We refer this to the Commissioners for Sutton's Hospital: 28th July 1655;" and instructs Thurloe to inform Blank Blank that he had much better not consider it, but do it! Which there is no doubt Blank Blank now saw at once to be the real method of the business.

^{*} Her Petition printed, without date, in Scatcherd, &c. ubi infra.

'To Mr. Secretary Thurloe.'

'Whitehall,' 28th July 1655.

You receive from me, this 28th instant, a Petition from Margery Beacham, desiring the admission of her Son into the Charterhouse; whose Husband* was employed one day in an important secret service, which he did effectually, to our great benefit and the Commonwealth's.

I have wrote under it a common Reference to the Commissioners; but I mean a great deal more: That it shall be done, without their debate or consideration of the matter. And so do you privately hint to ——. I have not the particular shining bauble for crowds to gaze at or kneel to, but — To be short, I know how to deny Petitions; and, whatever I think proper, for outward form, to "refer" to any Officer or Office, I expect that such my compliance with custom shall be looked upon as an indication of my will and pleasure to have the thing done.

Thy true friend,

OLIVER P.S

* "who" in the hasty Original, as if Margery's self or Son were meant.

§ Scatcherd's History of Morley (Leeds; 1880), p. 332. Printed there, and in Annual Register (for 1758, p. 268), and elsewhere; without commentary, or indication Whence or How, — with several impertinent interpolations which are excluded here. In the Annual Register, vague reference is made to a Book called Collection of Letters &c. "compiled by Leonard Howard, D. D.," who seems to be the first publisher of this Note; author, I suppose, of the impertinent interpolations, which vary in different copies, but being exactly indicated in all, are easily thrown out again as here. In Howard's Book (a disorganic Quarto, London, 1753; one volume published, a second promised but nowhere discoverable), which is credibly described to me as "one of the most confused farragos ever printed," search for this Note has been made, twice, to no purpose; and with little hope of elucidation there, had the Note been found. By internal evidence a genuine Note; and legible as we have it.

LETTER CCI.

WE fear there is little chance of the Plate Fleet this year; bad rumours come from the West Indies too, of our grand Armament and Expedition thither. The Puritan Sea-king meanwhile keeps the waters; watches the coasts of Spain; — which, however, are growing formidable at present.

The "Person bound for Lisbon" is Mr. Meadows, one of Secretary Thurloe's Under-secretaries; concerning whom and whose business there will be farther speech by and by. Of the "Commissioners of the Admiralty" we name only Colonel Montague of Hinchinbrook, who is getting very deep in these

matters, and may himself be Admiral one day.

To the General of the Fleet, 'General Blake, at Sea.'
SIR. 'Whitehall,' 30th July 1655.

We have received yours of the 4th, as also that of the 6th instant, both at once; the latter signifying the great preparations which are making against you.

Some intelligence of that nature is also come to us from another hand. Which hath occasioned us to send away this Despatch unto you, immediately upon the receipt of yours, to let you know That we do not judge it safe for you, whilst things are in this condition, to send away any part of the Fleet, as you were directed by our Instructions of the 13th of June;* and therefore, notwithstanding those Orders, you are to keep the whole Fleet with you, until you have executed the Secret Instructions,** or find the opportunity is over for the doing thereof.

We think it likewise requisite that you keep with you the two Frigates which conveyed the victuals to you; as also the Nantwich, which was sent to you with

^{*} Antea, Letter CXCVIII.

** In Blake's Letter, antea; — they concern the "Silver Fleet" most likely.

a Person bound for Lisbon with our instructions to that King. And for the defects of the Fleet, the Commissioners of the Admiralty will take care thereof; and be you confident that nothing shall be omitted which can be done here for your supply and encouragement.

I beseech the Lord to be present with you.

I rest, Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P.S

Copied "in Secretary Thurloe's hand;" who has added the following Note: "With this Letter was sent the intelli"gence of the twenty ships coming across the Straits, and of
"the thirty-one ships and eight fire-ships — [word lost] — in
"Cadiz; — dangerous ships and fire-ships, which belong all
now to the vanished generations: and have sailed, one knows
not whence, one knows not whither!

COMPLIMENT.

Precisely in those same summer days there has come a brilliant Swedish gentleman, as Extraordinary Ambassador to this Country from the King of Swedeland. A hot, high-tempered, clear-shining man; something fierce, metallic, in the lustre of him. Whose negotiations, festivities, impatiences, and sudden heats of temper, occupy our friend Bulstrode almost exclusively for a twelvemonth. We will say only, He has come hither to negotiate a still stricter league of amity between the two Countries; in which welcome enterprise the Lord Protector seems rather to complicate him by endeavouring to include the Dutch in it, the Prussians and Danes in it,—to make it in fact a general League, or basis for a League, of Protestants against the Power of Rome, and Antichristian Babylon at large; which in these days, under certain Austrian Kaisers, Spanish Kings, Italian Popes, whose names it may be



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PART IX. THE MAJOR-GENERALS.

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interesting not to remember, is waxing very formidable. It was an object the Protector never ceased endeavouring after; though in this, as in other instances, with only partial, never with entire success.

Observe however, as all Old London observes, on the night of Saturday, July 28th, 1655, the far-shining Procession by torchlight. Procession "from Tower-wharf to the late Sir Abraham Wiliams's in Westminster;" this brilliant Swedish Gentleman with numerous gilt coaches and innumerable outriders and onlookers, making his advent then and thus; Whitlocke, Montague, Strickland (for we love to be particular) officially escorting him. Observe next how he was nobly entertained three days in that Williams House, at the Protector's charges; and on the third day had his audience of the Protector; in a style of dignity worth noting by Bulstrode. Sir Oliver Fleming; "galleries full of ladies," "Lifeguards in their gray frock-coats with velvet welts;" lanes of gentlemen, seas of general public: conceive it all; truly dignified, decorous; scene "the Banqueting House of Whitehall, hung with arras:" and how at the upper end of the room the Lord Protector was seen standing "on a footpace and carpet, with a chair of state behind him;" and how the Ambassador saluted thrice as he advanced, thrice lifting his noble hat and feathers, as the Protector thrice lifted his; and then — Bulstrode shall give the rest:

"After a little pause, the Ambassador put off his hat, and "began to speak, and then put it on again: and whensoever, "in his speech, he named the King his master, or Sweden, or "the Protector, or England, he moved his hat: especially if "he mentioned anything of God, or the good of Christendom, "he put off his hat very low; and the Protector still answered "him in the like postures of civility. The Ambassador spake "in the Swedish language; and after he had done, being but "short, his Secretary Berkman did interpret it in Latin to this "effect" — Conceivable, without repetition, to ingenious readers. A stately, far-shining speech, done into Latin; "being but short."

And now "after his Interpreter had done, the Protector "stood still a pretty while; and, putting off his hat to the Am"bassador, with a carriage full of gravity and state, he an"swered him in English to this effect:"

My Lord Ambassador, I have great reason to acknowledge, with thankfulness, the respects and good affection of the King your master towards this Commonwealth, and towards myself in particular. Whereof I shall always retain a very grateful memory; and shall be ready upon all occasions to manifest the high sense and value I have of his Majesty's friendship and alliance.

My Lord, you are welcome into England; and during your abode here, you shall find all due regard and respect to be given to your person, and to the business about which you come. I am very willing to enter into a "nearer and more strict alliance and friendship with the King of Swedeland," as that which, in my judgment, will tend much to the honour and commodity of both Nations, and to the general advantage of the Protestant Interest. I shall nominate some Persons to meet and treat with your Lordship, upon such particulars as you shall communicate to them.

After which, Letters were presented, elceleras were transacted, and then with a carriage full of gravity and state, they all withdrew to their ulterior employments, and the scene vanishes.*

LETTER CCII.

It is too sad a truth, the Expedition to the West Indies has failed! Sea-General Penn, Land-General Venables have themselves come home, one after the other, with the disgrace-

ful news; and are lodged in the Tower, a fortnight ago, for quitting their post without orders. Of all which we shall have some word to say anon. But take first these glimpses into other matters, foreign and domestic, on sea and land, —as the Oblivions have chanced to leave them visible for us. "Cascais Bay" is at the mouth of the Tagus: General Blake seems still king of the waters in those parts.

'To General Blake, at Sea.'

SIR, Whitehall, 13th September 1655.

We have received yours from Cascais Bay, of the 30th of August; and were very sensible of the wants of the Fleet as they were represented by your last before; and had given directions for three-months provisions, — which were all prepared, and sent from Portsmouth, some time since, under the convoy of the Bristol Frigate. But the Commissioners of the Admiralty have had Letters yesterday that they were forced back, by contrary winds, into Plymouth, and are there now attending for the first slack of wind, to go to sea again. And the Commissioners of the Admiralty are instructed* to quicken them by an express; although it is become very doubtful whether those provisions can 'now' come in time for supplying of your wants.

And for what concerns the fighting of the Fleet of Spain, whereof your said Letter makes mention, we judge it of great consequence, and much for the service of the Commonwealth, that this Fleet were fought; as well in order to the executing your former Instructions, as for the preservation of our ships and interest in the West Indies: and our meaning was, by our former Order, and still is, That the Fleet which shall come for the guarding of the Plate Fleet, as we conceive

^{· &}quot;commands of the Admiralty are required" is orig.

this doth, should be attempted. But in respect we have not certain knowledge of the strength of the Spanish Fleet, nor of the condition of your Fleet, which may alter every day, - we think it reasonable, at this distance, not to oblige you by any positive order to engage; but must, as we do hereby, leave it to you, who are upon the place, and know the state of things, to handle the rein as you shall find your opportunity and the ability of the Fleet to be: - as we also do for your coming home, either for want of provisions or in respect of the season of the year, at such time as you shall judge it to be for the safety of the Fleet. And we trust the Lord will guide and be with you in the management of this thing.

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P

'P.S.' In case your return should be so soon as that you should not make use of the Provisions now sent you, or but little thereof, we desire you to cause them to be preserved; they may be applied to other uses.§

LETTER CCIIL

'To the Commissioners of Maryland.'

SIRS. Whitehall, 26th September 1655.

It seems to us by yours of the 29th of June, and by the relation we received by Colonel Bennet, that some mistake or scruple hath arisen concerning the sense of our Letters of the 12th of January last,* as if, by our Letters, we had intimated that we would

[§] Thurloe, i. 724, — in cipher; and seemingly of Thurloe's composition.
Antes, p. 274.

have a stop put to the proceedings of those Commissioners who were authorised to settle the Civil Government of Maryland. Which was not at all intended by us; nor so much as proposed to us by those who made addresses to us to obtain our said Letter: but our intention (as our said Letter doth plainly import) was only, To prevent and forbid any force or violence to be offered by either of the Plantations of Virginia or Maryland, from one to the other, upon the differences concerning their bounds: the said differences being then under the consideration of Ourself and Council here. Which, for your more full satisfaction, we have thought fit to signify to you; and rest,

Your loving friend, 'OLIVER P.' §

A very obscure American Transaction; — sufficiently lucid for our Cisatlantic purposes; nay shedding a kind of light or twilight into extensive dim regions of Oblivion on the other side of the Ocean. Bancroft, and the other American authorities, who have or have not noticed this Letter, will with great copiousness explain the business to the curious.

The Major-Generals are now all on foot, openly since the middle of August last;* and an Official Declaration published on the subject. Ten military Major-Generals, Ten or finally Twelve, with militia-forces, horse and foot, at their beck; coercing Royalist Revolt, and other Anarchy; "decimating" it, that is, levying Ten percent upon the Income of it; summoning it, cross-questioning it,— peremptorily signifying to it that it will not be allowed here, that it had better cease in this Country. They have to deal with Quakers also, with

[§] Thurloe, iv. 55.
Order-Book of the Council of State; cited in Godwin (iv. 228).

Anabaptists, Scandalous Ministers, and other forms of Anarchy. The powers of these men are great: much need that they be just men and wise, men fearing God and hating covetousness;—all turns on that! They will be supportable, nay welcome and beneficial, if so. Insupportable enough, if not so:—as indeed what official person, or man under any form, except the form of a slave well-collared and driven by whips, is or ought to be supportable "if not so?" We subjoin a list of their names, as historically worthy, known or unknown to the reader, here.*

Soon after this Letter, "in the month of October 1655," there was seen a strange sight at Bristol in the West. A Procession of Eight Persons; one, a man on horseback, riding single; the others, men and women, partly riding double, partly on foot, in the muddlest highway, in the wettest weather; singing, all but the single-rider, at whose bridle splash and walk two women: "Hosannah! Holy, holy! Lord God of Sabaoth!" and other things, "in a buzzing tone," which the impartial hearer could not make out. The single-rider is a rawboned male figure, "with lank hair reaching below his cheeks;" hat drawn close over his brows; "nose rising slightly in the middle;" of abstruse "down look," and large dangerous jaws strictly closed; he sings not; sits there

[•] General Desborow has the Counties: Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall. Colonel Kelsey: Kent and Surrey. Colonel Goffe: Sussex, Hants, Berks. Major-General Skippon: London. Colonel Barkstead (Governor of the Tower): Middlesex and Westminster.
Lord Deputy Fleetwood (who never returns to Ireland): Oxford, Bucks, Herts; Cambridge, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, — for these last four he can appoint a substitute (Colonel Haynes). General Whalley: Lincoln, Notts, Derby, Warwick, Leicester. Major Butler: Northampton, Bedford, Rutland, Huntingdon. Colonel Berry (Richard Baxter's friend, once a Clerk in the Ironworks): Hereford, Salop, North Wales. General (Sea-General) Dawkins: Monmouth and South Wales. Colonel Worseley: Cheshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire.
The Lord Lambert: York, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, — can appoint substitutes (Colonel Robert Lilburn, Colonel Charles Howard).

covered, and is sung-to by the others bare. Amid pouring deluges, and mud knee-deep: "so that the rain ran in at their necks, and they vented it at their hose and breeches:" a spectacle to the West of England and Posterity! Singing as above; answering no question except in song. From Bedminster to Ratcliff Gate, along the streets, to the High Cross of Bristol: at the High Cross they are laid hold of by the Authorities: - turn out to be James Navler and Company. James Navler. "from Andersloe" or Ardsley "in Yorkshire," heretofore a Trooper under Lambert; now a Quaker and something more. Infatuated Navler and Company; given up to Enthusiasm, to Animal-Magnetism, to Chaos and Bedlam in one shape or other! Who will need to be coerced by the Major-Generals, I think; — to be forwarded to London, and there sifted and cross-questioned.* Is not the Spiritualism of England developing itself in strange forms? The Hydra, royalist and sansculottic, has many heads.

George Fox, some time before this, had made his way to the Protector himself: to represent to him the undeserved sufferings of Friends, - and what a faithful people they were, though sansculottic, or wearing suits sometimes merely of perennial leather. George's huge Journal, to our regret, has no dates; but his Interview with the Protector, once in these late months, is authentic, still visible to the mind. George. being seized in Leicestershire, "carried up to the Mews," and otherwise tribulated by subaltern authorities, contrived to make the Protector hear some direct voice of him, appoint some hour to see him. "It was on a morning:" George went; was admitted to the Protector's bedchamber, "where one Harvey, who had been a little among Friends," but had not proved entirely obedient, - the Harvey who will write us a very valuable little Pamphlet one day,** - was dressing him. "Peace be in this House!" George Fox "was moved to say." Peace, O George. "I exhorted him," writes George, "to keep in the fear of God," whereby he might "receive Wisdom from

Examination of them (in Harleian Miscellang, vi. 424-39).
 Passages in his Highness's Last Sickness.

God," which would be a useful guidance for any Sovereign Person. In fact, I had "much discourse" with him; explaining what I and Friends had been led to think "concerning Christ and His Apostles" of old time, and His Priests and Ministers of new; concerning Life and concerning Death; concerning this unfathomable Universe in general, and the Light in it that is from Above, and the Darkness in it that is from Below: to all which the Protector "carried himself with much moderation." Yes, George; this Protector has a sympathy with the Perennial; and feels it across the Temporary: no hulls, leathern or other, can entirely hide it from the sense "As I spake, he several times said, 'That is very "good,' and, 'That is true." - Other persons coming in, persons of quality so-called, I drew back; lingered; and then was for retiring: "he caught me by the hand," and with moistbeaming eyes, "said: 'Come again to my house! If thou and "I were but an hour of the day together, we should be nearer "one to the other. I wish no more harm to thee than I do to "my own soul." - "Hearken to God's voice!" said George in conclusion: "Whosoever hearkens to it, his heart is not hardened;" his heart remains true, open to the Wisdoms, to the Noblenesses; with him it shall be well! - "Captain Drury" wished me to stay among the Lifeguard gentlemen, and dine with them; but I declined, not being free thereunto.*

LETTERS CCIV. — CCVI.

JAMAICA.

Wz said already the grand Sea-Armament, which sailed from Portsmouth at Christmas 1654, had proved unsuccessful. It went westward; opened its Sealed Instructions at a certain latitude; found that they were instructions to attack Hispaniola, to attack the Spanish Power in the West Indies: it did attack Hispaniola, and lamentably failed; attacked the Spanish Power in the West Indies, and has hitherto realised almost nothing,—a mere waste Island of Jamaica, to all appearance

^{*} Fox's Journal (Leeds, 1836), i. 265.

little worth the keeping at such cost. It is hitherto the unsuccessfulest enterprise Oliver Cromwell ever had concern with. Desborow fitted it out at Portsmouth, while the Lord Protector was busy with his First refractory Pedant Parliament; there are faults imputed to Desborow: but the grand fault the Lord Protector imputes to himself, That he chose, or sanctioned the choice of, Generals improper to command it. Sea-General Penn, Land-General Venables, they were unfortunate, they were incompetent; fell into disagreements, into distempers of the bowels; had critical Civil Commissioners with them, too, who did not mend the matter. Venables lay "six weeks in bed." very ill of sad West-India maladies: for the rest. a covetous lazy dog, who cared nothing for the business, but wanted to be home at his Irish Government again. Penn is Father of Penn the Pennsylvanian Quaker; a man somewhat quick of temper, "like to break his heart" when affairs went wrong; unfit to right them again. As we said, the two Generals came voluntarily home, in the end of last August, leaving the wreck of their forces in Jamaica; and were straightway lodged in the Tower for quitting their post.

A great Armament of Thirty, nay of Sixty Ships; of Fourthousand soldiers, two regiments of whom were veterans, the rest a somewhat sad miscellany of broken Royalists, unruly Levellers, and the like, who would volunteer, - whom Venables augmented at Barbadoes, with a still more unruly set, to Nine-thousand: this great Armament the Lord Protector has strenuously hurled, as a sudden fiery bolt, into the dark Domdaniel of Spanish Iniquity in the far West; and it has exploded there, almost without effect. The Armament saw Hispaniola, and Hispaniola with fear and wonder saw it, on the 14th of April 1655: but the Armament, a sad miscellany of distempered unruly persons, durst not land "where Drake had landed." and at once take the Town and Island; the Armament hovered hither and thither; and at last agreed to land some sixty miles off; marched therefrom through thick-tangled woods, under tropical heats, till it was nearly dead with mere marching; was then set upon by ambuscadoes; fought miserably ill, the un1655.] JAMAICA. 345

ruly persons of it, or would not fight at all; fled back to its ships a mass of miserable disorganic ruin; and "dying there at the rate of two-hundred a day," made for Jamaica.*

Jamaica, a poor unpopulous Island, was quickly taken, as rich Hispaniola might have been, and the Spaniards were driven away: but to men in biliary humour it seemed hardly worth the taking or the keeping. "Immense droves of wild cattle, cows and horses, run about Jamaica:" dusky Spaniards dwell in hatos, in unswept shealings; "80,000 hogs are killed every year for the sake of their lard, which is sold under the name of hog's-butter at Carthagena:" but what can we do with all that! The poor Armament continuing to die as if by murrain, and all things looking worse and worse to poor biliary Generals, Sea-General Penn set sail for home, whom Land-General Venables swiftly followed; leaving "Vice-Admiral Goodson," "Major-General Fortescue," or almost whosoever liked, to manage in their absence, and their ruined moribund forces to die as they could; - and are now lodged in the Tower, as they deserved to be. The Lord Protector, and virtually England with him, had hoped to see the dark empire of bloody Antichristian Spain a little shaken in the West: some reparation got for its inhuman massacrings and long-continued tyrannies. - massacrings, exterminations of us, "at St. Kitts in 1629. at Tortuga in 1637, at Santa Cruz in 1650;" so, in the name of England, had this Lord Protector hoped; and he has now to take his disappointment.

The ulterior history of these Western Affairs, of this new Jamaica under Cromwell, lies far dislocated, drowned deep, in the Slumber-Lakes of Thurloe and Company; in a most dark, stupefied, and altogether dismal condition. A history, indeed, which, as you painfully fish it up and by degrees reawaken it to life, is in itself sufficiently dismal. Not much to be intermeddled with there. The English left in Jamaica, the English successively sent thither, prosper as ill as need be; still die, soldiers and settlers of them, at a frightful rate per

^{*} Journal of the English Army in the West Indies: by an Eye-witness (in Harl. Miscell. vi. 372-390). A lucid and reasonable Narrative.

day; languish, for most part, astonished in their strange new sultry element; and cannot be brought to front with right manhood the deadly inextricable jungle of tropical confusions. outer and inner, in which they find themselves. Brave Governors, Fortescue, Sedgwick, Brayne, one after the other, die rapidly, of the climate and of broken heart; their life-fire all spent there, in that dark chaos, and as yet no result visible. It is painful to read what misbehaviour there is, what difficulties there are. *

Almost the one steady light-point in the business is the Protector's own spirit of determination. If England have now a "West-India Interest," and Jamaica be an Island worth something, it is to this Protector mainly that we owe it. Here too, as in former darknesses, "Hope shines in him, like a pillar of fire, when it has gone out in all the others." Having put his hand to this work, he will not for any discouragement turn back. Jamaica shall yet be a colony; Spain and its dark Domdaniel shall yet be smitten to the heart, - the enemies of God and His Gospel, by the soldiers and servants of God. It must, and it shall. We have failed in the West, but not wholly; in the West and in the East, by sea and by land, as occasion shall be ministered, we will try it again and again.

"On the 28th of November 1655, the Treaty with France "is proclaimed by heralds and trumpets," say the Old Newspapers. ** Alliance with France, and Declaration against Spain. - within the tropics where there is never Peace, and without the tropics where Peace yet is, there shall now be War with Spain. Penn and Venables, cross-questioned till no light farther could be had from them, are dismissed; in Penn's stead, Montague is made Admiral. *** We will maintain Jamaica, send reinforcement after reinforcement to it; we will try vet for the Spanish Plate Fleets: we will hurl vet bolt after

Thurloe, iii. iv., — in very many places, all in a most unedited, confused condition. Luminous Notices too in Carto's Ormand Papers, ii. Long's History of Jamalca (London, 1774), i. 221 et seqq., gives in a vague but tolerably correct way some of the results of Thurloe: which Bryan Edwards has abridged. Godwin (iv. 193-200) is exact, so far as he goes.

**A In Cromwelliana, p. 134.

⁵⁶⁴ Jan. 1655-6 (Thurles, iv. 338).

bolt into the dark Domdaniel, and have no Peace with Spain. In all which, as I understand, the spirit of England, mindful of Armadas, and wedded once for all to blessed Gospel Light and Progress, and not to accursed Papal Jesuitry and Stagnancy, coöperates well with this Protector of the Commonwealth of England. Land-fighting too we shall by and by come upon; in all ways, a resolute prosecution of hostilities against Spain. Concerning the "policy" of which, and real wisdom and unwisdom of which, no reader need consult the current Sceptical Red-tape Histories of that Period, for they are much misinformed on the matter.—

Here are Three Official Letters, or Draughts of Letters, concerning the business of Jamaica; which have come to us in a very obscure, unedited condition, Thomas Birch having been a little idle. Very obscure; and now likely to remain so, they and the others, — unless indeed Jamaica should produce a Poet of its own, pious towards the Hero-Founder of Jamaica, and courageous to venture into the Stygian Quagmires of Thurloe and the others, and vanquish them on his and its behalf!

Apparently these Official Letters are First-draughts, in the hand of Thurloe or some underling of his; dictated to him, as is like, by the Protector: they would afterwards be copiedfair, dated, and duly despatched; and only the rough originals. unhappily without date, are now left us. Birch has put them down without much criticism; the arrangement of some is palpably wrong. By the spelling and punctuation we judge them to be of Thurloe's handwriting; but the sense is clearly Oliver's, and probably, with some superficial polishings, the composition. They cannot, after much inquiry, be dated except approximately; the originals are gone with Birch, who has not even told us in whose handwriting they were, much less has tried to make any sense of them for himself, the idle ineffectual Editor! In fact, Thurloe in regard to these Jamaica businesses has had to go without editing; lies wide-spread, dislocated, dark; and, in this passage, read by Birch's light, is

mere darkness visible. One of the Letters, we at length find, is even misaddressed, — seemingly by idle Birch, at random. Happily it is with the sense alone that we are much concerned; and that is in good part legible. Fancy Penn and Venables dismissed, after some light got out of them by cross-questioning; fancy "Vice-Admiral Goodson, Major-General Fortescue, "Daniel Serle Governor of Barbadoes, and Major-General "Sedgwick" new from England, made Commissioners, with Instructions, "with full power over Jamaica, — and then read.

LETTER CCIV.

VICE-ADMIRAL GOODSON, as his title indicates, went out as second under Penn; whose place he now fills as chief. Letters of his in Thurloe indicate a thick blunt stout-hearted sailor character, not nearly so stupid as he looks; whose rough piety. sense, stoicism, and general manfulness grow luminous to us at last. The Protector hopes "the Lord may have blessed Goodson to have lighted upon some of the Enemy's vessels, and burnt them;" — which is a hope fulfilled: for Goodson has already been at St. Martha on the Spanish Main, and burnt it; but got few "ships," nor any right load of plunder either; the people having had him in sight for six hours before landing. and run away with everything to the woods. He got "thirty brass guns and two bases," whatever these are. The rest of the plunder, being "accurately sold at the mast of each ship" by public auction, yielded just 471 l. sterling, which was a very poor return. At the Rio de Hacha ("Rio de hatch" as we here write it) "the bay was so shoal" no great ships could get near; and our "hoys" and small craft, on trying it, saw nothing feasible; wherefore we had drawn back again. Santa Martha, and plunder sold by auction to the amount above stated, was all we could get.**

^{*} Given in Thurloe, iv. 684.
** Goodson's Letter, in Thurloe, iv. 159 et seqq.

To Vice-Admiral Goodson, at Jamaica.

SIR, Whitehall, 'October 1655.'

I have written to Major-General Fortescue divers advertisements of our purpose and resolution, the Lord willing, to prosecute this Business; and you shall not want bodies of men nor yet anything in our power for the carrying-on of the work. I have also given divers hints unto him of things which may probably be attempted, and should * be very diligently looked after by you both; but are left to your better judgments upon the place. Wherein I desire you would consult together how to prosecute your affairs with that brotherly kindness that upon no colour whatsoever any divisions or distractions should be amongst you, but that you may have one shoulder to the work; which will be very pleasing to the Lord; and not unnecessary, considering what an enemy you are like to have to deal withal.

We hope that you have with 'you' some of those ships which came last, near Twenty men-of-war; which I desire you to keep equipt, and make yourselves as strong as you can to beat the Spaniard, who will doubtless send a good force into the Indies. I hope, by this time the Lord may have blessed you to have light upon some of their vessels, — whether by burning them in their harbours or otherwise. And it will be worthy of you to improve your strength, what you can, both to weaken them by parcels, and to engage them as you have opportunity, — which, at such a distance I may probably guess, would be best 'managed' by not suffering, if you can help it, the new Fleet, which comes from Spain, to go unfought,

before they join with the ships that are to the Leeward of you.

We are sending to you, with all possible speed, Seven more stout men-of-war, some of them forty guns, and the rest not under thirty, for your assistance. This Ship goes before, with instructions, to encourage you to go on in the work; and also with instructions to Mevis, and the other Windward Islands, to bring so many of the Plantations as are free to come, 'that they may settle with you at Jamaica.' And I desire you, with your lesser merchant-ships or such others as you can spare, to give all possible assistance for their removal and transplantation, from time to time, as also all due encouragement to remove them.

You will see by the Enclosed what I have writ to Major-General Fortescue. And I hope your counsels will enter into that which may be for the glory of God and good of this Nation. It is not to be denied but the Lord hath greatly humbled us in that sad loss sustained at Hispaniola; and we doubt we have provoked the Lord; and it is good for us to know and to be abased for the same. But yet certainly His name is concerned in the work; and therefore though we should, and I hope do, lay our mouths in the dust, vet He would not have us despond, but I trust give us leave to make mention of His name and of His righteousness, when we cannot make mention of our own. You are left there; and I pray you set up your banners in the name of Christ; for undoubtedly it is His cause. And let the reproach and shame that hath been for our sins, and through (also we may say) the misguidance of some, work up your hearts to confidence in the Lord, and for the redemption of His

honour from the hands of men who attribute their success to their Idols, the work of their own hands. And though He hath torn us, yet He will heal us; though He hath smitten us, yet He will bind us up; after two days He will revive us, in the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in His sight.* The Lord Himself hath a controversy with your Enemies; even with that Roman Babylon, of which the Spaniard is the great underpropper. In that respect we fight the Lord's battles; - and in this the Scriptures are most plain. The Lord therefore strengthen you with faith, and cleanse you from all evil: and doubt not but He is able, and I trust as willing, to give you as signal success as He gave your enemies against you. Only the Covenant-fear of the Lord be upon you. **

If we send you not by this, I trust we shall by the next, our Declaration setting forth the justness of this

War.

I remain, Your loving friend, OLIVER P. 8

The Declaration here alluded to, of War with Spain, came out on Tuesday, 23d October 1655; *** which with sufficient approximation dates this Letter for us. By obscure intimations. allusions to events, and even by recurrence of phrases, the following Letter seems to have the same or a closely subsequent date: but no sense could be made of it till the Address. "Major-General Fortescue, at Jamaica" (which, being nonsense, we have to impute to Birch), was erased, - was altered. by dim lights + and guessings still a little uncertain, as below.

^{*} Hosea, vi. 1, 2.

** No other fear; nor is there need of any other hope or strength!

§ Thurloe, iv. 130.

** Ibid. iv. 117; Godwin, iv. 217; Antea, p. 346.

† Thurloe, iv. 633, &c. &c.

LETTER CCV.

'To Daniel Serle, Esquire, Governor of Barbadoes.'

SIR. 'Whitehall. October 1655.'

These are first to let you know that myself and the Government reckon ourselves beholden* to you for the ready expressions of your love in giving assistance to our late Design.** Which indeed, though it hath miscarried in what we hoped for, through the disposing hand of God, for reasons best known to Himself, and as we may justly conceive for our sins, — yet is not this Cause the less His, but will be owned by Him, as I verily believe: and therefore we dare not relinquish it; *** but shall, the Lord assisting, prosecute it with what strength we can, hoping for 'a' blessing for His name's sake.

You will receive some Instructions,† with encouragements to remove your people thither. Whereto I refer you: only let me tell you, that if you shall think to desire some other things which are not mentioned in those Instructions, 'you may' rest upon my word that we shall be most ready to supply what they may be defective in or you may reasonably demand, when once you are upon the place, — where certainly you may be better able to judge what may tend most to your accommodation than at a distance. Surely the sooner you remove thither,†† you will have the more

^{* &}quot;beholding" in orig.; as the old phrase usually is.
** Hispaniola: to which Serle, at Barbadoes, had given due furtherance,

Hispaniola: to which Serle, at Barbadoos, had given due furtherance,
 as the Expedition passed.
 No!

[†] Thurloe, iv. 633-7; worth reading, though in great want of editing. †† Will mean, if our Addressing of this Letter is correct, that it had at one time been intended and decided to send Serle of Barbadoes, an experienced man, the ablest and principal English Governor in the West Indies, to take charge of Jamaica himself. Which however, in the quick succession of new lights and occurrences, never came to pass.

time to strengthen yourself, in such place and upon such part as you shall like of. And for your own part, I have named you one of the Commissioners there for managing of the whole affair; whereby you will have your vote and interest in that Government.

Having said this, I think fit to let you know that we have Twenty men-of-war already there, and are sending Eight more, many whereof have forty guns and upwards, and the rest above thirty.* We hope the Plantation is not wanting in anything; having at the least Seven-thousand fighting-men upon the place: and we are providing to supply them constantly with fresh men: and we trust they are furnished with a twelve-month's victuals; — and I think, if we have it in England, they shall not want.

We have also sent to the Colonies of New England like offers with yours, ** To remove thither; our resolution being to people and plant that Island. And indeed we have very good reason to expect considerable numbers from thence, forasmuch as the last winter was very destructive, and the summer hath proved so

very sickly.

I pray God direct you; and rest, Your loving friend, 'OLIVER P.'8

Undoubtedly to "Daniel Serle," or else to "Major-General Sedgwick," the other of the Four new Commissioners, this Letter must have been addressed. With either of which Addresses it remains historically somewhat obscure; but is legible enough for our purposes with it here. The next seems to be of slightly later date.

^{*} Same phrase in the preceding Letter.
** Encouragements to them,' as to "your" Colony, to emigrate thither.

LETTER CCVI.

To Major-General Fortescue, at Jamaica.

'Whitehall, November 1655.'

You will herewith receive Instructions for the better carrying-on of your business; which is not of small account here, though our discouragements have been many: for which we desire to humble ourselves before the Lord, who hath very sorely chastened us. I do commend, in the midst of others' miscarriages, your constancy and faithfulness to your trust in every 'situation' * where you are, and 'your' taking care of a "company of poor sheep left by their shepherd:" ** and be assured that, as that which you have done hath been good in itself, and becoming an honest man, so it hath a very good savour here with all good Christians and all true Englishmen, and will not be forgotten by me as opportunity shall serve.

I hope you have long before this time received that good supply which went from hence in July last, *** whereby you will perceive that you have not been forgotten here. I hope also the ships sent for New England are, before this time, with you: + - and let me tell you, as an encouragement to you and those with you to improve the utmost diligence, and to excite your courage in this business, though not to occasion any negligence in prosecuting that affair, nor to give occasion to slacken any improvement of what the place may afford, That you will be followed with what

[·] Word torn.

^{**} Fortescue's own expression: in a Letter of 21st July 1655 (Thurloe,

iii. 675).

*** Vaughan, i. 303; Thurloe, iv. 4.

† Thurloe, iv. 157; one, the first of them, did arrive, Nov. 1st: "sent from Jamaica to New England for provisions."

necessary supplies, as well for comfortable subsistence as for your security against the Spaniard, this place may afford, or you want.

And therefore study first your security by fortifying: and although you have not moneys, for the present, to do it in such quantities as were to be wished; yet, your case being as that of a marching army, wherein every soldier, out of principles of nature, and according to the practice of all discipline, ought to be at pains to secure the common quarter, - we hope no man amongst you will be so wanting to himself, considering food is provided for you, as not to be willing to help to the uttermost therein. And therefore I require you and all with you, for the safety of the whole, that this be made your most principal intention. The doing of this will require that you be very careful not to scatter, till you have begun a security in some one place. — Next I desire you that you would consider how to form such a Body of good Horse as may, if the Spaniard should attempt upon you at his next coming into the Indies with his Galeons, be in a readiness to march to hinder his landing; who will hardly land upon a body of horse; and if he shall land, 'you will' be in a posture to keep the provisions of the country from him, or him from the provisions, if he shall endeavour to march towards vou.

We have sent Commissioners and Instructions into New England, to try what people may be drawn thence.* We have done the like to the Windward English Islands; and both in England and Scotland and Ireland, you will have what men and women we can well transport.

[•] Long Correspondences about it, and details, from assiduous Mr. Gookin, chief of those Commissioners, in Thurboe, iv.

We think, and it is much designed amongst us, to strive with the Spaniard for the mastery of all those seas: and therefore we could heartily wish that the Island of Providence were in our hands again; believing that it lies so advantageously in reference to the Main, and especially for the hindrance of the Peru trade and Carthagena, that you would not only have great advantage thereby of intelligence and surprisal, but 'might' even block up Carthagena. * It is discoursed here that, if the Spaniard do attempt upon you, it is most likely it will be upon the East end of the Island, towards Cuba; as also 'that' Cuba, in its chief Town, is a place ** easily attempted, and hath in it a very rich copper-mine. It would be good, for the first, as you have opportunity, to inform yourself; and if there be need, to make a good work upon the East end of your Island, to prevent them. And for the other, and all things of that kind, we must leave them to your judgment upon the place, to do therein as you shall see canse.

To conclude: As we have cause to be humbled for the reproof God gave us at St. Domingo, upon the account of our own sins as well as others', so, truly, upon the reports brought hither to us of the extreme avarice, pride and confidence, disorders and debauchedness, profaneness and wickedness, commonly practised amongst the Army, we can not only bewail the same, but desire that all with you may do so; and that a very special regard may be had so to govern, for time to come, as that all manner of vice may be thoroughly discountenanced, and severely punished; and that such

^{* &}quot;the same" is orig.
** "Ouha upon Cuba is a place," as the original has it. The first
**Ouha" here must, of course, mean Cuba Town, now Havanna.

a frame of government may be exercised that virtue and godliness may receive due encouragement.

'I rest.

'Your loving friend, 'OLIVER P.'S

The brave Fortescue never received this Letter; he already lay in his grave when it was written; had died in October last.* a speedy victim of the bad climate and desperate situation. Brave Sedgwick, his Partner and Successor soon died also: ** a very brave, zealous and pious man, whose Letters in Thurloe are of all others the best worth reading on this subject. Other brave men followed, and soon died; spending heroically their remnant of life-fire there, — as heroes do "making paths through the impassable." But we must leave the heroisms of Oliver Protector and his Puritans, in this Jamaica Business, to the reader's fancy henceforth, - till perhaps some Jamaica Poet rise to resuscitate and extricate them. Reinforcement went on the back of reinforcement, during this Protector's lifetime: "a Thousand Irish Girls" went; not to speak of the rogue-and-vagabond species from Scotland, - "we can help you" at any time "to two or three hundred of these." *** And so at length a West-India Interest did take root; and bears spices and poisons, and other produce, to this day.

LETTERS CCVII.—CCXIV.

Take the following Letters in mass: and make some dim History of Eleven Months from them, as best may be.

LETTER CCVII.

HENRY CROMWELL has no Major-Generals in Ireland, but has his anarchies there also to deal with. Let him listen to this good advice on the subject.

[†] Thurloe, iv. 693.

** 24th June 1656 (Long's History of Jamaica, i. 257).

*** Long. i. 244; Thurloe, iv. 692, 5:— new Admonitions and Instructions from the Protector, of Thurloe's writing, 17th June 1656 (Thurloe, v. 129-131): &c.

For my Son Henry Cromwell, at Dublin, Ireland.

Son, 'Whitehall,' 21st November 1655.

I have seen your Letter writ unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe; and do find thereby that you are very apprehensive of the carriage of some persons with you, towards yourself and the public affairs.

I do believe there may be some particular persons who are not very well pleased with the present condition of things, and may be apt to show their discontent as they have opportunity: but this should not make too great impressions in you. Time and patience may work them to a better frame of spirit, and bring them to see that which, for the present, seems to be hid from them; especially if they shall see your moderation and love towards them, if they are found in other ways towards you. Which I carnestly desire you to study and endeavour, all that lies in you. Whereof both you and I too shall have the comfort, whatsoever the issue and event thereof be.

For what you write of more help, I have long endeavoured it; and shall not be wanting to send you some farther addition to the Council, so soon as men can be found out who are fit for the trust. I am also thinking of sending over to you a fit person who may command the North of Ireland; which I believe stands in great need of one, and 'I' am of your opinion that Trevor and Colonel Mervin are very dangerous persons, and may be made the heads of a new rebellion. And therefore I would have you move the Council

that they be secured in some very safe place, and the farther out of their own countries the better.

I commend you to the Lord: and rest. Your affectionate father,

OLIVER P. §

"The Letter writ unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe," which is responded-to in this wise and magnanimous manner, does not appear in Thurloe or elsewhere. November 14th, a week before the date of this, Henry writing to Thurloe excuses his present brevity, his last Letter having been so very copious: that copious Letter, now lost, is probably the one in question here.

"November 22d," the day after this Letter, "came several "accounts from the Major-Generals out of divers Counties. "Out of Norfolk it was certified that Cleveland the Poet and "one Sherland a wild Parson were apprehended" at Norwich "by Colonel Haynes," the Lord Fleetwood's Substitute in those regions. This is John Cleveland the famed Cantab Scholar, Royalist Judge-Advocate, and thrice-illustrious Satirist and son of the Muses; who "had gone through eleven editions" in those times, far transcending all Miltons and all mortals, - and does not now need any twelfth edition, that we hear of. Still recognisable for a man of lively parts, and brilliant petulant character; directed, alas, almost wholly to the worship of clothes, - which is by nature a transient one! His good fortune quitted him, I think, nine years ago, when David Lesley took him prisoner in Newark. A stinging satire against the Scots had led Cleveland to expect at least martyrdom on this occasion; but Lesley merely said, "Let the poor knave go and sell his ballads;" ** and dismissed him, - towards thin diet, and a darkness which has been deepening ever since. Very low, now at Norwich, where he is picked up

[§] Thurloe, i. 726.
Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 154); Thurloe, iv. 185.
Big. Britan. (2d edit.), iii. 531: — very ignorantly told there.

THE MAJOR-GENERALS.

zi Nove

enry Cromwell, at Dublin, Ireland.

· Whitehall, 21st November 1655. your Letter writ unto Mr. Secrets , find thereby that you are very e carriage of some persons with and the public affairs.

there may be some particular ry well pleased with the preser and may be apt to show the have opportunity: but this at impressions in you. Times m to a better frame of that which, for the present n: especially if they shall ove towards them, if towards you. Which dy and endeavour, all th you and I too shall the issue and event the lat you write of more he

it; and shall not be ner addition to the Com and out who are fit of sending over to the North of Ireland need of one, and 'Y and Colonel Mervin d may be made th erefore I would ha



CLEVELAND: JEWE CLEVELAND: JEWE CLEVELAND: JEWE CLEVELAND: JEWE COmmend to their own countries of commend you to the Lord: Your affections

he Letter writ unto Mr. Se Oded-to in this wise and mag in Thurlos or elsewhere. We date of this, Henry with t brevity, his last Letter orre I etter, now lost, in 11t is end is :d, not 4 respect on in such iis eye upon ittee of Trade," House of Lords." rchants, Political s Highness; *** concountry may be imommonwealth, "which They consulted of doing faithfully what ; but prefer to end the Ben Israel, a Pension of 1901. ing 20th February 1656" (1657): e Deputy Keeper of the Public

by Colonel Haynes: "Thirty pounds a year;" "lives with a gentleman to whom he is giving some instruction;" - unfortunate son of the Muses. He indites a highflown magnanimous epistle to Cromwell, on this new misfortune; who likewise magnanimously dismisses him, * to "sell his ballads" at what little they will bring.

Wednesday, December 12th, 1655. This day "in a withdrawing-room at Whitehall," presided over by his Highness, who is much interested in the matter, was held "a Conference concerning the Jews;" ** -- of which the modern reader too may have heard something. Conference, one of Four Conferences, publicly held, which filled all England with rumour in those old December days; but must now contract themselves into a point for us. Highest official Persons, with Lord Chief Barons, Lord Chief Justices, and chosen Clergy have met here to advise, by reason, Law-learning, Scriptureprophecy, and every source of light for the human mind. concerning the proposal of admitting Jews, with certain privileges as of alien-citizens, to reside in England. They were banished near Four-hundred years ago: shall they now be allowed to reside and trade again? The Proposer is "Manasseh Ben Israel," a learned Portuguese Jew of Amsterdam; who, being stirred up of late years by the great things doing in England, has petitioned one and the other, Long Parliament and Little Parliament, for this object; but could never, till his Highness came into power, get the matter brought to a hearing. And so they debate and solemnly consider; and his Highness spake; - and says one witness, "I never heard a man speak so well." *** His Highness was eager for the scheme, if so might be. But the Scripture-prophecies, Law-learnings, and lights of the human mind seemed to point another way; zealous Manasseh went home again; the Jews could not settle here except by private sufferance of his

Life of Cleveland, prefixed to his Poems.
 Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 154).
 Sir Paul Rycaut (in Spence's Anecdotes, p. 77; — as cited by Godwin,

Highness; — and the matter contracts itself into a point for us.*

This same Jew-Wednesday, Wednesday the 12th, as a laborious unimportant computation shows, was the "evening" when Republican Ludlow had the first interview with his Highness and certain of his Council "in the Protector's bedchamber."** Solid Ludlow has been in Ireland; dreadfully sulky ever since this Protectorate began. Solid Ludlow never would acknowledge any Single Person, never he; not though the Single Person "were his own father." He has nevertheless, by certain written "engagements," contrived to get across from Ireland, with much trouble by the road; but will not now give any promise satisfactory to his Highness. "He "will be peaceable; yes, so long as he sees no chance other-"wise: but if he see a chance -! - Should like, notwith-"standing, to breathe a little air in his own country; that is "all he is wanting for the present!" In fact, our solid friend is firm as brass, or oak-timber; altogether obstinate indeed, not to say dogged and mulish. The Protector, who has a respect for the solid man, and whose course is conciliation in such cases, permits him to reside in Essex; keeping his eye upon him.

We might speak also of the famed "Committee of Trade," which has now begun its sessions "in the Old House of Lords." An Assemblage of Dignitaries, Chief Merchants, Political Economists, convened by summons of His Highness; *** consulting zealously how the Trade of this country may be improved. A great concernment of the Commonwealth, "which his Highness is eagerly set upon." They consulted of "Swedish Copperas," and such like; doing faithfully what they could.

Of these things we might speak; but prefer to end the

Godwin, iv. 248-9. — To "Manasseth Ben Israel, a Pension of 1901. per annum, payable quarterly and commencing 20th February 1656" (1657) Privy-Seals of Oliver; in Fifth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (London, 1844), Appendix ii. p. 263.

Ludlow, ii. 551 et seqq.

*** Whitlocke, p. 618 (2d Nov. 1655).

year by this small interesting fraction of Domestic Gossip, coming to us in a small flute-voice across the loud Disturbances, which are fallen silent now, more silent now than even it! Sorry only that nobody can inform us who this blameworthy "person" in the Lord Henry Cromwell's house is, or what her misdoings are: but the reader, skilled in perennial human nature, can sufficiently supply these, and listen to the ancient small flute-voice with intelligence:

The Lady Mary Cromwell to Henry Cromwell, Major-General of the Army in Ireland.

"'Hampton-Court,' 7th December 1655.

"Dear Brother, — I cannot be any longer without beg-"ging an excuse for my so long silence. You cannot but hear "of my Sister's illness; which indeed has been the only cause "of it. You might justly take it ill otherwise, and think there "were want of that affection I owe unto you.

"Indeed, dear Brother, it was a great deal of trouble to me "to think I should give you any occasion to think amiss of me: "for I can truly say it, you are very dear to me; and it is a "great trouble to me to think of the distance we are from one "another; and would be more, if I did not think you are "doing the Lord's service; — and truly that ought to satisfy "us, for while we are here, we cannot expect but that we must "be separated. Dear Brother, the Lord direct you in His "ways, and keep your heart close unto Himself. And I am "sure, therein you will have true comfort; and that will last "when all this world shall pass away.

"I cannot but give you some item of One that is with you, "who, 'it' is so much feared by your friends that love you, is "some dishonour to you and my dear Sister, if you have not a "great care. For it is reported here, that she rules much in "your Family; and truly it is feared that she is a discoun-"tenancer of the Godly People. Therefore, dear Brother, "take it not ill, that I give you an item of her: for, truly, if I "did not love both you and your honour, I would not give you "notice of her. Therefore I hope you will not take it ill, that

"I have dealt thus plainly with you. I suppose you know who "it is I mean, therefore I desire to be excused for not naming "her. I desire not to be seen in it; and therefore desire you "that you would not take the least notice of my writing to you "about it: because I was desired not to speak of it; — nor "should I, but that I know you will not take it amiss from "your poor Sister who loves you.

"Dear Brother, I take leave to rest — your sister and

servant,

"MARY CROMWELL.

"Her Highness* desires to have her love to you and my "Sister; and my Sister Franke her respects to you both."**

"My Sister Franke" and the Lady Mary, these are my "two little wenches," grown now to be women; with dresscaps, fresh blossoming hearts, musical glib tongues, — not uninteresting to men! Anthony Ashley Cooper, I am told, is looking towards this Lady Mary; now turned of Eighteen,*** and a desirable match for any youth of ambition, — but not attainable I doubt by Ashley.

LETTER CCVIII.

HE that builds by the wayside has many masters! Henry Cromwell, we perceive by all symptoms,† has no holiday task of it; needs energy, vigilance, intelligence,— needs almost unlimited patience first of all. With a hot proud temper of his own to strive against, too; and is not nine-and-twenty yet: a young man whose carriage hitherto merits high praise. Anabaptist Colonels "preach" against him; Fleetwood, at headquarters, has perhaps a tendency to favour Anabaptist Colonels, and send them over hither to us? Colonel Hewson, here in Ireland, he, with a leaning that way, has had correspondences, has even had an "Answer" from the Lord Protector (now lost), whereupon have risen petitionings, collo-

^{* &}quot;our Mother." ** Thurloe, iv. 293.

^{•••} Vol. 1. p. 69. † See his Letters to Thurloe: Thurloe, iv. 254-608 (Letters from Nov. 1855 to April 1656).



PART IX. THE MAJOR-GENERALS.

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[21 April

quies, caballings, — much loud unreason to absorb into oneself, and convert at least into silence! "Be not troubled with that Business; we understand the men:" no; — and on the whole, read, and be encouraged, and go on your way.

For my Son Harry Cromwell.

HARRY, 'Whitehall,' 21st April 1656.

I have received your Letters, and have also seen some from you to others; and am sufficiently satisfied of your burden, and that if the Lord be not with you, to enable you to bear it, you are in a very sad condition.

I am glad to hear what I have heard of your carriage: study still to be innocent; and to answer every occasion, roll yourself upon God, — which to do needs much grace. Cry to the Lord to give you a plain single heart. Take heed of being over-jealous, lest your apprehensions of others cause you to offend. Know that uprightness will preserve you; in this be confident against men.

I think the Anabaptists are to blame in not being pleased with you. That's their fault! It will not reach you, whilst you with singleness of heart make the glory of the Lord your aim. Take heed of professing religion without the power: that will teach you to love all who are after the similitude of Christ. Take care of making it a business to be too hard for the men who contest with you. Being over-concerned may train you into a snare. — I have to do with those poor men; and am not without my exercise. I know they are weak; because they are so peremptory in judging others. I quarrel not with them but in their seeking to supplant others; which is done by some,

first by branding them with antichristianism, and then taking away their maintenance.

Be not troubled with the late Business: we understand the men. Do not fear the sending of any over to you but such as will be considering men, loving all godly interests, and men 'that' will be friends to justice. — Lastly, take heed of studying to lay for yourself the foundation of a great estate. It will be a snare to you: they will watch you; bad men will be confirmed in covetousness. The thing is an evil which God abhors. I pray you think of me in this.

If the Lord did not sustain me, I were undone: but I live, and I shall live, to the good pleasure of His grace; I find mercy at need. The God of all grace keep you. I rest,

Your loving father,

OLIVER P.

My love to my dear Daughter (whom I frequently pray for) and to all friends. §

Such a Letter, like a staff dipped in honeycomb and brought to one's lips, is enough to enlighten the eyes of a wearied Sub-Deputy; and cheer him, a little, on his way! To prove that you can conquer every opponent, to found a great estate: not these, or the like of these, be your aims, Son Harry. "I pray you think of me in this." And on the whole, heed not the foolish noises, the fatuous lights; heed the eternal Loadstars and celestial Silences, — and vigilantly march: so shall you too perhaps "find mercy at need."

LETTER CCIX.

New Sea-Armaments, and ever new, are fitted out against the Spaniards and their Papist Domdaniel. Penn being dis-Autograph in the possession of Sir W. Betham (Ulster King of Arms), Dublin. 366 PART IX. THE MAJOR-GENERALS.

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missed, Councillor Colonel Montague, already in the Admiralty, was made Sea-General last January in his stead; and now Blake and he have their flags flying somewhere off Cadiz Bay it would appear.

To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea.

My LOVING FRIENDS, Whitehall, 28th April 1656.

You have, as I verily believe and am persuaded, a plentiful stock of prayers going 'on' for you daily, sent up by the soberest and most approved Ministers and Christians in this Nation; and, notwithstanding some discouragements, very much wrestling of faith for you: which is to us, and I trust will be to you, matter of great encouragement. But notwithstanding all this, it will be good for you and us to deliver up ourselves and all our affairs to the disposition of our All-wise Father; who, not only out of prerogative, but because of His wisdom, goodness and truth, ought to be resigned-unto by His creatures, and most especially by those who are children of His begetting through the Spirit. We have been lately taught* that it is not in man to direct his way. Indeed all the dispensations of God, whether adverse or prosperous, do fully read that lesson. We can no more turn away the Evil, as we call it, than attain the Good: And therefore Solomon's counsel, of doing what we have to do with all our might, 'and' getting our hearts wholly submitted. if not to rejoicing, at least to contentation with whatsoever shall be dispensed by Him to whom alone the issues of all things do belong, is worthy to be received by us.**

In the affair of Hispaniola, &c.
 Yes, I should say so; — as indeed the whole Universe, since it first had any glimmerings of intelligence in it, has said!

Wherefore we have thought fit to send this honest man, Captain Lloyd, who is known to us to be a person of integrity, to convey to you some thoughts, — wherein we do only offer to you such things as do arise to us, partly upon intelligence, and partly upon such a measure as we at such a distance take of that great affair wherein you are engaged; desiring to give no rule to you; but building, under God, much more upon your judgments on the place than 'upon' our own; forasmuch as our intelligences, coming much upon the examination of Merchants' ships and such ways, may not be true oftentimes in matter of fact. And therefore we do offer what we have to say rather as queries than 'as' resolutions.

We are informed that not many of the Plate Fleet are come home; viz. two Galeons and two Pataches;* and we hear they are not so rich as they gave out. We are informed also that the Spaniards' Fleet in Cadiz is in no preparation to come out; and some think they will not come forth, but delay you upon the coast, until your victuals are spent, and you forced to come home. We apprehend that, when General Blake was there last year, they could not have told how to have manned-out a Fleet, if the Merchants there and gentlemen interested had not (principally for their own interest in the return of the 'Plate' Fleet) done it.

We are informed that they sent what men they could well spare, by those Six or Seven ships which they sent to the West Indies in March last. We know also that it hath ever been accounted that the Spaniards' great want is men. — as well as money at

[•] Galeone, in the Spanish Dictionary, is defined as an "Armed ship of burden used for trade in time of war;" Palache as "a Tender, or smaller ship to wait upon the Galeone."

this time. What numbers are in and about Cadiz von best know. We only discourse probabilities: Whether now it might not be worthy to be weighed by you and your council of war, whether this Fleet of theirs now in Cadiz might not be burnt or otherwise destroyed? Whether Puntal and the Forts are so considerably stronger as to discourage from such an attempt? Whether Cadiz itself be unattemptable; or the Island on which it stands be noways to be separated from relieving the Town by the Bridge,* the Island being so narrow in some parts of it? Whether any other place be attemptable; especially that of the Town and Castle of Gibraltar, - which if possessed and made tenable by us,** would it not be both an advantage to our trade and an annovance to the Spaniard; and enable us, without keeping so great a fleet on that coast, with six nimble frigates lodged there to do the Spaniard more harm than by a fleet, and ease our own charge?

You may discourse freely with the Bearer concerning anything contained in this Letter, to whom the whole was communicated, that so he might be able to bring back to us a more particular account of things. The Lord guide you to do that which may be pleasing I remain.

in His sight.

Your very loving friend, OLIVER P. *

LETTER CCX.

Cadiz could not be attempted. Here, eight days later, is another message to the same parties, concerning another business. "The Portugal," it appears, has been behaving in

[•] Means "noways to be separated from the Mainland, by ruining its Bridge:" Cadis were thus in reality isolated.

• Hear, hear!

5 Thurlon iv. 744.

a very paltry fashion; and now "Mr. Meadows," one of Thurloe's Under-Secretaries, is gone out to him; whose remonstrances, the Fleet lending them its emphasis, will probably be effectual!

> To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea. GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 6th May 1856.

You will perceive, by the Instructions* herewith sent you, what is expected by the Council and myself at your hands. And although we are satisfied that you will believe we have sufficient grounds to give you these Directions, yet we have thought fit, for the farther strengthening you unto this Action, to give you a short knowledge of the true state of the Difference between us and the King of Portugal.

You very well know that it is very near two years since we and the Ambassador of Portugal did agree a Treaty; they having wronged us and our Merchants, and taken part with the late King against us. When the Articles were fully agreed by the Ambassador, who had full power and authority to conclude with us, we on our part ratified and confirmed the same, and sent it to the King of Portugal to be ratified and executed by him also. He, delaying to do it according to the first Agreement, in which there were some preliminaries to be performed by him before we could enter upon the whole body of a Treaty, - not only refused to give us satisfaction therein, but instead thereof sent us a pretended Ratification of a Treaty, so different from what was agreed by his Ambassador that it was quite another thing. In 'regard to' some essential Articles, it was proposed that if we would condescend to some

^{*} Thurloe, iv. 769: brief "instructions," To seize the Portugal's ships, fleets, almost the Portugal's self, if he will not do justice.

amendments, the King of Portugal would 'then' agree to confirm the whole.

Whereupon we sent Mr. Maynard to have the Treaty consummated: but finding by the answer he gave us,* that there was little reality, and nothing but delays intended, we could not satisfy ourselves without sending another Person, fully instructed, and authorised by us to take away all scruples by yielding to their own amendments; thereby to discern whether they were sincere ** or not. But, contrary to all expectation, we find, by the account the said Person hath given us, that we are put upon it to recede from all those things that were provisional, either for the good of the State or of our Merchants, or else we must have no Peace with them. ***

In one of the Articles agreed with the Ambassador, it was expressed, That the Merchants should enjoy liberty of conscience, in the worship of God in their own houses and aboard their ships; enjoying also the use of English Bibles, and other good books; taking care that they did not exceed this liberty. Now, upon the sending of Mr. Meadows, - unless we will agree to submit this Article to the determination of the Pope, we cannot have it: whereby he would bring us to an owning of the Pope; which, we hope, whatever befall us, we shall not, by the grace of God, be brought unto. † And upon the same issue is that Article put whereby it is provided and agreed by his Ambassador, That any ships coming to that harbour, any of their company that shall run away from the said ships shall be brought back again by the Magistrate; and the

[&]quot;by his return" in orig.

Commanders of the said ships 'shall' not 'be' required to pay the said runaways their wages, upon pretence 'that' they are turned Catholics, — which may be a colour for any knave to leave his duty, or for the Roman Catholics to seduce our men. This we thought necessary to be provided against. Yet to this also, as I said before, they would not consent without the approbation of the Pope, although it was agreed by their Ambassador too.

Upon the whole matter, we find them very false to us, who intended nothing but what was simply honest. And truly we cannot believe that Article that was for our good, was 'ever' really intended by them. And we may now plainly see what the effect is like to be of any Treaty had or made with people or states guided by such principles, who, when they have agreed, have such an evasion as these people have manifestly held forth in their dealing with us. Wherefore we pray you to be very exact in your prosecution of your Instructions; which truly I hope do not arise from the hope of gain, but from a sense of duty. For, seeing we cannot secure our People in their lives, liberties and estates, by a Pretence of a Treaty; nor yet answer the just demands this Nation hath for wrongs done them; but must in some sort be guilty of bringing our People as it were into a net, by such specious shows which have nothing but falseness and rottenness in them; we are necessitated, having amongst ourselves found out no possible expedient, though we have industriously sought it, to salve these things; we, out of necessity 'I say,' and not out of choice, have concluded to go in this wav.

You will receive herewith the Copy of an Instruc-

tion given and sent to Mr. Meadows, wherein is a time limited for the King's answer: and we desire that this may not be made use of by the King to delay or deceive us: nor that you, upon the first sight hereof, delay to take the best course you can to effect your Instructions, — or that the Portugal should get his Fleet home before you get between him and home, and so the birds be flown.

We know not what your affairs are at the present; but are confident that nothing will be wanting on your part for the effectual accomplishment of this Service. But knowing that all ways, and works, and ourselves, are ever at the perfect disposition of the Lord and His providence, and that our times are in His hands, — we therefore recommend you to the grace and guidance of our good God, who, we hope, hath thoughts of mercy towards us; and that He would guide and bless you is the prayer of,

Your very loving friend, 'OLIVER P.'§

In Thurloe's handwriting; but very evidently Oliver's composition every sentence of it. There will clearly be no living for the Portugal, unless he decide to throw away his jockeyings and jesuitries, and do what is fair and square!

LETTER CCXL

A small vestige, it is presumable, of this Protector's solicitude for the encouragement of Learning and Learned Men. Which is a feature of his character very conceivable to us, and well demonstrated otherwise by testimony of facts and persons. Such we shall presume the purport of this small Civic Message to be:

5 Thurloe, iv. 768.

For Our worthy Friends the Committee of the City of London for Gresham College: These.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 9th May 1656.

We understanding that you have appointed an election this afternoon of a Geometry Professor in Gresham College, — We desire you to suspend the same for some time, till We shall have an opportunity to speak with some of you in order to that business.

I rest,

Your loving friend, OLIVER P.§

Historical Neal says zealously, "If there was a man in "England who excelled in any faculty or science, the Protector "would find him out, and reward him according to his merit." The renowned Dr. Cudworth in Cambridge, I have likewise expressly read, had commission to mark among the ingenuous youth of that University such as he deemed apt for Public Employment, and to make the Protector aware of them. Which high and indeed sacred function we find the Doctor, as occasion offers, intent to discharge.* The choice this Protector made of men, - "in nothing was his good under-"standing better discovered;" "which gave a general satis-"faction to the Public," say the Histories. ** As we can very well believe! He who is himself a true man, has a chance to know the truth of men when he sees them; he who is not, has none: and as for the poor Public and its satisfactions, - alas, is not the kind of "man" you set upon it the liveliest symbol of its, and your, veracity and victory and blessedness, or unveracity and misery and cursedness; the general summation, and practical outcome, of all else whatsoever in the Public, and in you?

[§] Original, with Oliver's Signature, now (1846) in the Guildhall Library, London.

Thurloe, iii. 614, v. 522; &c.
 Burnet, in Neal, ii. 514; ib. ii. 461, 494.

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[29 May

LETTER COXIL

Another small Note still extant; relating to very small, altogether domestic matters.

'For my loving Son Richard Cromwell, Esquire, at Hursley: These.'

Son, 'Whitehall,' 29th May 1656.

You know there hath often been a desire to sell Newhall, because in these four years last past it hath yielded very little or no profit at all, nor did I ever hear you ever liked it for a Seat.

It seems there may be a chapman had, who will give 18,000l. It shall either be laid out where you shall desire; at Mr. Wallop's, or elsewhere, and the money put into feoffees' hands in trust to be so disposed: or I shall settle Burleigh; which yields near 1,300l.* per annum, besides the woods. Waterhouse will give you farther information.

I rest,

Your loving father,

OLIVER P.

My love to your Father and Mother,** and your dear Wife.§

Newhall is the House and Estate in Essex which had once belonged to the great Duke of Buckingham. Burleigh I guess to be Burleigh on the Hill, near Oakham, another House of the great Duke's, which Oliver in the beginning of his military services had known well: he took it by assault in 1643. Of Oliver's Lands, or even of his Public Lands granted by the Parliament, much more of the successive phases his Estate

Written above is "1,260/."

^{**} Mr. and Mrs. Mayor of Hursley.

§ Original in the possession of Henry William Field, Esq., of the Royal Mint.

importance here.

assumed by new purchase and exchange, there is, as we once observed already, no exact knowledge now anywhere to be had. Obscure incidental notices flit through the Commons Journals and other Records: but the sum of the matter alike with the details of it are sunk in antique Law-Parchments, in obliterated Committee-Papers, far beyond human sounding. Of the Lands he died possessed of, there is a List extant, more or less accurate; which is worth looking at here. On quitting the Protectorship in 1659, Richard Cromwell, with the hope of having his debts paid and some fixed revenue allowed him. gave-in a Schedule of his Liabilities and of his Properties. the latter all in Land: which Schedule poor Noble has found somewhere; * and copied, probably with blunders. Subjoined is his List of the Properties, some of them misspelt, most likely: the exact localities of which, no indication being given or sought by Noble, may be a problem for persons learned in such matters. ** To us, only Burleigh and Newhall are of

Newhall, we can observe, was not sold on the occasion of this Letter, nor at all sold; for it still stands in the List of 1659; and with some indication, too, as to what the cause of now trying to sell it may have been. "For a Portion to my Sister Frances," namely. Noble's citations from Morant's History of Essex; his and Morant's blunderings and somnam-

* Not where he says he did, "in Commons Journals, 14th May 1659" (Noble, i. 333, 4).

Dalby) actiled an are Breaker Harrier Grammell (£989												•
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Broughton upon marriage: worth a-year										479	8	2
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Newhall with woods, settled for security of 15,000 l. for a Portion for my Sister Frances 1200 0												_
for a P	ortio	a for 1	ny	Sister	Fra	nces	•			1200	0	0
Chepstall										549	7	8
Magore .										448	0	0
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Woolsston		-		-					-	664	16	ß
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Egleton .		•		•				•	•	79	11	6

These are all the Lands at this date in the possession of the Oliver Family. The five names printed here in italics are still recognisable: Villiers (Duke

bulancies, in regard to this matter of Newhall, seem almost to approach the sublime.*

Leaving these, let us attend a little to the "Portion for my Sister Frances;" concerning which and whom a few lines of musical domestic gossip, interesting to the mind, are once more audible, from the same flute-voice above listened to. "Mr. Rich," we should premise, is the Lord Rich's Son, the Earl of Warwick's Grandson; heir-apparent, though he did not live to be heir: — pious old Earl of Warwick, whom we have seen heretofore as Admiral in the Long-Parliament time; the poor Earl of Holland's Brother. Here are affairs of the heart, romances of reality, such as have to go on in all times, under all dialects and fashions of dress-caps, Puritan-Protectoral and other.

The Lady Mary Cromwell to Henry Cromwell, Major-General of the Forces in Ireland.

"'Hampton Court,' 23d June 1656.

"DEAR BROTHER, — Your kind Letters do so much engage "my heart towards you, that I can never tell how to express "in writing the true affection and value I have for you, —who,

of Buckingham) Properties all of these; the first two in Leicestershire, the last three contiguous to one another in Rutlandshire: of the others I at present (a.D. 1845) know nothing. As to poor Richard's finance-budget, encumbered "with 2,0001, yearly to my Mother," "with 3,0001, of debt contracted in my Father's lifetime," and plentifully otherwise,— It shall not

concern us farther.

(Note of 1857.) The other Properties have now also been discovered:
Lands, these, of the confiscated Marquis of Worcester; all of them in the
South-Wales or Ragland quarter. "Gower" is in Glamorgan, not far from
Swanses; "Chepstall" is Chepstow; "Tydenham," Tidenham, in the same
neighbourhood; "Woolaston" is in Gloucestershire, four miles from
Chepstow; "Chaulton," one of the Charltons in the same county; "Magore,"
Magor est. Mary's) in Monmouthshire. For Gower, Tidenham, Magor, and
their connexion with Cromwell, there is still direct proof; for the others,
which are all Ragland manors too, there is stun presumption to the verge
of proof. So that all these Properties, in Richard's Schedule, are either
Buckingham or else Worcester ones, — grants by the Nation; — and of
'my ould land" (now settled otherwise, or indeed not concerned in this
question) there is no mention here. (Newspaper called Notes and Queries,
Nos. 21-28; London, 23d March-11th May 1850.)

* Noble, i. S34, 5.

"truly I think, none that knows you but you may justly claim "it from."

"I must confess myself in a great fault in omitting to write "to you and your dear Wife so long a time. But I suppose "you cannot be ignorant of the reason, which truly has been "the only cause; which is this business of my Sister Frances "and Mr. Rich. Truly I can truly say it, for these three "months I think our Family, and myself in particular, have been in the greatest confusion and trouble as ever poor "Family can be in. The Lord tell us His 'mind'** in it; and "settle us, and make us what He would have us to be! I suppose you heard of the breaking-off of the business; and, according to your desire in your last Letter, as well as I can, "I shall give you a full account of it. Which is this:

"After a quarter of a year's admittance, my Father and "my Lord Warwick began to treat about the Estate; and it "seems my Lord did not offer that which my Father expected. "I need not name particulars: for I suppose you have had "them from better hands: but if I may say the truth, I think "it was not so much estate, as from private reasons which my "Father discovered to none but to my Sister Frances and his "own Family; - which was a dislike to the young person. "Which he had from some reports of his being a vicious man. "given to play and such-like things; which office was done by "some who had a mind to break-off the match. My Sister. "hearing these things, was resolved to know the truth of it; *** "and truly did find all the reports to be false that were recited "of him. And to tell you the truth, they were so much engaged "in affection before this, that she could not think of breaking "it off. So that my Sister engaged me and all the friends she "had, who truly were very few, to speak in her behalf to my "Father. Which we did, but could not be heard to any pur-"pose: only this my Father promised, That if he were satisfied "as to the report, the estate should not break it off. With "which she was satisfied.

^{*} Young-Lady's grammar! *** Poor little Frances!

^{**} Word torn out.

"And so after this, there was a second Treaty; and my "Lord Warwick desired my Father, To name what it was he "demanded more; and to his utmost he would satisfy him. "So my Father upon this made new propositions; which my "Lord Warwick has answered as much as he can. But it "seems there are Five-hundred pounds a year in my Lord "Rich's hands; which he has power to sell: and there are "some people, who persuade his Highness, that it would be "dishonourable for him to conclude it unless these 500l. a year "be settled upon Mr. Rich, after his father's death. And my "Lord Rich having no esteem at all of his son, because he is "not so bad as himself, will not agree to it; and these people "upon this persuade my Father. That it would be a dishonour "to him to yield upon these terms; it would show, that he was "made a fool of by my Lord Rich. So the truth is, how it "shall be, I cannot understand, nor very few else; * and truly "I must tell you privately, they are so far engaged, that the "match cannot be broke off! She acquainted none of her "friends with her resolution, when she did it.

"Dear Brother, this is, as far as I can tell, the state of the "business. The Lord direct them what to do. And all, I "think, ought to beg of God to pardon her in her doing of "this thing; — which I must say truly she was put upon by "the 'course' ** of things. Dear, let me beg my excuses to my "Sister for not writing. My best respects to her. Pardon "this trouble; and believe me that I shall ever strive to ap-"prove myself, — dear Brother, your affectionate sister and "seryant.

"MARY CROMWELL,"***

Poor little Fanny Cromwell was not yet much turned of Seventeen, when she had these complex things to do, with her friends, "who truly were very few." What "people" they were that put, or strove to put, such notions into his Highness's head, with intent to frustrate the decidedly eligible Mr. Rich,

Good little Mary!
Thurloe, v. 146.

^{**} Torn out.

none knows. I could suspect Ashley Cooper, or some such hand, if his date of favour still lasted. But it is gone, long months ago. Ashlev is himself frustrated; cannot obtain this musical glib-tongued Lady Mary, says Ludlow; * goes over to opposition in consequence; is dismissed from his Highness's Council of State; and has to climb in this world by another ladder. - Poor Fanny's marriage did nevertheless take effect. Both Mary and she were duly wedded, Fanny to Rich, Mary to Lord Fauconberg, in November next year, within about a week of each other: ** our friends, "who truly were very few," and our destinies, and our own lively wits, brought all right in the end.

LETTER CCXIII.

It was last Spring Assizes, as we saw, that the "great appearances of country gentlemen and persons of the highest quality" took place; leading to the inference generally that this Protectorate Government is found worth acknowledging by England. Certainly a somewhat successful Government hitherto; in spite of difficulties great and many. It carries eternal Gospel in the one hand, temporal drawn Sword in the

^{**}Here is the passage, not hitherto printed; one of several "Suppressed-passages from Ludlow's Memoirs," which still exist in the handwriting of John Locke (now in the possession of Lord Lovelace), having been duly copied out by Locke for his own poor Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury, to whom they all relate:

"Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who was first for the King, then for the "Parliament; then, in Cromwell's first Assembly," the Little Parliament, was "for the reformation; and afterwards for Cromwell against the re-"formation. Now" again, "being denied Cromwell's Daughter Mary in "marriage, he appears against Cromwell's design in the last Assembly," the constitutioning Parliament, where his behaviour was none of the best; "and is therefore dismissed the Council, Cromwell being resolved to act "there is at the chief juggler himself; and one Colonel Mackworth, a "Lawyer about Shrewsbury, a person fit for his purpose, is chosen in his "room." — Mackworth was a Soldier as well as Lawyer; the same who, as Governor of Shrewsbury, gave negative response to Charles Second, when he summoned him on the road to Worcester, once upon a time. Mackworth was in the Council, and had even died, and entirely left the Council, before Anthony Ashley left it (Thurloe, iii. 581; and Godwin, iv. 288). My solid friend, absent in Ireland, sulkily breathing the air in Essex, falls into some errors! Court-rumour, this of his; truth in the heart of it, details rather vague; — not much worth verifying or rectifying here. rather vague; — not much worth verifying or rectifying here.

** Vol. i. p. 69.



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other. Actually it has compressed the turbulent humours of this Country, and encouraged the better tendencies thereof, hitherto; it has set its foot resolutely on the neck of English Anarchy, and points with its armed hand to noble onward and upward paths. All which, England, thankful at lowest for peace and order, by degrees recognises; with acquiescence, not without some slow satisfactory feeling. England is in peace at home; stands as the Queen of Protestantism abroad; defies Spain and Antichrist, protects poor Piedmont Protestants and servants of Christ; — has taken, all men admit, a nobler attitude than it ever had before.

Nor has the task been easy hitherto; nor is it like to be. No holiday work, governing such an England as this of Oliver Protector's; with strong Papistry abroad, and a Hydra of Anarchies at home! The domestic Hydra is not slain; cannot, by the nature of it, be slain; can only be scotched and mowed down, head after head, as it successively protrudes itself;—till, by the aid of Time, it slowly die. As yet, on any hint of foreign encouragement it revives again, requires to be scotched and mowed down again. His exiled Majesty Charles Stuart has got a new lever in hand, by means of this War with Spain.

Seven years ago his exiled Majesty's "Embassy to Spain," embassy managed by Chancellor Hyde and another, proved rather a hungry affair; and ended, I think, in little, — except the murder of poor Ascham, the then Parliament's Envoy at Madrid; whom, like Dutch Dorislaus, as "an accursed regicide or abettor of regicides", certain cut-throat servants of the said hungry Embassy broke-in upon, one afternoon, and slew. For which violent deed no full satisfaction could be got from Spain, — the murderers having taken "sanctuary," as was pleaded.* With that rather sorry result, and no other noticeable, Chancellor Hyde's Embassy took itself away again; Spain ordering it to go. But now, this fierce Protestant Protector breathing nothing but war, Spain finds that the

Clarendon, iii. 498-509; Process and Pleadings in the Court of Spain upon the Death of Anthony Ascham (in Harl. Miscell. vi. 236-47).

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English domestic Hydra, if well operated upon by Charles Stuart, might be a useful thing; and grants Charles Stuart some encouragements for that. His poor Majesty is coming to the seashore again; is to have "Seven-thousand Spaniards" to invade England, - if the domestic Hydra will stir with effect. The domestic Hydra, I think, had better lie quiet for a while! This Letter to Henry Cromwell is to bid him too, for

his part, be awake in Ireland to these things.

For the Hydra is not dead; and its heads are legion. Major Wildman, for example, sits safe in Chepstow: but Sexby, the Anabaptist Colonel, whom we could not take on that occasion. is still busy: has been "trying to seduce the Fleet," trying to do this and that; is now fairly gone to Spain, to treat with Antichrist himself for the purpose of bringing-in a Reign of Christ, — the truly desperate Anabaptist Colonel!* It is a Hydra like few. Spiritual and Practical: Muggletonians. mad Quakers riding into Bristol, Fifth-Monarchists, Hungry Flunkeys: ever scheming, plotting with or without hope, to "seduce the Protector's Guard," "to blow up the Protector in his bed-room," and do "other little fiddling things," as the Protector calls them, - which one cannot waste time in specifying! Only the slow course of nature can kill that Hydra: till a Colonel Sexby die, how can you keep him quiet? -

But what doubtless gives new vitality to plotting, in these weeks, is the fact that a General Election to Parliament is going on. There is to be a new Parliament; — in which may lie who knows what contentions. The Protector lost it last time, by the arithmetical account of heads; will he gain it this time? Account of heads is not exactly the Protector's basis; but he hopes he may now gain it even so. At all events, this wide foreign and domestic Spanish War cannot be carried on without supplies; he will first try it so, - then otherwise if not so.

'To Henry Cromwell, Major-General of the Army in Ireland.' 'Whitehall,' 26th August 1656. Son Harry,

We are informed, from several hands, that the old · Clarendon, iii. 852; Thurloe, iv. 698, &c.

Enemy are forming designs to invade Ireland, as well as other parts of the Commonwealth; and that he and Spain have very great correspondence with some chief men in that Nation, for raising a sudden rebellion there.

Therefore we judge it very necessary that you take all possible care to put the Forces into such a condition as may answer anything that may fall out in this kind. And to that end, that you contract the Garrisons in Ireland, as many as may be; and get a considerable marching Army into the field, in two or three bodies, to be left in the most proper and advantageous places for service, as occasion shall require. Taking also, in all other things, your best care you can to break and prevent the designs and combinations of the Enemy; - and a very particular regard is to be had to the North, where, without question, busy and discontented persons are working towards new disturbances. I do not doubt but you will communicate this thing to Colonel Cowper, to the end he may be more watchful and diligent in looking to this danger. I rest, your loving father,

Oliver Cromwell. §

"Colonel Cowper" commands the Forces in Ulster. Plenty of details about him in Thurloe's Fourth Volume:—our readers can sufficiently conceive him without details. We are more interested to state, from a Letter of Thurloe's which goes along with this, that there are "Fourteen Spanish ships plying about the Isle of Islay," doubtless with an eye to Carrickfergus; that we hope and indeed believe, my Lord Henry will be on the alert. For the rest, the Elections are going well; all "for peace and settlement," as we hear, "and great friends to the 5 Sicane MSS. 4157, f. 209; and (with insignificant variations) Thurloe, 7. 348.

Government." Ashley Cooper, indeed, has been chosen for Wilts: but, on the other hand, Bradshaw has missed in Cheshire; Sir Henry Vane has tried in three places and missed in all. * This is of date 26th August 1656; poor England universally sifting itself; trying what the arithmetical account of heads will do for it, once more.

LETTER CCXIV.

THE Portugal has done justice; reluctantly aware at last that jesuitries would not serve him. ** The Spaniards, again, cower close within their harbours; patient of every insult; no ship will venture out, and no Plate Fleet will come in: and as for "attempting Cadiz or Gibraltar," the Sea-Generals, after mature survey, decide that without other force it cannot prudently be done. This is what Montague, with his clear eyes. has had to report to Secretary Thurloe on the latter enterprise: "I perceive much desire that Gibraltar should be taken. My "thoughts as to that are, in short, these: That the likeliest "way to get it is, By landing on the sand, and quickly cutting "it off between sea and sea, or so securing our men there as "that they may hinder the intercourse of the Town with the "Main; frigates lying near, too, to assist them: - and it is "well known that Spain never victualleth any place for one "month. This will want Four or Five thousand men, well "formed and officered. - This is my own only thought which "I submit, at present." ***

Whereupon the Lord Protector sends the following Orders: one other Sea Letter of his which we happen to have left. Mainly of Thurloe's composition, I perceive; but worth preserving on various accounts.

Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, date 26th Aug. (v. 349).

^{**} Thurlos to Henry Cromwell, axe zoth Aug. (v. 349).

** Meadows to Blake and Montague, 13th May 1656: Thurlos, v. 14;—
see ib. 69, 116, and 118 (the Portugal's Letter to Oliver, 24th June 1656).

*** Montague to Thurlos, in cipher, 20th April to 29th May 1656 (Thurlos, v. 67-70), "received by Captain Lloyd, who arrived here 11th July,"— and has brought other Letters, joint Letters from the Generals, of somewhat later date, as we shall perceive.

To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 28th August 1656.

We have received your Letters of the 19th of June brought to us by Captain Lloyd, who arrived here the 11th of July.

By those Letters, and by what Captain Lloyd related by word of mouth, - which is not contradicted by yours of the 1st and 3d of July, 'since' received by the Squadron of Ten Ships (which are all safely arrived in the Channel), nor by any other intelligence received by other hands, - we find That the Spaniard keeps 'within' his Ports, and doth not yet prepare any considerable Fleet to come to Sea; and that, in the condition you and they were then in, they were not to be attempted in their Harbours. And as for any design upon Gibraltar, we see by General Montague's Letter to the Secretary, that nothing therein was feasible without a good Body of Landsmen. - So that, upon the whole, there remains nothing to be done, in those seas for the present, which should require the whole Fleet now with you to remain there. Besides that the Great Ships cannot, without great danger, be kept out, the winter-time, upon that coast.

Upon these grounds we are of opinion, with you, That a good Squadron of Frigates will, in this season, be sufficient to answer any opportunity of service which may present itself. And therefore we have resolved That about the number of Twenty Ships, such as you shall judge proper and fit for that purpose, be kept in those seas; and the rest be sent home, with the first opportunity of wind and weather: — and desire that you will give order therein accordingly. And in re-

spect it will be necessary that we advise with one of you at least, upon this whole affair; and it being also very inconvenient that you should be both from the head of the Fleet which remains behind, the management thereof being of so great concernment to the Commonwealth, — we would have General Blake to stay with the Fleet, and General Montague to come with the Squadron which comes home.

For the service which these Ships 'that stay' should be applied to, - we need say nothing therein; but refer you to the former Instructions. That which we believe the Enemy will most intend will be the carrying-on his Trade to the West Indies; which if he can effectually do, he will not much care for what else is done upon him. And our intelligence is, That at this time he is fitting out some Ships of war, and others. to send from Cadiz into those parts; - the certainty whereof we suppose you may know. And therefore that which is most to be endeavoured is. The spoiling him in that Trade, by intercepting his Fleets either going to or coming from those parts,* - and as much as may be To destroy his correspondencies thither. It will be of great use also to prevent the coming of any Materials for Shipping, or other contraband goods into Cadiz or any of his Ports: which you can have an eye to; and, as much as may be, prejudice his correspondency with Flanders.

Besides these things, and what other damage you may have an opportunity to do the Enemy, we, in our keeping the said Fleet in those Seas, had an eye to the Preservation of the Trade of this Commonwealth

in the Straits and to Portugal:* which we suppose could not be driven on without a very good countenance and strength, — in respect the Enemy would otherwise be able with a few ships to obstruct this Trade wholly, and to take all that passed either to or from the one place or the other. But our intention is not To reckon up every particular wherein this Fleet may be useful, but only To let you know our general scope; and to leave the management and improvement thereof to the prudence and direction of him who is to abide upon the place. Whom we beseech the Lord to be present with; and to guide him to that which may be for the good of this Commonwealth, and according to His own will.

These have been our thoughts, and the considerations we have had upon this Affair. If anything else doth occur to you different from what is here expressed, either as to the number of Ships to remain in those seas, or the way and manner of weakening the Enemy and managing the War against him, - we desire to understand your sense and advice hereupon, with all possible speed; sooner, if it may be, than the return of the aforesaid Squadron. And in the mean time we are not willing to tie you up positively to the number of Twenty Ships to remain on that Coast; but give you a latitude to keep a lesser or greater number there, for answering the ends aforesaid, and 'so' as you shall find the occasion to require, which possibly may be very much varied since the last we had from you. -For what concerns the Provisions of victuals and other

[•] Here, I think at the beginning of this Paragraph, the Protector himself has more decidedly struck in.

things which the Fleet will stand in need of the Commissioners of the Admiralty have direction to write at large to you. Unto whose Letters we refer you; and desire you and the whole Fleet to rest assured that nothing shall be omitted to be done, here, for your supply and encouragement upon all occasions.

Your loving friend, 'OLIVER P.'S

About a fortnight ago, August 13th, learned Bulstrode went with the Swedish Ambassador to dine with a famed Sea-General, Sir George Ayscough, of whom we have occasionally heard; who lives for the present, retired from service, "at his House in Surrey:" House not known to me; which by the aid of "ponds, moats," and hydraulic contrivances, he has made to "stand environed in water like a ship at sea," - very charming indeed; and says he has "cast anchor" here. Our entertainment was superb. The brilliant Swedish Ambassador and Sir George spake much about frigates, their rates of sailing, their capabilities of fighting, and other technical topics; which a learned mind might, without much tedium, listen to. "After dinner, the Ambassador came round by Hampton Court, to take his leave of the Lady Claypole and her Sisters;"* - which latter small fact, in the ancient Autumn afternoon, one rather loves to remember! As for this Swedish Ambassador, he is just about quitting England, the high-tempered, clear-glancing man; having settled "copperas," "contrabanda," and many other things, to mutual satisfaction; — nay it is surmised he has thoughts of inviting Ayscough into Sweden to teach them seamanship there; which, however, shall not concern us on this occasion. **

[§] Thurloe, v. 363. "Sent to Plymouth, To be sent to the Generals by Captain Hatseil."

* Whitlocke, pp. 638, 9.

^{**}Biog. Britan. § Ayscough.

SPEECH V.

But the new Parliament is now about assembling; wherein we shall see what conclusions will be tried! A momentous question for his Highness and the Council of State; who have been, with interest enough, perusing and pondering the List of Names returned. On the whole, a hopeful Parliament, as Thurloe had expected: Official persons, these and others known as friends to this Government, are copiously elected: the great body of the Parliament seems to consist of men wellaffected to his Highness, and even loyal to him; who, witnessing the course he follows, wish him heartily God-speed thereon. Certain others there are, and in considerable number, of stiff Republican ways, or given to turbulence in general, - a Haselrig, a Thomas Scott, an Ashley Cooper: these, as a mass of leaven which might leaven the whole lump, and produce one knows not what in the way of fermentation, are clearly very dangerous. But for these also his Highness and the Council of State, in the present anomalous condition of the Nation, have silently provided an expedient. Which we hope may be of service. On the whole, we trust this Parliament may prove a better than the last.

At all events, on Wednesday 17th September 1656, Parliament, Protector, all in due state, do assemble at the Abbey Church; and, with reverence and credence, hear Doctor Owen, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, very pertinently preach to them from these old words of Isaiah, — old and yet always new and true: What shall one then answer to the Messengers of the Nation? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the Poor of His People shall trust in it.* After which, all having removed, still in due state, to the Painted Chamber, and there adjusted themselves, the Protector, rising in his elevated place and taking off his hat, now speaks. The Speech, reported by one knows not whom, lies in old Manuscript in the British Museum; and printed in late years in the Book called Burton's Diary; here and there in a very dreary, besmeared, unintelligible condition; from which,

as heretofore, a pious Editor strives to rescue it. Sufficiently studied, it becomes intelligible, nay luminous. Let the reader too read with piety, with a real endcayour to understand.

GENTLEMEN.

When I came hither, I did think that a duty was incumbent upon me a little to pity myself; because, this being a very extraordinary occasion, I thought I had very many things to say unto you, 'and was somewhat burdened and straitened thereby.' But truly now, seeing you in such a condition as you are,* I think I must turn off 'my pity' in this, as I hope I shall in everything else; — and consider you as certainly not being able long to bear that condition and heat that you are now in. —— 'So far as possible, on this large subject, let us be brief; not studying the Art of Rhetoricians.' Rhetoricians, whom I do not pretend to 'much concern with;' neither with them, nor with what they use to deal in: Words!

Truly our business is to speak Things! The Dispensations of God that are upon us do require it; and that subject upon which we shall make our discourse is somewhat of very great interest and concernment, both for the glory of God, and with reference to His Interest in the world. I mean His peculiar, His most peculiar Interest, 'His Church, the Communion of the faithful Followers of Christ;'—and that will not leave any of us to exclude His general Interest, which is the concernment of the Living People, 'not as Christians but as human creatures,' within these three Nations, and all the Dependencies thereupon. I have told you I should speak to things; things that concern these Interests: The Glory of God, and His Peculiar Interest

^{*} Place crowded, weather hot.

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in the world, — which 'latter' is more extensive, I say more extensive, than the People of all these three Nations with the appurtenances, or the countries and places, belonging unto them.*

The first thing, therefore, that I shall speak to is That that is the first lesson of Nature: Being and Preservation. [Begin at the basis: How are we to get continued at all as a Nation, not trampled under foot by Invaders, Anarchies, and reduced to wreck?] As to that of Being, I do think I do not ill style it the first consideration which Nature teacheth the Sons of Adam:

— and then I think we shall enter into a field large enough when we come to consider that of Well-being. But if Being itself be not first well laid, I think the other will hardly follow!

Now in order to this, to the Being and Subsistence of these Nations with all their Dependencies: The conservation of that, 'namely of our National Being,' is first to be viewed with respect to those who seek to undo it, and so make it not to be; and then very naturally we shall come to the consideration of what will make it be, of what will keep its being and subsistence. [His Highness's heads of method.]

'Now' that which plainly seeks the destruction of the Being of these Nations is, out of doubt: The endeavour and design of all the common Enemies of them. I think, truly, it will not be hard to find out who those Enemies are; nor what hath made them so! I think, They are all the wicked men in the world,

[&]quot;more extensive: "more important would have better suited what went before; yet "extensive" is in all likelihood the word, for his Highness is here branching out into a second idea, which he goes on to blend with the primary one, of "the concernment of the general mass of the People."

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whether abroad or at home, that are the Enemies to the very Being of these Nations; - and this upon a common account, from the very enmity that is in them 'to all such things.' Whatsoever could serve the glory of God and the interest of His People, - which they see to be more eminently, yea more eminently patronised and professed in this Nation (we will not speak it with vanity) than in all the Nations in the world: this is the common ground of the common enmity entertained against the prosperity of our Nation, against the very Being of it. - But we will not, I think, take up our time, contemplating who these Enemies are, and what they are, in the general notion: we will labour to specificate our Enemies; to know what persons and bodies of persons they practically are that seek the very destruction and Being of these Three Nations.

And truly I would not have laid such a foundation but to the end I might very particularly communicate with you 'about that same matter.' For which 'above others,' I think, you are called hither at this time: — That I might particularly communicate with you about the many dangers these Nations stand in, from Enemies abroad and at home; and advise with you about the remedies, and means to obviate these dangers. 'Dangers' which, — say I, and I shall leave it to you whether you will join with me or no, — strike at the very Being and 'vital' interest of these Nations. And therefore, coming to particulars, I will shortly represent to you the estate of your affairs in that respect: in respect 'namely' of the Enemies you are engaged with; and how you come to be engaged with those

^{* &}quot;of the" would be more grammatical; but much less Oliverian.

Enemies, and how they come to be, as heartily, I believe, engaged against you. [His Highness's utterance is terribly rusty hitherto; creaky, uncertain, difficult! He will gather strength by going. Wait till the axles get warm a little!]

Why, truly, your great Enemy is the Spaniard. He is a natural enemy. He is naturally so; he is naturally so throughout, - by reason of that enmity that is in him against whatsoever is of God. soever is of God' which is in you, or which may be in you; contrary to that which his blindness and darkness. led on by superstition, and the implicitness of his faith in submitting to the See of Rome, actuate* him unto!-With this King and State, I say, you are at present in hostility. We put you into this hostility. You will give us leave to tell you how. [By sending out your Hispaniola Fleet, Christmas gone a year, - which has issued rather sorrily, your Highness! For we are ready to excuse 'this and' most of our actions. - and to justify them too, as well as to excuse them, - upon the ground of Necessity. 'And' the ground of Necessity, for justifying of men's actions, is above all considerations of instituted Law; and if this or any other State should go about, - as I know they never will, - to make Laws against Events, against what may happen, 'then' I think it is obvious to any man, they will be making Laws against Providence; events, and names of things, being from God alone, to whom all issues belong.

The Spaniard is your enemy; and your enemy, as I tell you, naturally, by that antipathy which is in

^{* &}quot;acts" in orig., now as always.

him, — 'and also' providentially,* and this in divers respects. You could not get an honest or honourable Peace from him: it was sought by the Long Parliament; it was not attained. It could not be attained with honour and honesty. And truly when I say that, 'I do but say,' He is naturally throughout an enemy; an enmity is put into him by God. "I will put an enmity between thy seed and her seed;"**—which goes but for little among statesmen, but is more considerable than all things! [Yea, your Highness; it is! - Listen to what his Highness himself says of his reasons for going to war with Spain. "Statesmen" too, if they can separate therein what is transitory from what is perennial and eternal, may find it still very worthy of attention. He who has in him, who manifests in the ways of him, an "enmity to God," and goes about patronising unveracities, rotten delusions, brazen falsities, pestilent injustices, with him, whatever his seeming extent of money-capital and worldly prosperity may be, I would advise no nation nor statesman nor man to be prompt in clapping up an alliance. He will not come to good, I think; not he, for one. Bad security in his firm; have no trade with him. With him your only fit trade is, Duel to the death, when the time comes for that! And he that considers not such natural enmity, the providential enmity, as well as the accidental, I think he is not well acquainted with Scripture and the things of God. And the Spaniard is not only our enemy accidentally, but he is providentially so; God having in His wisdom disposed it so to be, when we made a breach with the Spanish Nation 'long ago.'

Means, not "luckily" as now, but simply "by special ordering of Providence."

No sooner did this Nation form what is called (unworthily) the Reformed Religion [It was not half reformed!] after the death of Queen Mary, by the Queen Elizabeth of famous memory, we need not to be ashamed to call her so! [No, your Highness; the royal courtphrase expresses in this case an exact truth. She was. and is, "of famous memory"] - but the Spaniard's design became, By all unworthy, unnatural means, to destroy that Person, and to seek the ruin and destruction of these Kingdoms. For me to instance in particulars upon that account, were to trouble you at a very unseasonable time: there is a Declaration extant [The Council's "Declaration," in October last], which very fully hath in it the origin of the Spaniard venting himself upon this Nation; and a series of it* from those very beginnings to this present day. But his enmity was partly upon that general account which all are agreed 'about.' The French, all the Protestants in Germany, all have agreed. That his design was the empire of the whole Christian World, if not more; — and upon that ground he looks, 'and hath looked,' at this Nation as his greatest obstacle. And as to what his attempts have been for that end, - I refer you to that Declaration, and to the observations of men who read History. It would not be difficult to call to mind the several Assassinations designed upon that Lady, that great Queen: the attempts upon Ireland, the Spaniards' invading of it; their designs of the same nature upon this Nation, - public designs, private designs, all manner of designs, to accomplish this great and general end. Truly King James made a Peace; but whether this Nation, and the interest of all Protestant Chris-

[·] Of "his ventings," namely.

tians, suffered not more by that Peace, than ever by Spain's hostility, I refer to your consideration!

Thus a State which you can neither have peace with nor reason from, - that is the State with which you have enmity at this time, and against which vou are engaged. And give me leave to say this unto you, because it is truth, and most men know it, That the Long Parliament did endeavour, but could not obtain satisfaction 'from the Spaniard' all the time they sat: for their Messenger [Poor Ascham!] was murdered: and when they asked satisfaction for the blood of your poor people unjustly shed in the West Indies [Yes, at Tortuga, at St. Kitt's; in many a place and time!], and for the wrongs done elsewhere; when they asked liberty of conscience for your people who traded thither, - satisfaction in none of these things would be given, but was denied. I say, they denied satisfaction either for your Messenger that was murdered, or for the blood that was shed, or the damages that were done in the West Indies. No satisfaction at all: nor any reason offered why there should not be liberty 'of conscience' given to your people that traded thither. Whose trade was very considerable there, and drew many of your people thither; and begot an apprehension in us 'as to their treatment there,' - whether in you or no, let God judge between you and Himself. I judge not: but all of us know that the people who went thither to manage the trade there, were imprisoned. We desired 'but' such a liberty as 'that' they might keep their Bibles in their pockets, to exercise their liberty of religion for themselves, and not be under restraint. But there is not liberty of conscience to be had 'from the Spaniard;' neither is there satisfaction for injuries, nor

for blood. When these two things were desired, the Ambassador told us, "It was to ask his Master's two eyes;"* to ask both his eyes, asking these things of him!—

Now if this be so, why truly then here is some little foundation laid to justify the War that has been entered-upon ** with the Spaniard! And not only so: but the plain truth of it is, Make any peace with any State that is Popish and subjected to the determination of Rome and 'of' the Pope himself. - you are bound, and they are loose. It is the pleasure of the Pope at any time to tell you, That though the man is murdered [Poor Ascham, for example!], yet his murderer has got into the sanctuary! And equally true is it, and hath been found by common and constant experience. That Peace is but to be kept so long as the Pope saith Amen to it. [What is to be done with such a set of people?] -We have not 'now' to do with any Popish State except France: and it is certain that they do not think themselves under such a tie to the Pope; but think themselves at liberty to perform honesties with nations in agreement with them, and protest against the obligation of such a thing as that, - 'of breaking your word at the Pope's bidding.' They are able to give us an explicit answer to anything reasonably demanded of them: and there is no other Popish State we can speak of, save this only, but will break their promise or keep it as they please upon these grounds,—being under the lash of the Pope, to be by him determined, 'and made to decide.'

[&]quot;these two things:" Exemption to our traders from injury in the West Indies, and Liberty to have Bibles and worship: — See Thurloe (t. 760, 1); Bryan Edwards (t. 141-3); &c.
""that was had" in orig.

In the time when Philip Second was married to Queen Mary, and since that time, through Spanish power and instigation, Twenty-thousand Protestants were murdered in Ireland. We thought, being denied just things. — we thought it our duty to get that by the sword which was not to be had otherwise! And this hath been the spirit of Englishmen; and if so, certainly it is, and ought to be, the spirit of men that have higher spirits! Yes, your Highness: "Men that are Englishmen and more, - Believers in God's Gospel. namely!" - Very clumsily said; but not at all clumsily meant, and the very helplessness of the expression adding something of English and Oliverian character to it.] -With that State you are engaged. And it is a great and powerful State: - though I may say also, that with all other Christian States you are at peace. All these 'your other' engagements were upon you before this Government was undertaken: War with France, Denmark, - nay, upon the matter, War, 'or as good as War,' with Spain 'itself.' I could instance how it was said 'in the Long-Parliament time,' "We will have a war in the Indies, though we fight them not at home." I say, we are at peace with all other Nations, and have only a war with Spain. I shall say somewhat 'farther' to you, which will let you see our clearness 'as' to that, by and by.

Having thus 'said, we are' engaged with Spain,—'that is the root of the matter;' that is the party that brings all your enemies before you. [Coming now to the Home Malignants.] It doth: for so it is now, that Spain hath espoused that Interest which you have all along hitherto been conflicting with,— Charles Stuart's Interest. And I would but meet the gentleman upon

a fair discourse who is willing that that Person should come back again! - but I dare not believe any in this room is. [Heavens, no; not one of us!] And I say, it doth not detract at all from your Cause, nor from your ability to make defence of it, That God by His providence hath so disposed that the King of Spain should espouse that Person. And I say 'farther' His Highness's spirit acts somewhat tumultuous here, and blazes up with several ideas at once, — producing results of "some inertricableness," as he himself might phrase it], No man but might be very well satisfied that it is not for aversion to that Person [Not for his sake that we have gone to war with Spain: - the Cavaliers talk loudly so, and it is not so] —! And the "choosing out" (as was said today*) "a Captain to lead us back into Egypt," 'what honest man has not an aversion to that?' — if there be such a place? I mean metaphorically such a place; 'if there be,' that is to say, A returning 'on the part of some' to all those things we have been fighting against, and a destroying of all that good (as we had some hints today) which we have attained unto -? - I am sure my Speech 'and defence of the Spanish War' will signify very little, if such grounds Grounds indicated, in this composite "blaze of ideas," which is luminous enough, your Highness; but too simultaneous for being very distinct to strangers!] go not for good! Nay, I will say this to you, Not a man in Englang, that is disposed to comply with Papists and Cavaliers, but to him my Speech here is the greatest parable, the absurdest discourse! And in a word, we could wish they were all where Charles Stuart is, all who declare "By their cavilling at Spanish Wars and

[•] In Owen's Sermon.

so on:" his Highness looks animated!] that they are of that spirit. I do, with all my heart; — and I would help them with a boat to carry them over, who are of that mind! Yea, and if you shall think it a duty to drive them over by arms, I will help in that also! —

You are engaged with such an Enemy; a foreign enemy, who hath such allies among ourselves: — this last said hath a little vehemency in it [His Highness repents him of blazing up into unseemly heat]: but it is well worth your consideration.

Though I seem to be, all this while, upon the justice of the business, yet my desire is to let you see the dangers 'and grand crisis' this Nation stands in 'thereby.' All the honest interests; yea, all interests of the Protestants, in Germany, Denmark, Helvetia and the Cantons, and all the interests in Christendom. are the same as yours. If you succeed, if you succeed well and act well, and be convinced what is God's Interest, and prosecute it, you will find that you act for a very great many who are God's own. Therefore I say that your danger is from the Common Enemy abroad; who is the head of the Papal Interest, the head of the Antichristian Interest, - who is so described in Scripture, so forespoken of, and so fully, under that characteral name 'of Antichrist' given him by the Apostle in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, and likewise so expressed in the Revelations; which are sure and plain things! Except you will deny the truth of the Scriptures, you must needs see that that State is so described in Scripture to be Papal and Antichristian. [Who would not go to war with it!] I say, with this Enemy, and upon this account, you have the quarrel, — with the Spaniard.

And truly he hath an interest in your bowels;* he hath so. The Papists in England, - they have been accounted, ever since I was born, Spaniolised. There is not a man among us can hold up his face against that. [The justifying of the Spanish War is a great point with his Highness!] They never regarded France; they never regarded any other Papist State where a 'hostile' Interest was, 'but Spain only.' Spain was their patron. Their patron all along, in England, in Ireland and Scotland: no man can doubt of it. Therefore I must needs say, this 'Spanish' Interest is also, in regard to your home-affairs, a great source of your danger. It is, and it evidently is; and will be more so, - upon that account that I told you of: He hath espoused Charles Stuart! With whom he is fully in agreement; for whom he hath raised Seven or Eight Thousand men, and has them now quartered at Bruges; to which number Don John of Austria has promised that, as soon as the campaign is ended, which it is conceived will be in about five or six weeks, he shall have Four or Five Thousand added. And the Duke of Neuburg, who is a Popish prince, hath promised good assistance according to his power; and other Popish States the like. In this condition you are with that State 'of Spain:' and in this condition through unavoidable necessity; because your enemy was naturally an enemy, and is providentially too become so. [Always, by the law of his being, as Antichristian to Christian, a VIRTUAL enemy; and now Providence, with beneficent wisdom, has developed him into an ACTUAL one. - "That was his Highness's fundamental reason for rushing at him in the West Indies? Because he was

^{*} Old phrase for "the interior of your own country."

Antichrist?" ask some Moderns. - Why yes, it might help, my red-tape Friends! I know well, if I could fallin with Antichrist anywhere, with Supreme Quack and Damnability anywhere, I should be right happy to have a

stroke at him if there seemed any chance [

And now farther. — as there is a complication of these Interests abroad, so there is a complication of them here. Can we think that Papists and Cavaliers shake not hands in England? It is unworthy, unchristian, un-Englishlike, * 'say you.' Yes; but it doth serve to let you see, and for that end I tell it you that you may see, your danger, and the source thereof. Nay it is not only thus, in this condition of hostility, that we stand towards Spain: and towards all the Interest which would make void and frustrate everything that has been doing for you; namely, towards the Popish Interest, Papists and Cavaliers; - but it is also - [His Highness finds this sentence will not do, and so tries it another way] — That is to say, your danger is so great, if you will be sensible of it, by reason of Persons who pretend other things! [Coming now to the great Miscellany of Anabaptists, Republicans, Levellers; your Allens, Sexbys, Overtons.] 'Pretend, I say;' yea who, though perhaps they do not all suit in their hearts with the said 'Popish' Interest - [Sentence left ruinous; sense gradually becomes visible] - Yet every man knows, and must know, that discontented parties are among us somewhere! They must expect backing and support somewhere. They must end in the Interest of the Cavalier at the long-run. That must be their support!

— I could have reckoned this in another 'head' [Half soliloquising, his Highness; giving us a glimpse into the

To combine with Papists, even for Royalists to do so.

strange seething, simmering inner-man of him] — But I give you an account of things as they arise to me. Because I desire to clear them to you! Not discoursively, in the oratoric way; but to let you see the matter of fact, — to let you see how the state of your affairs stands. [Well, your Highness; that certainly is the grand object of speaking to us. To show ME what THOU seest, what is in THEE: why else should one human being dare to wag his tongue to another? It is frightful otherwise. One almost loves this incondite half-articulation of his Highness, in comparison.]

Certain it is, there was, not long since, an endeavour to make an Insurrection in England. [Penruddock at Salisbury; - we heard of Wagstaff and him! It was going on for some time before it broke out. It was so before the last Parliament sat. 'Nay,' it was so not only from the time of the undertaking of this Government; but the spirit and principle of it did work in the Long-Parliament 'time.' From that time to this hath there been nothing but enterprising and designing against you. And this is no strange or new thing to tell vou: Because it is true and certain that the Papists. the Priests and Jesuits have a great influence upon the Cavalier Party; they and the Cavaliers prevail upon the discontented spirits of the Nation, - who are not all so apt to see where the dangers lie, nor to what the management of affairs tends. Those 'Papists and Cavaliers' do foment all things that tend to disservice; to propagate discontentments upon the minds of men. And if we would instance, in particulars, those that have manifested this, - we could tell you how Priests and Jesuits have insinuated themselves into men's society; pretending the same things that they pretended;

— whose ends, 'these Jesuits' ends,' have, out of doubt, been what I have told you. [Dark spectres of Jesuits; knitting up Charles Stuart, the Spaniard, and all manner of Levellers and discontented persons, into one Antichristian mass, to overwhelm us therewith!]

We had that Insurrection. It was intended first to the assassination of my person; — which I would not remember as anything at all considerable, to myself or to you [Very well, your Highness!]: for they would have had to cut throats beyond human calculation before they could have been able to effect their design. But you know it very well, 'this of the assassination;' - it is no fable. Persons were arraigned for it before the Parliament sat; and tried, and upon proof condemned [Gerard and Vowel; we remember them!] — for their designs to cut the throat of myself, and three or four more; whom they had singled out as being, a little beyond ordinary, industrious to preserve the peace of the Nation. And did think to make a very good issue 'in that way,' to the accomplishment of their designs! I say, this was made good upon the Trial. Before the Parliament sat, all the time the Parliament sat, they were about it. We did hint these things to the Parliament people by several persons, who acquainted them therewith. But what fame we lay under I know not! [Suspicious of us in that Parliament!] It was conceived, it seems, we had things* which rather intended to persuade agreement and consent, and bring money out of the people's purses, or I know not what: - in short nothing was believed [Very beautifully rebutted, your Highness: without even anger at it: as the Lion walks quietly on through cobwebs. We had "things"

[•] Means "we made statements;" very Oliverian expression.

which rather intended to &c. &c. What most articulate rhetoric could match this half-articulate, — articulate enough for the occasion!]; though there was a series of things distinctly and plainly communicated to many Members.

The Parliament rose about the middle of January. By the 12th of March after, the people were in arms. But "they were a company of mean fellows," - alas! - "not a lord, nor a gentleman, nor a man of for-"tune, nor a this nor that, among them: but it was a "poor headstrong people, a company of rash fellows "who were at the undertaking of this," - and that was all! And by such things [His Highness's face indicates that he means "no-things," "babblements"] have men 'once well-affected' lost their consciences and honours, complying, 'coming to agreement with Malignants,' upon such notions as these! - Give me leave to tell you, We know it; we are able to prove it. And I refer you to that Declaration* which was for guarding against Cavaliers (as I did before to that other 'Declaration' which set down the grounds of our war with Spain), Whether these things were true or no? If men will not believe, - we are satisfied, we do our [A suspicious people, your Highness: nay not suspicious, so much as incredulous, obstinate, dreadfully thick of skin and sense, - and unused to such phenomena as your Highness! - If we let you know things and the ground of them, it is satisfaction enough to us: But to see how men can reason themselves out of their honours and consciences in their compliance with those sort of people —! — Which, truly I must needs say, some men had compliance with, who I thought never would for all the world: I must tell you so. —

[.] Can be read in Parliamentary History, xx. 434 et seqq.

These men rise in March. And that it was a general Design. I think all the world must know and acknowledge. For it is as evident as the day, that the King [We may call him "King"] sent Sir Joseph Wagstaff and another, the Earl of Rochester, to the North. And that it was general, we had not by suspicion or imagination; but we know individuals! We are able to make appear, That persons who carried themselves the most demurely and fairly of any men in England were engaged in this business. And he that gave us our intelligence lost his life for it in Neuburg Country Yes, Manning was shot there; he had told us Hyde was cock-sure]; - I think I may now speak of that, because he is dead: - but he did discover, from time to time, a full intelligence of these things. Therefore, How men of wicked spirits may traduce us in that matter; or, notwithstanding all that hath been done, may still continue their compliances 'with the Malignants;' - I leave it. [Yes, let THEM look to that.] I think England cannot be safe unless Malignants be carried far away! -

There was never any design on foot but we could hear it out of the Tower. He who commanded there* would give us account, That within a fortnight or such a thing ** there would be some stirrings; for a great concourse of people were coming to them, and they had very great elevations of spirit. [Vigilant Barkstead!] And not only there; but in all the Counties of England. We have had informations that they were upon designs all over England (besides some particular places which came to our particular assurance), by

Barkstead, a Goldsmith once, a severe vigilant Colonel now; who has seen much service.

** "time" might be the word; but I am getting to love this "thing."

knowledge we had from persons in the several Counties of England.

And if this be so, then, as long as commotions can be held on foot, you are in danger by your War with Spain; with whom all the Papal Interest is joined. This Pope* is a person all the world knows to be a person of zeal for his Religion, — wherein perhaps he may shame us. — and a man of contrivance, and wisdom, and policy; and his Designs are known to be, all over, nothing but an Endeavour to unite all the Popish Interests in all the Christian world, against this Nation above any, and against all the Protestant Interest in the world. — If this be so, and if you will take a measure of these things; if we must still hold the esteem that we have had 'for Spaniards,' and be ready to shake hands with them and the Cavaliers. - what doth this differ from the Bishop of Canterbury [Poor old Laud, and his Surplices!] 'striving' to reconcile matters of religion; if this temper be upon us to unite with these 'Popish' men in Civil Things? Give me leave to say, and speak what I know! If this be men's mind, I tell you plainly, - I hope I need not; but I wish all the Cavaliers in England, and all the Papists, heard me declare it, and many besides yourselves have 'heard me:' There are a company of poor men that are ready to spend their blood against such compliance! Right so, your Highness; that is the grand cardinal certainty! An irrevocable Act of Legislature passed in one's own heart. In spite of all clamours and jargons, and constitutional debatings in Parliament and out of it, there is a man or two will have himself cut in pieces before

One Chigi by natural name, called Alexander VII. as Pope; an "Anti-jansenist Pope;" say the Books. With whom, beyond the indispensable, let us crave not to be acquainted.

that "shaking of hands" take place. In fact, I think Christ and Antichrist had better not try shaking of hands; no good will come of it! — Does not his Highness look uncommonly animated?] — and I am persuaded of the same thing in you!

If this be our condition, — with respect had to this, truly let us go a little farther. For I would lay open the danger, wherein I think in my conscience we stand; and if God give not your hearts to see and discern what is obvious, we shall sink, and the house will fall about our ears, — upon even 'what are called' "such sordid attempts" as these same! Truly there are a great many people in this Nation, who "would not reckon up every pitiful thing," — perhaps like the nibbling of a mouse at one's heel; but only "considerable dangers!" I will tell you plainly 'what to me seems dangerous;' it is not a time for compliments nor rhetorical speeches. — I have none, truly; — but to tell you how we find things.*

There is a generation of men in this Nation who cry up nothing but righteousness and justice and liberty [Cominy now to the Levellers and "Commonwealth's-men"]; and these are diversified into several sects, and sorts of men; and though they may be contemptible in respect they are many, and so not like to make a solid vow to do you mischief, — yet they are apt to agree in aliquo tertio. They are known (yea, well enough) to shake hands with, — I should be loath to say with Cavaliers, — but with all the scum and dirt of this Nation, [Not loath to say that, your Highness?] to put you to trouble. And, when I come to speak of the

^{*} Paragraph irretrievably misroported; or undecipherable for want of the tones and looks accompanying it; — in a dim uncertain manner, displays the above as a kind of meaning.

Remedies, I shall tell you what are the most apt and proper remedies in these respects. I speak now of the very time when there was an Insurrection at Salisbury, 'vour Wagstaffs and Penruddocks openly in arms' -- [Sudden prick of anger stings his Highness at the thought of that great Peril, and how it was treated and scouted by the incredulous Thickskinned; and he plunges in this manner] - I doubt whether it be believed there ever was any rising in North Wales 'at the same time;' at Shrewsbury; at Rufford Abbey, where were about Five-hundred horse; or at Marston Moor; or in Northumberland, and the other places, - where all these Insurrections were at that very time! [Truly it is difficult to keep one's temper: sluggish mortals saved from destruction; and won't so much as admit it!] ---There was a Party which was very proper to come between the Papists and Cavaliers; and that Levelling Party hath some accession lately, which goes under a finer name or notion! I think they would now be called "Commonwealth's men;" who perhaps have right to it little enough. And it is strange that men of fortune and great estates [Lord Grey of Groby; he is in the Tower; he and others] should join with such a people. But if the fact be so, there will need no stretch of wit to make it evident, it being so by demonstration. [His Highness still harps on the incredulity of a thickskinned public, naturally very provoking to him in these perilous, abstruse and necessarily SECRET operations of his.

I say, this people at that very time, they were pretty numerous, — and do not despise them! — at the time when the Cavaliers were risen, this very Party had prepared a Declaration against all the things that

had been transacted 'by us;' and called them by I know not what 'names,' "tyranny," "oppression," things "against the liberty of the subject;" and cried out for "justice," and "righteousness," and "liberty:" — and what was all this business for, but to join the Cavaliers to carry on that Design? And these are things, — not words! That Declaration we got; and the Penner of it we got [Locked him fast in Chepstow; the unruly Wildman!]: and we have got intelligence also how the business was laid and contrived; — which was hatched in the time of the Sitting of that Parliament. I do not accuse anybody: but that was the time of it; — an unhappy time! And a plausible Petition had been penned, which must come to me, forsooth [Through that obtuse Constitutioning Parliament, I fancy!], "To consider of these things, and to give redress and remedies." And this was so. —

Now indeed I must tell you plainly, we suspected a great deal of violence then; and we did hunt it out. I will not tell you these are high things [Call them "low" if you like; mice nibbling at one's heel!]: but at that time when the Cavaliers were to rise, a Party was to seize upon General Monk in Scotland, and to commit him to Edinburgh Castle, upon this pretence of "liberty:" and when they had seized him, and clapped him by the heels, 'him' and some other true and faithful Officers, they had resolved a number at the same time should march away for London; leaving a party behind them, - to have their throats cut by the Scots! Though I will not say they would have 'purposely' brought it to this pass; yet it cannot be thought but that a considerable 'part of the' Army would have followed them 'hither' at the heels. — — And not only

thus: but this same spirit and principle designed some little fiddling things upon some of your Officers, to an assassination;* and an Officer was engaged, who was upon the Guard, to seize me in my bed. This was true. And other foolish designs there were, — as, To get into a room, to get gunpowder laid in it, and to blow up the room where I lay. And this, we can tell you, is true. These are Persons not worthy naming; but the things are true. And such is the state we have stood in, and had to conflict with, since the last Parliament. And upon this account, and in this combination,** it is that I say to you, That the ringleaders to all this are none but your old enemies the Papists and Cavaliers. We have some 'of them' in prison for these things.

Now we would be loath to tell you of notions more seraphical! [His Highness elevating his brows; face assuming a look of irony, of rough banter.] These are poor and low conceits. We have had very seraphical notions! We have had endeavours to deal between two Interests: - one some section of that Commonwealth Interest; and another which was a notion of a Fifth-Monarchy Interest! [A "NOTION;" not even worth calling a "SECTION" or "PARTY," - such moonshine was it.] — Which 'strange operation' I do not recite, nor what condition it is in, as thinking it not worthy our trouble. But de facto it hath been so, That there have been endeavours: -- as there were endeavours to make a reconciliation between Herod and Pilate that Christ might be put to death, so there have been endeavours of reconciliation between the Fifth-Monarchy men and

Means: "they attempted to persuade some of your Officers to that 'listle fiddling thing."
 Identity of time and attempt.

the Commonwealth men that there might be union in order to an end, - no end can be so bad as that of Herod's was, - but in order to end in blood and confusion! And, that you may know, 'to tell you candidly.' I profess I do not believe of these two last, of Commonwealth men and Fifth-Monarchy men, but that they have stood at a distance, 'aloof from Charles Stuart.' [The Overtons, the Harrisons, are far above such a thing. I think they did not participate. I would be so charitable, I would be, That they did not. But this I will tell you, That as for the others, they did not only set these things on work; but they sent a fellow, [Sexby, the miserable outcast!] a wretched creature, an apostate from religion and all honesty. - they sent him to Madrid to advise with the King of Spain to land Forces to invade the Nation. Promising satisfaction that they would comply and concur with him to have both men and moneys; undertaking both to engage the Fleet to mutiny, and also your Army to gain a garrison 'on the coast;' to raise a party, 'so' that if the Spaniard would say where he would land, they would be ready to assist him! - This person was sometimes* a Colonel in the Army. He went with Letters to the Archduke Leopoldus and Don John. That was an "Ambassador;" - and gave promise of much moneys: and hath been soliciting, and did obtain moneys; which he sent hither by Bills of Exchange: - and God, by His Providence, we being exceeding poor, directed that we lighted on some of them, and some of the moneys! [Keep hold of them, your Highness!] Now if they be payable, let them be called

^{*} Means "at one time;" as almost all know.

for! [Won't call, I believe!] — If the House shall think fit to order any inspection into these things, they may have it.

We think it our duty to tell you of these things; and we can make them good. Here is your danger; that is it! Here is a poor Nation that hath wallowed in its blood; — though, thanks be to God, we have had Peace these four or five years: yet here is the condition we stand in. And I think I should be false to you if I did not give you this true representation of it.

I am to tell you, by the way, a word to justify a Thing [Coming to the Major-Generals] which, I hear, is much spoken of. When we knew all these Designs before mentioned; when we found that the Cavaliers would not be quiet --- No quiet: "there is no peace to the wicked," saith the Scripture (Isaiah, Fiftyseventh): "They are like the troubled sea, which cannot rest; whose waters throw up mire and dirt."* They cannot rest, - they have no Peace with God in Jesus Christ to the remission of sins! They do not know what belongs to that [My brave one!]; therefore they can no more cease from their actions than they can cease to live, - nor so easily neither! - Truly when that Insurrection was, and we saw it in all the roots and grounds of it, we did find out a little poor Invention, which I hear has been much regretted. I say, there was a little thing invented; which was, the erecting of your Major-Generals [Yes!]: To have a little inspection upon the People thus divided, thus discontented, thus dissatisfied, 'split' into divers interests. — and the workings of the Popish Party!

^{*} Isaiah, lvii. 20, 21.

'Workings' of the Lord Taaff and others;* the most consisting of Natural-Irish rebels, and all those men you have fought against in Ireland, and have expulsed from thence, as having had a hand in that bloody Massacre; — of him and of those that were under his power; who were now to have joined in this excellent business of Insurrection! —'

And upon such a Rising as that was, - truly I think if ever anything were justifiable as to Necessity, and honest in every respect, this was. And I could as soon venture my life with it as with anything I ever undertook! [His Highness looks animated.] We did find. — I mean myself and the Council did. — That. if there were need to have greater forces to carry on this work, it was a most righteous thing to put the charge upon that Party which was the cause of it. [Yea!] And if there be any man that hath a face averse to this, I dare pronounce him to be a man against the Interest of England! - Upon this account, upon this ground of necessity; when we saw what game they were upon; and knew individual persons, and of the greatest rank, not a few, engaged in this business (I knew one man that laid down his life for it) ["Name?" He must go unnamed, this one!]; and had it by intercepted Letters made as clear as the day; we did think it our duty To make that class of persons who, as evidently as anything in the world, were in the combination 'of the insurrectionists,' bear their share

^{*} His Highness suddenly breaks off after new quarry on mention of this Party. The Lord Taaff is even now very busy, at Antwerp (Thurloe, v.), with Chancellor Hyde, "throwing up mire and dirt" of the insurrection kind. He was in trouble long ago, at the beginning of the Long Parliament, on the score of the Irish Massacre; sat some time in the Tower (Clarendon, ii. 216) with Lord Dillon and others; a generation "who can no more cease from their practices than they can cease to live, nor so easily neither!"

of the charge. 'Bear their share,' one with another, for the raising of the Forces which were so necessary to defend us against those Designs! And truly if any man be angry at it, — I am plain, and shall use an homely expression: Let him turn the buckle of his girdle behind him!* If this were to be done again, I would do it.

How the Major-Generals have behaved themselves in that work? I hope they are men, as to their persons, of known integrity and fidelity; and men who have freely adventured their blood and lives for that good Cause, — if it 'still' be thought such, and it was well stated, 'this morning,' against all the 'new' humours and fancies of men! — — And truly England doth yet receive one day more of Lengthening-out its tranquillity, by that same service of theirs.** — —

Well; your danger is as you have seen. And truly I am sorry it is so great. But I wish it to cause no despondency; — as truly, I think, it will not: for we are Englishmen; that is one good fact. And if God give a Nation the property of valour and courage, it is honour and a mercy 'from Him.' [Yes, it is a great thing, your Highness!] And much more 'than English!' Because you all, I hope, are Christian Men, who know Jesus Christ [Yea!], and know that Cause which hath been mentioned to you this day.

Having declared to you my sense and knowledge, — pardon me if I say so, my knowledge, — of the

^{*} The Proverb is in Ray; but without commentary. Various friendly Correspondents, who have found it in Shakspeare (Much Ado about Nothing Act v. Scene i.) and elsewhere, point out to me that the meaning is, "Let him bring his sword-hilt round, then;" ready for drawing; round to the front, where the "buckle" of his belt or "girdle" now is.

** "that occasion" in orig.

condition of these poor Nations, for it hath an influence upon them all, it concerneth them all very palpably; I should be to blame if I did not a little offer to you the Remedies. [Second head of method: the Remedies.] I would comprehend them under two considerations. They are both somewhat general. The one is, The Considering all things that may be done, and ought to be done, in order to Security; that is one. And truly the other is a common head, 'a general, nay a universal consideration,' - the other is, Doing all things that ought to be done in order to Reformation: and with that I will close my Discourse. All that hath hitherto been hinted-at was but to give you a sense of the danger; which 'truly' is most material and significant; for which principally you are called hither to advise of the remedies. — I do put them, 'the remedies,' into this twofold method, not but that I think they are scarcely distinct. I do believe, truly, upon serious and deliberate consideration: That a true Reformation, as it may, and will through God's acceptance, and by the endeavours of His poor servants, be, - That that, 'I say,' will be pleasing in His sight; and will prove not only what shall avert the present danger, but be a worthy return for all the blessings and mercies which you have received. So, in my conscience, if I were put to show it, this hour, Where the security of these Nations will lie? - forces, arms, watchings, posts, strength; your being and freedom; be as politic and diligent, and as vigilant as you can be, - I would say in my conscience, and as before Almighty God I speak it: I think your Reformation, if it be honest and thorough and just, it will be your best security! [Hear him; Hear, hear!]

First, 'however,' with regard to Security 'outwardly considered.' We will speak a little distinctly to that. ["Be ye wise as serpents withal!"] You see where your War is. It is with the Spaniard. You have Peace with all 'other' Nations, or the most of them; Swede, Dane, Dutch. At present, I say, it is well; it is at present so. And so likewise with the Portugal, with France. — the Mediterranean Sea. Both these States; both Christian and Profane: the Mahometan: - you have Peace with them all. Only with Spain, you have a difference, you have a War. I pray consider it. Do I come to tell you that I would tie you to this War? No. 'According' as you shall find your spirits and reasons grounded in what hath been said, so let you and me join in the prosecution of that War, - 'according' as we are satisfied, and as the cause shall appear to our consciences in the sight of the Lord. But if you can come to prosecute it, prosecute it vigorously, or don't do it at all! -

Truly I shall speak a very great word, — one may ask a very great question: "Unde; Whence shall the means of it come?" Our Nation is overwhelmed in debts! Nevertheless I think it my duty to deal plainly; I shall speak what even Nature teacheth us. If we engage in a business, — a recoiling man may haply recover of his enemy: but the wisdom of a man surely will be in the keeping of his ground! Therefore that is what I advise you, That we join together to prosecute it vigorously. In the second place, I would advise you to deal effectually, — even because there is such a "complication of interests," 'as some keep objecting.' If you believe that there is such a complication of interests, — why, then, in the name of God, that excites

you the more to do it! Give me leave to tell you, I do not believe that in any war that ever was in former times, nor in any engagements that you have had with other 'enemies,' this Nation had more obligation upon it to look to itself. — to forbear waste of time, precious time! Needlessly to mind things that are not essential; to be quibbling about words, and comparatively about things of no moment; and in the mean time, - being in such a case as I suppose you know we are. — to suffer ourselves to be wanting to a just defence against the common Enemies abroad, or not to be thoroughly sensible of the Distempers that are at home* -! - I know, perhaps there are many considerations which may teach you, which may incline you, to keep your own hands tender from men of one Religion 'with ourselves,'** and of an Interest that is so spread in the Nation. However, if they seek the eradication of the Nation; if they be active as you have seen, and 'as' it hath been made manifest so as not to be denied, to the carrying-on of their Designs; if England must be eradicated by persons complicated with the Spaniard; if this must be brought upon us through distempers and falseness of men among themselves, then the question is no more than this: Whether any consideration whatsoever shall lead us, for fear of eradicating distempers, to suffer all the honest Interests of this Nation to be eradicated? Therefore, speaking generally of any of their distempers, 'which are' of all sorts, - where a member cannot be cured, the rule is plain, Ense rescindendum est immedicabile vulnus. And I think it is of such an advantage that nothing

^{*} Original sentence incomplete; or tacked with radical incoherency to the foregoing: the sense, on either hypothesis, is very visible.

** Royalists, and other Discontented; Protestants, though Plotters.

ever could more properly be put in practice* since this or any Nation 'first' was.

As to those lesser Distempers of people that pretend Religion, yet which from the whole consideration of Religion, would fall under one of the heads of Reformation, - I had rather put these under this head;** and I shall the less speak to it, because you have been so well spoken-to already today 'elsewhere.' I will tell you the truth: Our practice since the last Parliament hath been, To let all this Nation see that whatever pretensions to Religion would continue quiet. peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and liberty to themselves; - and not to make Religion a pretence for arms and blood. Truly we have suffered them. and that cheerfully, so to enjoy their own liberties. Whatsoever is contrary, 'and not peaceable,' let the pretence be never so specious, - if it tend to combination, to interests and factions, we shall not care, by the grace of God, whom we meet withal, though never so specious, 'if they be not quiet!' And truly I am against all "liberty of conscience" repugnant to this. If men will profess, - be they those under Baptism, be they those of the Independent judgment simply, or of the Presbyterian judgment, - in the name of God, encourage them, countenance them; so long as they do plainly continue to be thankful to God, and to make use of the liberty given them to enjoy their own consciences! For, as it was said today, undoubtedly "this is the peculiar Interest all this while

^{* &}quot;used" in orig.

** Of "doing all we can for Security:" they will stand better under this, thinks his Highness. His Highness half-soliloquising, suddenly bethinking himself, again shows us a glimpse of his Speech in a state of genesis.

contended for." [An excellent "Interest;" very indispensable in a state of genuine Protestantism, which latter has itself for some time been indispensable enough.]

Men who believe in Jesus Christ — that is the Form that gives being to true religion, 'namely,' to Faith in Christ and walking in a profession answerable to that Faith; — men who believe the remission of sins through the blood of Christ, and free justification by the blood of Christ; who live upon the grace of God: those men who are certain they are so [Faith of assurance], — 'they' are members of Jesus Christ, and are to Him the apple of His eye. Whoever hath this Faith, let his Form be what it will; he walking peaceably, without prejudice to others under other Forms: — it is a debt due to God and Christ; and he will require it, if that Christian may not enjoy his liberty. [True Tolerance; a noble thing: Patience, indifference as to the Unessential; liveliest impatience, inexorable INTOLERANCE for the Want of the Essential!]

If a man of one form will be trampling upon the heels of another form; if an Independent, for example, will despise him 'who is' under Baptism, and will revile him, and reproach and provoke him, — I will not suffer it in him. If, on the other side, those of the Anabaptist 'judgment' shall be censuring the Godly Ministers of the Nation who profess under that of Independency; or if those that profess under Presbytery shall be reproaching or speaking evil of them, traducing and censuring of them, — as I would not be willing to see the day when England shall be in the power of the Presbytery to impose upon the consciences of others that profess faith in Christ, — so I will not endure any reproach to them. But God give us hearts

and spirits to keep things equal. Which, truly I must profess to you, hath been my temper. I have had some boxes 'on the ear,' and rebukes, — on the one hand and on the other; some censuring me for Presbytery; others as an inletter to all the Sects and Heresies of the Nation. I have borne my reproach: but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in hindering any one Religion to impose upon another. And truly I must needs say (I speak it experimentally): I have found it, I have, that those of the Presbyterian judgment - ["Do themselves partly approve my plan," he means to say: but starting off into broken sentences, as he is liable to do, never says it] - I speak it knowingly, as having received from very many Counties - I have had Petitions, and acknowledgments and professions, from whole Counties; as from Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and other Counties. Acknowledgments that they, 'the Presbyterians there,' do but desire they may have liberty and protection in the worshipping of God according to their own judgments; for the purging of their congregations, and the labouring to attain more purity of faith and repentance: — and that, in their outward profession, they will not strain themselves beyond their own line. I have had those Petitions; I have them to show. And I confess I look at that as the blessedest thing which hath been since the adventuring upon this Government, 'or' which these times produce. And I hope I gave them fair and honest answers. And if it shall be found to be the Civil Magistrate's real endeavour to keep all professing Christians in this relation to one another; not suffering any to say or do what will justly provoke the others; - I think he that would have more liberty than this, is not worthy of any.

This therefore I think verily, if it may be under consideration for Reformation: - I say, if it please God to give you and me hearts to keep this straight, 'it may be a great means' in giving countenance to just Ministers, - In such semi-articulate uneasy way does his Highness hustle himself over into the discussion of a new Topic] — in countenancing a just maintenance to them, by Tithes or otherwise. For my part I should think I were very treacherous if I took away Tithes. till I see the Legislative Power settle Maintenance to Ministers another way. But whoever they be that shall contend to destroy Tithes, - it doth as surely cut their 'the Ministers' throats as it is a drift to take Tithes away before another mode of maintenance, or way of preparation towards such, be had. Truly I think all such practices and proceedings should be discountenanced. I have heard it from as gracious a Minister as any is in England; I have had it professed: That it would be a far greater satisfaction to them to have maintenance another way, - if the State will provide it. [Sensation among the Voluntaries! --His Highness proceeds no farther in that direction at The next sentence suddenly drawing itself up into a heap; comprising both ideas, "TITHES" and "EQUALITY," and in free flowing half-articulate manner uttering them both at once, must be given precisely as it stands. — Grammar yielding place to something still needfuller, to TRANSPARENCY of Speech with or without grammar.] — Therefore I think, for the keeping of the Church and people of God and professors in their several forms in this liberty, - I think as it, 'this of tithes, or some other maintenance,' hath been a thing that is the root of visible Profession [No public

maintenance no regular priest], the upholding of this — I think you will find a blessing in it: — if God keep your hearts to keep things in this posture and balance, which is so honest and so necessary. [Better keep up Tithes, till we see!]

Truly, there might be some other things offered to you, in point of Reformation: a Reformation of Manners, to wit - But I had forgot one thing which I must remember! It is the Church's work, you know, in some measure: yet give me leave to ask, and I appeal unto your consciences, Whether or no there hath not been an honest care taken for the ejecting of Scandalous Ministers, and for the bringingin of them that have passed an Approbation? [Our two Commissions, of Triers and Expurgators.] I dare say, such an Approbation as never passed in England before! And give me leave to say. It hath been with this difference 'from the old practice,' that neither Mr. Parson nor Doctor in the University hath been reckoned stamp enough by those that made these Approbations; - though, I can say too, they have a great esteem for Learning; and look at Grace as most useful when it falls unto men with rather than without 'that addition;' and wish, with all their hearts, the flourishing of all those Institutions of Learning, as much as any. I think there hath been a conscience exercised, both by myself and the Ministers, towards them that have been Approved. I may say, such an one, as I truly believe was never known in England, 'in regard to this matter.' And I do verily believe that God hath, for the Ministry, a very great seed in the youth 'now' in the Universities; who instead of studying Books, study their own hearts. I do believe, as God

hath made a very great and flourishing seed to that purpose; so this Ministry of England — I think in my very conscience that God will bless and favour it; and hath blessed it, to the gaining of very many souls. It was never so upon the thriving hand since England was, as at this day. Therefore I say, in these things, 'in these arrangements made by us,' which tend to the profession of the Gospel and Public Ministry, 'I think' you will be so far from hindering, that you will further them. And I shall be willing to join with you.

I did hint to you my thoughts about the Reformation of Manners. And those abuses that are in this Nation through disorder, are a thing which should be much in your hearts. It is that, which, I am confident, is a description and character of the Interest you have been engaged against, 'the Cavalier Interest:' the badge and character of countenancing Profaneness, Disorder and Wickedness in all places, - [A horrible "character," your Highness; not undeserved hitherto: and under OUR new Defender of the Faith (if you could see into futurity) what a height of evidence will it rise to!]
— and whatever is most of kin to these, and most agrees with what is Popery, and 'with' the profane Nobility and Gentry of this Nation! In my conscience, it was a shame to be a Christian, within these fifteen, sixteen or seventeen years, in this Nation! Whether "in Cæsar's house," or elsewhere! It was a shame, it was a reproach to a man; and the badge of "Puritan" was put upon it. — We would keep up [He bethinks him of the above word "profane" | Nobility and Gentry: -and the way to keep them up is, Not to suffer them to be patronisers or countenancers of debauchery and

disorders! And you will hereby be as labourers in that work 'of keeping them up.' And a man may tell as plainly as can be what becomes of us, if we grow indifferent and lukewarm 'in repressing evil,' under I know not what weak pretensions. [Yes, your Highness; even so, - were you and I in a minority of Two upon it! "Merry Monarchs" of the Nell-Gwynn Defender kind, and the gallantest Sir Charles Sedleys in their tavernbalcony in Bow Street, are and remain a most mournful phenomenon to me; mournfuller than Death; - equal to Death with a Grimaldi mask clapt on it! If it lives in us, therefore; I say, if it be in the general 'heart of the Nation,' it is a thing I am confident our liberty and prosperity depend upon, - Reformation. Make it a shame to see men bold in sin and profaneness, and God will bless you. You will be a blessing to the Nation; and by this, will be more repairers of breaches than by anything in the world. Truly these things do respect the souls of men, and the spirits, - which are the men. The mind is the man. If that be kept pure, a man signifies somewhat; if not, I would very fain see what difference there is betwixt him and a beast. He hath only some activity to do some more mischief. [A real "Head of the Church," this "King;" not an imaginary one!]

There are some things which respect the Estates of men; and there is one general Grievance in the Nation. It is the Law. ["Hear, hear!" from all quarters of the Nation.] Not that the Laws are a grievance; but there are Laws that are; and the great grievance lies in the execution and administration. I think I may say it, I have as eminent Judges in this land as have been had,

as the Nation has had, for these many years. [Hale and others; yea! - Truly I could be particular, as to the executive part 'of it.' as to the administration 'of the Law;' but that would trouble you. The truth of it is. There are wicked and abominable Laws, which 'it' will be in your power to alter. To hang a man for Six-and-eightpence, and I know not what; to hang for a trifle, and acquit murder, - is in the ministration of the Law, through the ill-framing of it. I have known in my experience abominable murders acquitted. And to see men lose their lives for petty matters: this is a thing God will reckon for. [Your Highness actually says so, believes so? And I wish it may not lie upon this Nation a day longer than you have an opportunity to give a remedy; and I hope I shall cheerfully join with you in it. This hath been a great grief to many honest hearts and conscientious people; and I hope it is in all your hearts to rectify it.

I have little more to say to you, being very weary; and I know you are so 'too.' Truly I did begin with what I thought was 'the means' to carry on this War (if you will carry it on), That we might join together in that vigorously. And I did promise an answer to an objection: "But what will you prosecute it with?" The State is hugely in debt; I believe it comes to — [Reporter cannot hear; on his Paper is mere Blank; — nay I think his Highness stutters, does not clearly articulate any sum.] — The Treasure of the State is run out. We shall not be an enemy to your inspection; but desire it, — that you should inspect the Treasury, and how moneys have been expended. And we are not afraid to look the Nation in the face upon this score. And therefore we will say negatively, first, No man

can say we have misemployed the Treasures of this Nation, and embezzled it to particular and private uses.

It may be we have not been, - as the world terms it. - so fortunate in all our successes, 'in the issues of all our attempts?' [Hispaniola was a terrible affair, your Highness; and Jamaica is yet - a load to crush any but a Man of Hope! Truly if we are of mind that God may not decide for us in these things. I think we shall be quarrelling with what God 'Himself' will answer 'for.' And we hope we are able, - it may be weakly, I doubt not, - to give an answer to God, and to give an answer to every man's conscience in the sight of God, of the reason of things. But we shall tell you, it - ["It," the principal "reason" we could give, was the Plotting of the Cavaliers; whereat his Highness bursts into sudden spontaneous combustion again! - was part of that Arch-Fire, which hath been in this your time; wherein there were flames good store, fire enough; - and it will be your wisdom and skill, and God's blessing upon you, to quench them both here and elsewhere! I say it again, our endeavours - by those that have been appointed, by those that have been Major Generals; I can repeat it with comfort, - they have been effectual for the Preservation of your Peace! [What worlds of old terror, rage, and endeavour, all dead now; what continents of extinct fire, of life-volcanoes once blazing, now sunk in eternal darkness, do we discern, with emotion, through this chance crevice in his Highness! It hath been more effectual towards the discountenancing of Vice and settling Religion, than anything done these fifty years: I will abide by it, notwithstanding the envy and slander of foolish men! [Poor Oliver, noble Oliver!] But I say there was a Design - I confess I speak that to you with a little vehemency - But you had not peace two months together, 'nothing but plot after plot;' I profess I believe it as much as ever I did anything in the world: and how instrumental they, 'these Major-Generals,' have been to your peace and for your preservation, by such means, - which, we say, was Necessity! More 'instrumental' than all instituted things in the world! - If you would make laws against whatever things God may please to send, 'laws' to meet everything that may happen, - you make a law in the face of God: you tell God you will meet all His dispensations. and will stay things whether He will or no!* But if you make good laws of Government, that men may know how to obey and to act for Government, they may be laws that have frailty and weakness; ay, and 'yet' good laws to be observed. But if nothing should 'ever' be done but what is "according to Law," the throat of the Nation may be cut while we send for some to make a Law! [The Tyrant's plea? - Yes, and the true Governor's, my friend; for extremes meet.] Therefore certainly it is a pitiful beastly notion to think, though it be for ordinary Government to live by law and rule, yet** - 'if a Government in extraordi-'nary circumstances go beyond the law even for selfpreservation, it is' to be clamoured-at, and blottered-at.

** A small histus in the ms. (Burton, p. clxxii.), which imagination can easily fill.

[&]quot;Laws against events," insisted on before, p. 392. The "event" there could be no law against beforehand, was the universal rising of the cut-throat Cavaliers; a thing not believed-in by the thickskinned, but too well known to his Highness as a terrible verity, — which the thickest skin would have got acquainted with, moreover, had it not been for him! Evidently a most provoking topic.

[His Highness still extremely animated; wants as if more tongues than one to speak all he feels!] When matters of Necessity come, then without guilt extraordinary remedies may not be applied? Who can be so pitiful a person!—

I confess, if Necessity be pretended, there is so much the more sin. A laying the irregularity of men's actions upon God as if He had sent a Necessity; - who doth indeed send Necessities! But to anticipate these -For as to an appeal to God, I own it, 'own this Necessity,' conscientiously to God; and the principles of Nature dictate the thing: - But if there be a supposition, I say, of a Necessity which is not, every act so done hath in it the more sin. This 'whether in a given case, there is a Necessity or not,' perhaps is rather to be disputed than otherwise: But I must say I do not know one action 'of this Government,' no not one, but it hath been in order to the peace and safety of the Nation. And the keeping of some in prison [Lilburn, Wildman, Overton, Grey of Groby, Willoughby of Parham, occasionally Harrison and others: a fair stock of Prisoners up and down! hath been upon such clear and just grounds that no man can except against it. I know there are some imprisoned in the Isle of Wight. in Cornwall and elsewhere; and the cause of their imprisonment was, They were all found acting things which tended to the disturbance of the Peace of the Nation. Now these principles made us say to them: "Pray live quietly in your own countries: you shall "not be urged with bonds or engagements, or to sub-"scribe to the Government." But they would not so much as say, "We will promise to live peaceably." If others are imprisoned, it is because they have done

such things. And if other particulars strike,* we know what to say, - as having endeavoured to walk as those that would not only give an account to God of their actings in Authority, but had 'withal' to give an account of them to men. [Anticlimax; - better than some climaxes: full of simplicity and discretion.

I confess I have digressed much. [Yes, your Highness; it has been a very loose-flowing Discourse; - like a big tide on shallow shores, with few banks or barriers! - I would not have you be discouraged if you think the State is exceeding poor. Give me leave to tell you. we have managed the Treasury not unthriftily, nor to private uses; but for the use of the Nation and Government; — and shall give you this short account. When the Long Parliament sat, ** this Nation owed 700,0001. We examined it; it was brought unto that, - in that short Meeting 'of the Little Parliament,' within half a year after the Government came into our hands. I believe there was more rather than less. They 'the Long-Parliament people' had 120,000 l. a-month; they had the King's, Queen's, Prince's, Bishops' Lands; all Delinguents' Estates, and the Dean-and-Chapter Lands; which was a very rich Treasure. As soon as ever we came to the Government, we abated 30,0001. the first halfyear, and 60,000 l. after. We had no benefits of those Estates, at all considerable [Only the merest fractions of them remaining now unsold]; I do not think, the fiftieth part of what they had: — and give me leave to tell you, You are not so much in debt as we found you. *** We know it hath been maliciously dispersed as if we

[•] Means "give offence."
•• Polite for "ceased to sit."

had set the Nation into 2,500,000 l. of debt: but I tell you, you are not so much in debt, by some thousands,— I think I may say, by some hundreds of thousands! This is true that I tell you. We have honestly,— it may be not so wisely as some others would have done,— but with honest and plain hearts, laboured and endeavoured the disposal of Treasure to Public Uses; and laboured to pull off the common charge 60,000 l. a-month, as you see. And if we had continued that charge that was left upon the Nation, perhaps we could have had as much money 'in hand,' as now we are in debt.— These things being thus, I did think it my duty to give you this account,— though it be wearisome even to yourselves and to me.

Now if I had the tongue of an Angel; if I was so certainly Inspired as the holy Men of God have been, I could rejoice, for your sakes, and for these Nations' sakes, and for the sake of God, and of His Cause which we have all been engaged in, If I could move affections in you to that which, if you do it, will save this Nation! If not, — you plunge it, to all human appearance, 'it' and all Interests, yea and all Protestants in the world, into irrecoverable ruin! —

Therefore I pray and beseech you, in the name of Christ, Show yourselves to be men; "quit yourselves like men!" It doth not infer any reproach if you do show yourselves men: Christian men, — which alone will make you "quit yourselves." I do not think that, to this work you have in hand, a neutral spirit will do. That is a Laodicean spirit; and we know what God said of that Church: it was "lukewarm," and therefore He would "spew it out of His mouth!" It is not a neutral spirit that is incumbent upon you. And if not

a neutral spirit, it is much less a stupefied spirit, inclining you, in the least disposition, the wrong way! Men are, in their private consciences, every day making shipwreck; and it's no wonder if these can shake hands with persons of reprobate Interests: - such, give me leave to think, are the Popish Interests. For the Apostle brands them so, "Having seared consciences." Though I do not judge every man: - but the ringleaders* are such. The Scriptures foretold there should be such. It is not such a spirit that will carry this work on! It is men in a Christian state; who have works with faith; who know how to lay hold on Christ for remission 'of sins,' till a man be brought to "glory in hope." Such an hope kindled in men's spirits will actuate them to such ends as you are tending to: and so many as are partakers of that, and do own your standings,** wherein the Providence of God hath set and called you to this work, 'so many' will carry it on.

If men, through scruple, be opposite, you cannot take them by the hand to carry them 'along with you,'— it were absurd: if a man be scrupling the plain truth before him, it is in vain to meddle with him. He hath placed another business in his mind; he is saying, "Oh, if we could but exercise wisdom to gain Civil Liberty, — Religion would follow!" [His Highness thinks Religion will precede, — as I hope thou also, in a sense, emphatically thinkest. His Highness does not much affect Constitution-builders, Oceana Harringtons, and Members of the Rota Club. Here, however, he has his eye principally upon the late Parliament, with its Constitution-

Of the Insurrectionary persons, and the general Miscellany who favour the Popish Interests; it is on these more than on Papists proper that bis Highness is now again coming to glance.
** Present official positions.

pedantries and parchments.] Certainly there are such men, who are not maliciously blind, whom God, for some cause, exercises. Yes, your Highness: we poor Moderns have had whole shoals of them, and still have. - in the later sections of that same "work" you are engaged in.] It cannot be expected that they should do anything! [Profound silence.] These men, — they must demonstrate that they are in bonds. — Could we have carried it thus far, if we had sat disputing in that manner? I must profess I reckon that difficulty more than all the wrestling with flesh and blood. [What could so tru one as that Pedant Parliament did; disputing, doling out nennyweights of distilled constitution; and Penruddock. Charles Stuart and the Spaniards waiting momentarily to come in, with Ate and the Scarlet Woman in their rear?] Doubting, hesitating men, they are not fit for your work. You must not expect that men of hesitating spirits, under the bondage of scruples, will be able to carry on this work, much less such as are merely carnal, natural; such as having an "outward profession of Godliness," whom the Apostle speaks of so often, "are "enemies to the cross of Christ; whose god is their "belly; whose glory is in their shame; who mind "earthly things." [A really frightful kind of character; and not yet obsolete, though its dialect is changed! Do you think these men will rise to such a spiritual heat for the Nation as shall carry you a Cause like this; as will meet 'and defy' all the oppositions that the Devil and wicked men can make? Not to BE expected, your Highness; not at all. And yet we, two-hundred years later, how do we go on expecting it, - by the aid of Ballot-boxes, Reform-Club Attorneys, &c. &c. 1]

Give me leave to tell you, — those that are called

to this work, it will not depend 'for them' upon formalities, nor notions, nor speeches! [A certain truculency on his Highness's visage.] I do not look the work should be done by these. 'No;' but by men of honest hearts, engaged to God; strengthened by Providence; enlightened in His words, to know His Word, — to which He hath set His Seal, sealed with the blood of His Son, with the blood of His Servants: that is such a spirit as will carry on this work. [Scant in the Pedant Parliament, scant in the Rota Club; not to be found in the Reform-Club Attorney, or his Ballot-box, at all.]

Therefore I beseech you, do not dispute of unnecessary and unprofitable things which may divert you from carrying on so glorious a work as this is. I think every objection that ariseth is not to be answered; nor have I time for it. I say, Look up to God; have peace among yourselves. Know assuredly that if I have interest,* I am by the voice of the People the Supreme Magistrate; [We will have no disputing about that, - you are aware!] and, it may be, do know somewhat that might satisfy my conscience, if I stood in doubt! But it is a union, really it is a union, 'this' between you and me: and both of us united in faith and love to Jesus Christ, and to His peculiar Interest in the world, -- that must ground this work. And in that, if I have any peculiar Interest which is personal to myself, which is not subservient to the Public end, - it were not an extravagant thing for me to curse myself: because I know God will curse me, if I have! [Look in that countenance of his Highness! I have learned too much of God, to dally with Him, and to be bold with Him, in these things. And I hope I never shall be bold with Him; -

[•] Means "if you see me in power."

though I can be bold with men, if Christ be pleased to assist!

I say, if there be love between us, so that the Nations* may say, "These are knit together in one "bond, to promote the glory of God against the Com-"mon Enemy; to suppress everything that is Evil, and "encourage whatsoever is of Godliness," - yea, the Nation will bless you! And really that and nothing else will work-off these Disaffections from the minds of men; which are great, - perhaps greater than all the 'other' oppositions you can meet with. I do know what I say. When I speak of these things, I speak my heart before God: — and, as I said before, I dare not be bold with Him. I have a little faith: I have a little lived by faith, and therein I may be "bold." If I spoke other than the affections and secrets of my heart. I know He would not bear it at my hands! [Deep silence; his Highness's voice, in sonorous bass, alone audible in the Painted Chamber.] Therefore in the fear and name of God: Go on, with love and integrity, against whatever arises of contrary to those ends which you know and have been told of; and the blessing of God go with you, — and the blessing of God will go with you! [Amen!]

I have but one thing more to say. I know it is troublesome: — But I did read a Psalm yesterday; which truly may not unbecome both me to tell you of, and you to observe. It is the Eighty-fifth Psalm;** it is very instructive and significant: and though I do

^{*} The Three Nations.
** Historical: Tuesday, 16th Sept. 1656; Oliver Protector reading the Eightyfifth Psalm in Whitehall. We too might read it; but as his Highness recites it all here except one short verse, it is not so necessary.

but a little touch upon it, I desire your perusal at pleasure. [We will many of us read it, this night; almost all of us, with one view or the other; — and some of us may sing a part of it at evening worship.]

It begins: "Lord, Thou hast been very favourable "to Thy Land; Thou hast brought back the captivity "of Jacob. Thou hast forgiven the iniquity of Thy "People; Thou hast covered all their sin. Thou hast "taken away all the fierceness of Thy wrath: Thou "hast turned Thyself from the fierceness of Thine "anger. Turn us, O God of our salvation, and cause "Thine anger toward us to cease. Wilt thou be angry "with us forever; wilt Thou draw out Thine anger to "all generations? Wilt Thou not revive us again, that "Thy People may rejoice in Thee?" Then he calls upon God as "the God of his salvation," * and then saith he: "I will hear what God the Lord "will speak: for He will speak peace unto His "People, and to His Saints; but let them not turn "again to folly. Surely His salvation is nigh them "that fear Him;" Oh - "that glory may dwell in "our land! Mercy and Truth are met together; Right-"eousness and Peace have kissed each other. Truth "shall spring out of the Earth, and Righteousness shall "look down from Heaven. Yea the Lord shall give "that which is good, and our Land shall yield her in-"crease. Righteousness shall go before Him, and shall "set us in the way of His steps." [What a vision of celestial hope is this: vista into Lands of Light, God's Will done on Earth; this poor English Earth an Emblem of Heaven; where God's Blessing reigns supreme; where ghastly Falsity and brutal Greed and Baseness, and

^{*} Verse 7, "Show us Thy mercy, O Lord, and grant us Thy salvation."

Cruelty and Covoardice, and Sin and Fear, and all the Helldogs of Gehenna shall lie chained under our feet; and Man, august in divine manhood, shall step victorious over them, heavenward, like a god! O Oliver, I could weep, - and yet it steads not. Do not I too look into "Psalms," into a kind of Eternal Psalm, unalterable as adamant, which the whole world yet will look into? Courage, my brave one!]

Truly I wish that this Psalm, as it is written in the Book, might be better written in our hearts. That we might say as David, "Thou hast done this." and "Thou hast done that;" "Thou hast pardoned our "sins; Thou hast taken away our iniquities!" Whither can we go to a better God? For "He hath done it." It is to Him any Nation may come in their extremity, for the taking away of His wrath. How did He do it? "By pardoning their sins, by taking away their iniquities!" If we can but cry unto Him, He will "turn and take away our sins." — Then let us listen to Him. Then let us consult, and meet in Parliament; and ask Him counsel, and hear what He saith, "for He will speak peace unto His People." If you be the People of God, He will speak peace; — and we will not turn again to folly.

"Folly:" a great deal of grudging in the Nation that we cannot have our horse-races, cock-fightings, and the like! [Abolished, suspended, for good reasons!] I do not think these are lawful, except to make them recreations. That we will not endure 'for necessary ends' [For preventing Royalist Plots, and such like] to be abridged of them: - Till God hath brought us to another spirit than this, He will not bear with us. Ay, 'but He bears with them in France:" "they in France are so and so!" - Have they the Gospel as we have? They have seen the sun but a little; we have great lights. — If God give you a spirit of Reformation, you will preserve this Nation from "turning again" to those fooleries: - and what will the end be? Comfort and blessing. Then "Mercy and Truth shall meet together." Here is a great deal of "truth" among professors, but very little "mercy!" They are ready to cut the throats of one another. But when we are brought into the right way, we shall be merciful as well as orthodox: and we know who it is that saith, "If a man could "speak with the tongues of men and angels, and yet "want that, he is but sounding brass and a tinkling "cymbal!" ---

Therefore I beseech you in the name of God, set your hearts to this 'work.' And if you set your hearts to it, then you will sing Luther's Psalm.* That is a rare Psalm for a Christian! - and if he set his heart open, and can approve it to God, we shall hear him say, "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in time of trouble." If Pope and Spaniard, and Devil and all, set themselves against us, - though they

^{*} Psalm Forty-sixth; of which Luther's Paraphrase, Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott, is still very celebrated. Here is the original Psalm:

"God is our refuge and strength; a very present help in trouble; there"fore we will not fear, — though the Earth be removed, and though the
"mountains be carried into the midst of the sea; though the waters roar
"and be troubled; though the mountains shake with the swelling thereoft

[&]quot;There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the City of "God, the Holy Place of the Tabernacles of the Most High. God is in the "midst of her; she shall not be moved: God shall help her, and that right "early. The Heather raged, the Kingdoms were moved: the uttered His "voice, the Earth melted. The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob " is our refuge.

[&]quot;Come behold the works of the Lord, what desolations He hath made "in the Earth! He maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the Earth! He "breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; He burneth the "charlot in the fire: — Be still, and know that I am God; I will be exalted "among the Heathen, I will be exalted in the Earth! The Lord of Hosts "is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge."

should "compass us like bees," as it is in the Hundredand-eighteenth Psalm, - yet in the name of the Lord we should destroy them! And, as it is in this Psalm of Luther's: "We will not fear, though the Earth be re-"moved, and though the mountains be carried into the "middle of the sea; though the waters thereof roar and "be troubled; though the mountains shake with the "swelling thereof." [A terrible scene indeed: - but there is something in the Heart of Man, then, greater than any "scene;" which in the Name of the Highest, can defy any "scene" or terror whatsoever? "Yea," answers the Hebrew David; "Yea," answers the German Luther; "Yea," the English Cromwell. The Ages responsive to one another; soul hailing soul across the dead Abysses; deep calling unto deep.] "There is a river, the streams "whereof shall make glad the City of God. God is in "the midst of her; she shall not be moved." [No!] Then he repeats two or three times, "The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge." [What are the King of Spain, Charles Stuart, Joseph Wagstaff, Chancellor Hyde, and your triple-hatted Chimera at Rome? What is the Devil in General, for that matter, - the still very extensive Entity called "Devil," with all the force he can raise?

I have done. All I have to say is, To pray God that He may bless you with His presence; that He who hath your hearts and mine would show His presence in the midst of us.

I desire you will go together, and choose your Speaker.§

[§] Burton's Diary, i., Introd. pp. clviii.-clxxix. (from Additional Ayscough uss. no. 6125).

The latest of the Commentators expresses himself in reference to this Speech in the following singular way:

"No Royal Speech like this was ever delivered elsewhere "in the world! It is, — with all its prudence, and it is very "prudent, sagacious, courteous, right royal in spirit, — per"haps the most artless transparent piece of Public Speaking "this Editor has ever studied. Rude, massive, genuine; like "a block of unbeaten gold. A Speech not so fit for Drury "Lane, as for Valhalla, and the Sanhedrim of the Gods. The "man himself, and the England he presided over, there and "then, are to a singular degree visible in it; open to our eyes, "to our sympathies. He who would see Oliver, will find more "of him here than in most of the history-books yet written "about him.

"On the whole, the cursory modern Englishman cannot be "expected to read this Speech: - and yet it is pity; the "Speech might do him good, if he understood it. We shall "not again hear a Supreme Governor talk in this strain: the "dialect of it is very obsolete; much more than the grammar "and diction, forever obsolete, - not to my regret the dialect "of it. But the spirit of it is a thing that should never have "grown obsolete. The spirit of it will have to revive itself "again; and shine out in new dialect and vesture, in infinitely "wider compass, wide as God's known Universe now is. - if "it please Heaven! Since that spirit went obsolete, and men "took to 'dallying' with the Highest, to 'being bold' with "the Highest, and not 'bold with men' (only Belial, and not "'Christ' in any shape, assisting them), we have had but "sorry times, in Parliament and out of it. There has not "been a Supreme Governor worth the meal upon his periwig, "in comparison, — since this spirit fell obsolete. How could "there? Belial is a desperately bad sleeping-partner in any "concern whatever! Cant did not ever yet, that I know of, "turn ultimately to a good account, for any man or thing. "May the Devil swiftly be compelled to call-in large masses "of our current stock of Cant, and withdraw it from circula-"tion! Let the people 'run for gold,' as the Chartists say;

"demand Veracity, Performance, instead of mealy-mouthed "Speaking; and force him to recall his Cant. Thank Heaven, "stern Destiny, merciful were it even to death, does now "compel them verily to 'run for gold:' Cant in all directions "is swiftly ebbing into the Bank it was issued by."

Speech being ended, the Honourable Members "went to the House," says Bulstrode; and in the Lobby, with considerable crowding I think, "received, from the Chancery Clerk, Certificates in this form,"—for instance:

"COUNTY OF BUCKS. These are to certify that" Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke "is returned by Indenture one of the Knights to serve "in this present Parliament for the said County, and approved by "his Highness's Council. NATH. TAYLEB, Clerk of the Common-"wealth in Chancery."

Mr. Tayler has received Four-hundred "Indentures" from Honourable Gentlemen; but he does not give out Four-hundred "Certificates," he only gives Three-hundred and odd. Near One-hundred Honourable Gentlemen can get no Certificate from Mr. Tayler, — none provided for you; — and without Certificate there is no admittance. Soldiers stand ranked at the door; no man enters without his Certificate! Astonishing to see. Haselrig, Scott and the stiff Republicans, Ashley Cooper and the turbulent persons, who might have leavened this Parliament into strange fermentation, cannot, it appears, get in! No admittance here: saw Honourable Gentlemen ever the like? —

The most flagrant violation of the Privileges of Parliament that was ever known! exclaim they. A sore blow to Privilege indeed. With which the Honourable House, shorn of certain limbs in this rude way, knows not well what to do. The Clerk of the Commonwealth, being summoned, answers what he can; Nathaniel Fiennes, for the Council of State, answers what he can: the Honourable House, actually intent on Settling the Nation, has to reflect that in real truth this will be a

^{*} Whitlocke, p. 639.

great furtherance thereto; that matters do stand in an anomalous posture at present: that the Nation should and must be settled. The Honourable House, with an effort, swallows this injury; directs the petitioning Excluded Members "to apply to the Council."* The Excluded Members, or some one Excluded Member, redacts an indignant Protest, with all the names appended; ** prints it, privately circulates it, "in boxes sent by carriers, a thousand copies in a box:" - and there it rests; his Highness saying nothing to it; the Honourable House and the Nation saying nothing. In this Parliament, different from the last, we trace a real desire for Settlement.

As the power of the Major-Generals, "in about two months hence."*** or three months hence, was, on hint of his Highness himself, to the joy of Constitutional England, withdrawn, we may here close Part Ninth. Note first, however, as contemporary with this event, the glorious news we have from Blake and Montague at sea; who, in good hour, have at last got hold of a Spanish Fleet, and in a tragic manner burnt it, and taken endless silver therein. + News of the fact comes in the beginning of October: in the beginning of November comes, as it were, the fact itself, - some Eight-andthirty wagonloads of real silver: triumphantly jingling up from Portsmouth, across London pavements to the Tower, to be coined into current English money there. The Antichrist King of Spain has lost Lima by an earthquake, and infinite silver there also. Heaven's vengeance seems awaken-"Never," say the old Newspapers, ++ "never was there "a more terrible visible Hand of God in judgment upon any

Commons Journals, vii. 424, 5, 6 (Sept. 18th-22d).
 Copy of it and them in Whitlocke, pp. 641-3; see also Thurlos, v. 456,

^{**}Copy of it and them in Whitlocke, pp. 641-3; see also Thurlos, v. 406, 490.

***A Kimber, p. 211. The real date and circumstances may be seen in Burton's Diary, i. 310 (7th Jan. 1656-7), Commons Journals, vii. 483 (29th Jan.); compared with Ludlow, ii. 581. 2. See Godwin, iv. 328.

† Captain Stayner's Letter (9th Sept. 1656, Thurlos, v. 399); General Montague's Letter (16 p. 443); Whitlocke, p. 643; &c.

†† 6th October (in Cromwelliana, p. 160).

"People, since the time of Sodom and Gomorrah! Great is "the Lord; marvellous are His doings, and to be had in "reverence of all the Nations." England holds universal Thanksgiving Day; sees Eight-and-thirty wagonloads of silver, sees hope of Settlement, sees Major-Generals abolished; and piously blesses Heaven.

END OF VOL. III.

COLLECTION

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BRITISH AUTHORS.

VOL. 563.

OLIVER CROMWELL'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES

THOMAS CARLYLE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.





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WITH ELUCIDATIONS.

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BERNHARD TAUCHNITZ
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OLIVER CROMWELL'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES.

PART X.

SECOND PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT.

1657-1658.

LETTERS CCXV., CCXVI.

Two Letters near each other in date, and now by accident brought contiguous in place; which offer a rather singular contrast; the one pointing as towards the Eternal Heights, the other as towards the Tartarean Deeps! Between which two Extremes the Life of men and Lord Protectors has to pass itself in this world, as wisely as it can. Let us read them, and hasten over to the new Year Fifty-Seven, and last Department of our subject.

LETTER CCXV.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, or the Municipal Authorities there, as we may perceive, are rather of the Independent judgment; and have a little dread of some encouragement his Highness has been giving to certain of the Presbyterian sect in those parts. This Letter ought to be sufficient reassurance.

To the Mayor of Newcastle: To be communicated to the Aldermen and others whom it doth concern.

Whitehall, 18th December 1656.

Gentlemen, and my very good Friends,
My Lord Strickland, who is one of our Council,
did impart to us a Letter written from yourselves to

Cartule. Cromwell. IV.

him, according to your desire therein expressed; which occasions this return from us to you.

As nothing that may reflect to the prejudice of your outward Good, either Personal or as you are a Civil Government, shall easily pass with us; so, much less what shall tend to your discouragement, as you are Saints, to your Congregations, gathered in that way of fellowship commonly known by the name of Independents, whether of one judgment or other: — 'this' shall be far from being actually discountenanced, or passively 'left to' suffer damage, by any applying themselves to me. I do, once for all, give you to understand, that I should thereby destroy and disappoint one of the main ends for which God hath planted me in the station I am in.

Wherefore I desire you in that matter to rest secure. True it is that two Ministers, one Mr. Cole and one Mr. Pye, did present to me a Letter in the name of divers Ministers of Newcastle, the Bishoprick of Durham and Northumberland; of an honest and Christian purpose: the sum whereof I extracted, and returned an Answer thereunto; — a true Copy whereof I send you here enclosed. By which I think it will easily appear, that the consideration of my kindness is well deserved by them; provided they observe the condition 'there' expressed; which in charity I am bound to believe they will; and without which their own consciences and the world will know how to judge of them.

Having said this, I, or rather the Lord, require of you, That you walk in all peaceableness and gentleness, inoffensiveness, truth and love towards them, as becomes the Servants and Churches of Christ. Know-

ing well that Jesus Christ, of whose diocese both they and you are, expects it. Who, when He comes to gather His People, and to make Himself "a name and "praise amongst all the people of the earth." — He "will save her that halteth, and gather her that was "driven out, and will get them praise and fame in "every land, where they have been put to shame."* And such "lame ones" and "driven-out ones" were not the Independents only, and Presbyterians, a few years since, by the Popish and Prelatical Party in these Nations; but such are and have been the Protestants in all lands, - persecuted, and faring alike with you, in all the Reformed Churches. And therefore, knowing your charity to be as large as all the Flock of Christ who are of the same Hope and Faith of the Gospel with you; I thought fit to commend these few words to you; - being well assured it is written in your heart, So to do with this that I shall stand by you in the maintaining of all your just privileges to the uttermost.

And committing you to the blessing of the Lord, I rest,

> Your loving friend, OLIVER P. &

LETTER CCXVL

CARDINAL MAZARIN, the governing Minister of France in those days, is full of compliance for the Lord Protector; whom, both for the sake of France and for the Cardinal's sake, it is very requisite to keep in good humour. On France's score, there is Treaty with France, and War with its enemy Spain; on the Cardinal's are obscure Court-intrigues, Queen-

Zephaniah, iii. 19, 20.
 Thurloe, v. 714: in Secretary Thurloe's hand.

mothers, and one knows not what: in brief, the subtle Cardinal has found, after trial of the opposite course too, that friendship, or even at times obedient-servantship to Cromwell, will be essentially advantageous to him.

Some obscure quarrel has fallen-out between Charles Stuart and the Duke of York his Brother. Quarrel complicated with open politics, with Spanish War and Royalist Revolt, on Oliver's side; with secret Queen-mothers, and back-stairs diplomacies, on the Cardinal's: - of which there flit, in the dreariest manner, this and the other enigmatic vestige in the night-realm of Thurloe; * and which is partly the subject of this present Letter. A Letter unique in two respects. It is the only one we have of Oliver Cromwell, the English Puritan King, to Giulio Mazarini, the Sicilian-French Cardinal, and King of Shreds and Patches; ** who are a very singular pair of Correspondents brought together by the Destinies! It is also the one glimpse we have from Oliver himself of the subterranean Spy-world, in which by a hard necessity so many of his thoughts had to dwell. Oliver, we find, cannot quite grant Toleration to the Catholics; but he is well satisfied with this "our weightiest affair," - not without weight to me at least, who sit expecting Royalist Insurrections backed by Spanish Invasions, and have Assassins plotting for my life at present "on the word of a Christian King!"—

Concerning the "affair" itself, and the personages engaged in it, let us be content that they should continue spectral for us, and dwell in the subterranean Night-realm which belongs to them. The "Person" employed from England, if anybody should be curious about him, is one Colonel Bamfield, once a flaming Presbyterian Royalist, who smuggled the Duke of York out of this Country in woman's clothes; and now lives as an Oliverian Spy, very busy making mischief for the Duke of York. "Berkley" is the Sir John Berkley who

• iv. 506; v. 753; &c. &c.

^{**} Three insignificant official Notes to him: in Appendix, Nos. 29, 80.

rode with Charles First to the Isle of Wight long since: * the Duke of York's Tutor at present. Of "Lockhart," Oliver's Ambassador in France, we shall perhaps hear again. The others. - let them continue spectral to us. Let us conceive. never so faintly, that their "affair" is to maintain in the Duke of York some Anti-Spanish notion: notion of his having a separate English interest, independent of his Brother's, perhaps superior to it; wild notion, of one or the other sort, which will keep the quarrel wide: - as accordingly we find it did for many months, ** whatever notion it was. We can then read with intelligence sufficient for us.

'To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin.'

'Whitehall.' 26th December 1656.

The obligations, and many instances of affection, which I have received from your Eminency, do engage 'me' to make returns suitable to your merits. But although I have this set home upon my spirit, I may not (shall I tell you, I cannot?) at this juncture of time, and as the face of my affairs now stands, answer to your call for Toleration.***

I say, I cannot, as to a public Declaration of my sense in that point; although I believe that under my Government your Eminency, in the behalf of Catholics, has less reason for complaint as to rigour upon men's consciences than under the Parliament. For I have of some, and those very many, had compassion; making Truly I have (and I may speak it with a difference. cheerfulness in the presence of God, who is a witness within me to the truth of what I affirm) made a difference; and, as Jude speaks, "plucked many out of the fire," + - the raging fire of persecution, which did

Antea, i.\ 298.
 Thurloe, iv. v. vi.: see also Biog. Brit. (2d edition), ii. 154.
 To the Catholics here.

[†] Verses 22, 23: a most remarkable Epistle, to which his Highness often enough solemnly refers, as we have seen.

tyrannise over their consciences, and encroached by an arbitrariness of power upon their estates. And herein it is my purpose, as soon as I can remove impediments, and some weights that press me down, to make a farther progress, and discharge my promise to your Eminency in relation to that.

And now I shall come to return your Eminency thanks for your judicious choice of that Person to whom vou have entrusted our weightiest Affair: an Affair wherein your Eminency is concerned, though not in an equal degree and measure with myself. I must confess that I had some doubts of its success, till Providence cleared them to me by the effects. I was, truly, and to speak ingenuously, not without doubtings; and shall not be ashamed to give your Eminency the grounds I had for much doubting. I did fear that Berkley would not have been able to go through and carry on that work; and that either the Duke would have cooled in his suit,* or condescended to his Brother. I doubted also that those Instructions which I sent over with 290** were not clear enough as to expressions; some affairs here denying me leisure at that time to be so particular as, 'in regard' to some circumstances, I would. — If I am not mistaken in his 'the Duke's' character, as I received it from your Eminency, that fire which is kindled between them will not ask bellows to blow it, and keep it burning. But what I think farther necessary in this matter I will send 'to' your Eminency by Lockhart.

And now I shall boast to your Eminency my se* His suit, I understand, was for leave to continue in France; an Anti-

Spanish notion.

** Cipher for some Man's Name, now undecipherable; to all appearance
Pampfeld.

curity upon a well-builded confidence in the Lord: for I distrust not but if this breach 'be' widened a little more, and this difference fomented, with a little caution in respect of the persons to be added to it, — I distrust not but that Party, which is already forsaken of God as to an outward dispensation of mercies, and noisome to their countrymen, will grow lower in the opinion of all the world.

If I have troubled your Eminency too long in this, you may impute it to the resentment of joy which I have for the issue of this Affair; and 'I' will conclude with giving you assurance that I will never be backward in demonstrating, as becomes your brother and confederate, that I am,

Your servant, OLIVER P.§

SPEECH VI.

SINDERCOMB.

The Spanish Invasion and Royalist Insurrection once more came to no effect: on mature judgment of the case, it seemed necessary to have Oliver Protector assassinated first; and that, as usual, could not be got done. Colonel Sexby, the frantic Anabaptist, he and others have been very busy; "riding among his Highness's escort" in Hyde Park and elsewhere, with fleet horses, formidable weapons, with "gatehinges ready filed through," if the deed could have been done; — but it never could. Sexby went over to Flanders again, for fresh consultations; left the assassination-affair in other hands, with 1,600% of ready money, "on the faith of a Christian King." Quartermaster Sindercomb takes Sexby's

[§] Thurloe, v. 735. In the possession of a "Mr. Theophilus Rowe of Hampstead in Middlesex," says Birch. Where did Rowe get it? Is it in the original hand, or only a copy? Birch is silent even sat to the latter point. The style sufficiently declares it to be a genuine Letter.

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place in this great enterprise; finds, he too, that there is nothing but failure in it.

Miles Sindercomb, now a cashiered Quartermaster living about Town, was once a zealous Deptford lad, who enlisted to fight for Liberty, at the beginning of these Wars. He fought strongly on the side of Liberty, being an earnest fierce young fellow; - then gradually got astray into Levelling courses, and wandered ever deeper there, till daylight forsook him, and it became quite dark. He was one of the desperate misguided Corporals, or Quartermasters, doomed to be shot at Burford, seven years ago: but he escaped overnight, and was not shot there; took service in Scotland; got again to be Quartermaster; was in the Overton Plot, for seizing Monk and marching into England, lately: whereupon Monk cashiered him: and he came to Town; lodged himself here, in a sulky threadbare manner, - in Alsatia or elsewhere. A gloomy man and Ex-Quartermaster; has become one of Sexby's people, "on the faith of a Christian King;" nothing now left of him but the fierceness, groping some path for itself in the utter dark. Henry Toope, one of his Highness's Lifeguard, gives us, or will give us, an inkling of Sindercomb; and we know something of his courses and inventions, which are many. He rode in Hyde Park, among his Highness's escort, with Sexby; but the deed could not then be done. Leave me the 1,600l., said he; and I will find a way to do it. Sexby left it him, and went abroad.

Inventive Sindercomb then took a House in Hammersmith; Garden-House, I think, "which had a banqueting-room looking into the road;" road very narrow at that part; — road from Whitehall to Hampton Court on Saturday afternoons. Inventive Sindercomb here set about providing blunderbusses of the due explosive force, — ancient "infernal-machines," in fact, — with these he will blow his Highness's self into small pieces, if it please Heaven. It did not please Heaven, — probably not Henry Toope of his Highness's Lifeguard. This first scheme proved a failure.

Inventive Sindercomb, to justify his 1,600%, had to try

something. He decided to fire Whitehall by night, and have a stroke at his Highness in the tumult. He has "a hundred swift horses. two in a stable, up and down:" - set a hundred stout ruffians on the back of these, in the nocturnal fire; and Thursday, 8th January 1656-7; that is to be the Night. On the dusk of Thursday, January 8th, he with old-trooper Cecil, his second in the business, attends Public Worship in Whitehall Chapel: is seen loitering there afterwards. "near the Lord Lambert's seat." Nothing more is seen of him: but about half-past eleven at night, the sentinel on guard catches a smell of fire; — finds holed wainscots, picked locks; a basket of the most virulent wildfire, "fit almost to burn through stones," - with lit match slowly creeping towards it. computed to reach it in some half-hour hence, about the stroke of midnight! - His Highness is summoned, the Council is summoned; - alas, Toope of the Lifeguard is examined, and Sindercomb's lodging is known. Just when the wildfire should have blazed, two Guardsmen wait upon Sindercomb; seize him, not without hard defence on his part, "wherein his nose was nearly cut off;" bring him to his Highness. Toope testifies; Cecil peaches: - inventive Sindercomb has failed for the last time. To the Tower with him, to a jury of his country with him! - The emotion in the Parliament and in Public, next morning, was great. It had been proposed to ring an alarm at the moment of discovery, and summon the Trainbands; but his Highness would not hear of it.*

This Parliament, really intent on settling the Nation, could not want for emotions in regard to such a matter! Parliament adjourns for a week, till the roots of the Plot are investigated somewhat. Parliament, on reassembling, appoints a day of Thanksgiving for the Nation; Friday come four weeks, which is February 20th, that shall be the general Thanksgiving Day: and in the mean time we decide to go over in a body, and congratulate his Highness. A mark of great respect to him. **

^{*} Burton, i. 322, 3, 355; Official Narrative (in Cromwelliana, pp. 160, 161); State-Trials, v. § Sindercomb.

** Commons Journals, vii. 481, 484, 493; Burton's Diary, i. 369, 377.

Parliament accordingly goes over in a body, with mellifluous Widdrington, whom they have chosen for Speaker, at their head, to congratulate his Highness. It is Friday 23d January 1656-7; about Eleven in the morning; scene, Banqueting-house, Whitehall. Mellifluous Widdrington's congratulation, not very prolix, exists in abstract;* but we suppress it. Here is his Highness's Reply; — rather satisfactory to the reader. We have only to regret that in passing from the Court up to the Banqueting-house, "part of an ancient wooden staircase," or balustrade of a staircase, "long exposed to the weather, gave way in the crowding;"** and some honourable Gentlemen had falls, though happily nobody was seriously hurt. Mellifluous Widdrington having ended, his Highness answers:

Mr. SPEAKER,

I confess with much respect, that you have put this trouble on yourselves upon this occasion: - but I perceive there be two things that fill me full of sense. One is, The mercy on a poor unworthy creature; the second is, This great and, as I said, unexpected kindness of Parliament, in manifesting such a sense thereof as this is which you have now expressed. I speak not this with compliment! That which detracts from the thing, in some sense, is the inconsiderableness and unworthiness of the person that hath been the object and subject of this deliverance, to wit, myself. I confess ingenuously to you, I do lie under the daily sense of my unworthiness and unprofitableness, as I have expressed to you: and if there be, as I most readily acknowledge there is, a mercy in it to me, I wish I may never reckon it on any other account than this, That

^{*} Burton, ii. 488.

** Cromwelliana, p. 162. See Thurloe (vi. 49), and correct poor Noble (i. 161), who, with a double or even triple blunder, says my Lord Richard Cromwell had his leg broken on this occasion, and dates it August 1657.

the life that is lengthened, may be spent and improved to His honour who hath vouchsafed the mercy, and to the service of you, and those you represent.

I do not know, nor did I think it would be very seasonable for me, to say much to you upon this occasion; being a thing that ariseth from yourselves. Yet, methinks, the kindness you bear should kindle a little desire in me; even at this present, to make a short return. And, as you have been disposed hither by the Providence of God; to congratulate my mercy; so give me leave in a very word or two, to congratulate with you. [Rusty, but sincere.]

Congratulations are ever conversant about good, bestowed upon men, or possessed by them. Truly, I shall in a word or two congratulate you with good you are in possession of, and in some respect, I also with you. God hath bestowed upon you, and you are in possession of it, - Three Nations, and all that appertains to them. Which in either a geographical, or topical consideration, are Nations. [Indisputably!] In which also there are places of honour and consideration, not inferior to any in the known world, - without vanity it may be spoken. Truly God hath not made so much soil, furnished with so many blessings, in vain! [Here is an idea of one's own.] But it is a goodly sight, if a man behold it uno intuitu. And therefore this is a possession of yours, worthy of congratulation.

This is furnished, — give me leave to say, for I believe it is true, — with the best People in the world, possessing so much soil. A People in civil rights, — in respect of their rights and privileges, — very an-

cient and honourable. And in this People, in the midst of this People, 'you have, what is still more precious,' a People (I know every one will hear 'and acknowledge' it) that are to God "as the apple of His eye," — and He says so of them, be they many, or be they few! But they are many. A People of the blessing of God; a People under His safety and protection. A People calling upon the Name of the Lord; which the Heathen do not. A People knowing God; and a People (according to the ordinary expressions) fearing God. [We hope so!] And you have of this no parallel; no, not in all the world! You have in the midst of you glorious things.

Glorious things: for you have Laws and statutes, and ordinances, which, though not all of them so conformable as were to be wished to the Law of God, yet, on all hands, pretend not to be long rested-in further than as they are conformable to the just and righteous Laws of God. Therefore, I am persuaded, there is a heart and spirit in every good man to wish they did all of them answer the Pattern. [Yea!] I cannot doubt but that which is in the heart will in due time break forth. [And we shall actually have just Laws, your Highness thinks? That endeavours will be 'made' that way, is another of your good things, with which in my heart 'I think' you are worthily to be congratulated. And you have a Magistracy; which, in outward profession, in pretence, in endeavour, doth desire to put life into these Laws. And I am confident that among you will rest the true desire to promote every desire in others, and every endeavour, that hath tended or shall tend to the putting of these Laws in execution.

I do 'also' for this congratulate you: You have a Gospel Ministry among you. That have you! Such an one as, — without vanity I shall speak it; or without caring at all for any favour or respect from them, save what I have upon an account above flattery, or good words, — such an one as hath excelled itself; and, I am persuaded, — to speak with confidence before the Lord, — is the most growing blessing (one of the most growing blessings) on the face of this Nation.

You have a good Eye 'to watch over you,' - and in that I will share with your good favours. A good God: a God that hath watched over you and us. A God that hath visited these Nations with a stretchedout arm: and borne His witness against the unrighteousness and ungodliness of men, against those that 'would' have abused such Nations, - such mercies throughout, as I have reckoned up unto you! A God that hath not only withstood such to the face; but a God that hath abundantly blessed you with the evidence of His goodness and presence. And He "hath done things wonderful amongst us," "by terrible things in right-eousness."* He hath visited us by "wonderful things!" [A Time of Miracle; as indeed all "Times" are, your Highness, when there are MEN alive in them!] In mercy and compassion hath He given us this day of freedom, and liberty to speak this, one to another; and to speak of His mercies, as He hath been pleased to put into our hearts. [Where now are the Star-Chambers, High Commissions, Council-Chambers; pitiless oppressors of God's Gospel in this land? The Hangmen with their whips and red-hot branding-irons, with their Three blood-

^{*} Isaiah, xxv. 1; Psaim lxv. 5.

sprinkled Pillories in Old Palaceyard, and Four clean Surplices at Althallowtide, — where are they? Vanished. Much has vanished; fled from us like the Phantasms of a Nightmare Dream!

Truly, this word in conclusion. If these things be so, give me leave to remember you but one word; which I offered to you with great love and affection the first day of meeting with you, this Parliament. It pleased God to put into my heart then to mention a Scripture to you, which would be a good conclusion of my Speech now at this time to you. It was, That we being met to seek the good of so great an Interest, as I have mentioned, and the glory of that God who is both yours and mine, how could we better do it than by thinking of such words as these, "His salvation is nigh them that fear Him," "that glory may dwell in our land!" I would not comment upon it. I hope I fear Him; - and let us more fear Him! If this 'present' mercy at all doth concern you, as I see it doth, - let me, and I hope you will with me, labour more to fear Him! [Amen!] Then we have done, 'that includes all;' seeing such a blessing as His salvation "is nigh them that fear Him," - seeing we are all of us representatives of all the good of all these lands, 'to endeavour with our whole strength' "that glory may dwell in our land."

'Yes,' if it be so, "Mercy and Truth shall meet together, Righteousness and Peace shall kiss each other." We shall know, you, and I as the father of this family, how to dispose our mercies to God's glory; and how to dispose our severity. How to distinguish between obedient and rebellious children; — and not to do as Eli did, who told his sons "he did not hear well of

them," when perhaps he saw ill by them. And we know the severity of that. And therefore let me say, - though I will not descant upon the words, - that Mercy must be joined with Truth: Truth, in that respect, that we think it our duty to exercise a just severity, as well as to apply kindness and mercy.

And, truly, Righteousness and Mercy must kiss each other. If we will have Peace without a worm in it, lay we foundations of Justice and Righteousness. [Hear this Lord Protector! And if it shall please God so to move you, as that you marry this redoubtable Couple together, Mercy and Truth, Righteousness and Peace, - you will, if I may be free to say so, be blessed whether you will or no! And that you and I may. for the time the Lord shall continue us together, set our hearts upon this, shall be my daily prayer. And I heartily and humbly acknowledge my thankfulness to you. §

On Monday 9th February, Sindercomb was tried by a jury in the Upper Bench; and doomed to suffer as a traitor and assassin, on the Saturday following. The night before Saturday his poor Sister, though narrowly watched, smuggled him some poison: he went to bed, saying, "Well, this is the last time I shall go to bed;" the attendants heard him snore heavily, and then cease; they looked, and he lay dead. "He was of that wretched sect called Soul-Sleepers, who believe that the soul falls asleep at death:"* a gloomy, far-misguided man. They buried him on Tower-hill with due ignominy, and there he rests; with none but Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, or Deceptive-Presbyterian Titus, to sing his praise.**

[§] Burton's Diary (from Lansdown MSS. 755, no. 244), ii. 490-3.

• Cromwelliana, p. 162.

• "Equal to a Roman in virtue," says the noisy Pamphlet Killing no Murder, which seems to have been written by Sexby; though Titus, as adroit King's-Flunkey, at an after-period, saw good to claim it... A

Next Friday, Friday the 20th, which was Thanksgiving Day, "the Honourable House, after hearing two Sermons at "Margaret's Westminster, partook of a most princely Enter-"tainment," by invitation from his Highness, at Whitehall. "After dinner his Highness withdrew to the Cockpit; and "there entertained them with rare music, both of voices and "instruments, till the evening;" his Highness being very fond of music. In this manner end, once more, the grand Assassination projects, Spanish-Invasion projects; unachievable even the Preface of them; — and now we will speak of something else.

LETTER CCXVII.; SPEECHES VII.—XIV.

KINGSHIP.

This Second Protectorate Parliament, at least while the fermenting elements or "hundred Excluded Members" are held aloof from it, unfolds itself to us as altogether reconciled to the rule of Oliver, or even right thankful for it; and really striving towards Settlement of the Nation on that basis. Since the First constitutioning Parliament went its ways, here is a great change among us: three years of successful experiment have thrown some light on Oliver, and his mode of ruling, to all Englishmen. What can a wise Puritan Englishman do but decide on complying with Oliver, on strengthening the hands of Oliver? Is he not verily doing the thing we all wanted to see done? The old Parchments of the case may have been a little hustled, as indeed in a Ten-years Civil War, ending in the Execution of a King, they could hardly fail to be; - but the divine Fact of the case, meseems, is well cared for! Here is a Governing Man, undeniably the most English of Englishmen, the most Puritan of Puritans, - the Pattern Man, I must say, according to the model of that Seventeenth Century in England; and a Great Man, denizen of all the Centuries, or

Pamphlet much noised-of in those months and afterwards; recommending all persons to assassinate Cromwell; — has this merit, considerable or not, and no other worth speaking of.

Newspapers (in Burton, i. 377); Commons Journals, vii. 493.

he could never have been the Pattern one in that. Truly, my friends, I think, you may go farther and fare worse! — To the darkest head in England, even to the assassinative truculent-flunkey head in steeple-hat worn brown, some light has shone out of these three years of Government by Oliver. An uncommon Oliver, even to the truculent-flunkey. If not the noblest and worshipfullest of all Englishmen, at least the strongest and terriblest; with whom really it might be as well to comply; with whom, in fact, there is small hope in not complying! —

For its wise temper and good practical tendency, let us praise this Second Parliament; - admit nevertheless that its History, like that of most Parliaments, amounts to little. This Parliament did what they could: forbore to pester his Highness with quibblings and cavillings and constitution-pedantries; accomplished respectably the Parliamentary routine; voted, what perhaps was all that could be expected of them, some needful modicum of supplies; "debated whether it "should be debated," "put the question whether this question "should be put;" — and in a mild way neutralised one another, and as it were handsomely did nothing, and left Oliver to do. A Record of their proceedings has been jotted down by one of their Members there present, who is guessed rather vaguely by Editorial sagacity to have been "one Mr. Burton." It was saved from the fire in late years, that Record; has been printed under the title of Burton's Diary; and this Editor has faithfully read it, - not without wonder, once more, at the inadequacy of the human pen to convey almost any glimmering of insight to the distant human mind! Alas, the human pen, oppressed by incubus of Parliamentary or other Pedantry, is a most poor matter. At bottom, if we will consider it, this poor Burton, - let us continue to call him "Burton," though that was not his name, - cared nothing about these matters himself; merely jotted them down pedantically, by impulse from without, — that he might seem, in his own eyes and those of others, a knowing person, enviable for insight into facts "of an high nature." And now, by what

possibility of chance, can he interest thee or me about them: now when they have turned out to be facts of no nature at all. - mere wearisome ephemera, and cast-clothes of facts, gone all to dust and ashes now: which the healthy human mind resolutely, not without impatience, tramples under its feet! A Book filled, as so many are, with mere dim inanity, and moaning wind. Will nobody condense it into sixteen pages; instead of four thick octavo volumes? For there are, if you look long, some streaks of dull light shining even through it: perhaps, in judicious hands, one readable sheet of sixteen pages might be made of it; - and even the rubbish of the rest, with a proper Index, might be useful; might at least be left to rot quietly, once it was known to be rubbish. But enough now of poor Mr. Burton and his Diary, - who, as we say, is not "Mr. Burton" at all, if anybody cared to know who or what he was!* Undoubtedly some very dull man. Under chimerical circumstances he gives us, being fated to do it, an inane History of a Parliament now itself grown very inane and chimerical! -

This Parliament, as we transiently saw, suppressed the Major-Generals; refused to authorise their continued "Decimation" or Ten-per-centing of the Royalists;** whereupon they were suppressed. Its next grand feat was that of James Nayler and his Procession which we saw at Bristol lately. Interminable Debates about James Nayler, — excelling in stupor all the Human Speech, even in English Parliaments, this Editor has ever been exposed to. Nayler, in fact, is almost all that survives with one, from Burton, as the sum of what this Parliament did. If they did aught else, the human mind, eager enough to carry off news of them, has mostly dropped it on the way hither. To Posterity they sit there as the James-

Compare the Diary, vol. ii. p. 404, line 2, and vol. ii. p. 347, line 7, with Commons Journals, vii. 588; and again Diary, vol. ii. p. 346, line 13, with Commons Journals, vii. 450, 580: Two Parliament-Committees, on both of which '1' the writer of the Diary sat; in neither of which is there such a name as Burton. Guess rather, if it were worth while to guess, one of the two Suffolk Bacons; most probably Nathaniel Bacon, Master of the "Court of Requests," — a dim old Law-Court fallen obsolete now.
** Commons Journals, 7th to 29th Jan. 1656-7.

Nayler Parliament. Four-hundred Gentlemen of England, and I think a sprinkling of Lords among them, assembled from all Counties and Boroughs of the Three Nations, to sit in solemn debate on this terrific Phenomenon; a Mad Quaker fancying or seeming to fancy himself, what is not uncommon since, a new Incarnation of Christ. Shall we hang him, shall we whip him, bore the tongue of him with hot iron; shall we imprison him, set him to oakum; shall we roast, or boil, or stew him: - shall we put the question whether this question shall be put; debate whether this shall be debated; - in Heaven's name, what shall we do with him, the terrific Phenomenon of Navler? This is the history of Oliver's Second Parliament for three long months and odd. Nowhere does the unfathomable Deep of Dulness which our English character has in it, more stupendously disclose itself. Something almost grand in it; nay, something really grand, though in our impatience we call it "dull." They hold by Use and Wont, these honourable Gentlemen, almost as by Laws of Nature. by Second Nature almost as by First Nature. Pious too; and would fain know rightly the way to new objects by the old roads, without trespass. Not insignificant this English character, which can placidly debate such matters, and even feel a certain smack of delight in them! A massiveness of eupeptic vigour speaks itself there, which perhaps the liveliest wit might envy. Who is there that has the strength of ten oxen. that is able to support these things? Couldst thou debate on Nayler, day after day, for a whole Winter? Thou, if the sky were threatening to fall on account of it, wouldst sink under such labour, appointed only for the oxen of the gods! - The honourable Gentlemen set Nayler to ride with his face to the tail, through various streets and cities; to be whipt (poor Nayler), to be branded, to be bored through the tongue, and then to do oakum ad libitum upon bread-and-water: after which he repented, confessed himself mad, and this worldgreat Phenomenon, visible to Posterity and the West of England, was got winded up.*

[•] Sentence pronounced, Commons Journals, vii. 486, 7 (16th Dec. 1656);

LETTER CCXVII.

.... which, however, and by what power of jurishomourable Gentlemen did it, his Highness has still ... very clear; and Parliaments uncontrolled by a with l'erson have been known to be very tyrannous before www. On Friday 26th December, Speaker Widdrington intithat he is honoured with a Letter from his Highness: and reads the same in these words:

to our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Sir Thomas Widdrington, Speaker of the Parliament: To be communicated to the Parliament.

O. P.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. Having taken notice of a Judgment lately given by Yourselves against one James Nayler: Although We detest and abhor the giving or occasioning the least countenance to persons of such opinions and practices, or who are under the guilt of the crimes commonly imputed to the said Person: Yet We, being entrusted in the present Government, on behalf of the People of these Nations; and not knowing how far such Proceeding, entered into wholly without Us, may extend in the consequence of it, - Do desire that the House will let Us know the grounds and reasons whereupon they have proceeded.

Given at Whitehall, the 25th of December 1656.\$

A pertinent inquiry; which will lead us into new wildernesses of Debate, into ever deeper wildernesses; - and in fact executed in part, Thursday 18th Dec. (ib. 470); — petitions, negotiations on it do not end till May 26th, 1657. James Nayler's Recantation is in Somers Tracts, vi. 22-29.

& Burton, i. 370; see Commons Journals, vil. 475.

into our far notablest achievement, what may be called our little oasis, or island of refuge: That of reconstructing the Instrument of Government upon a more liberal footing, explaining better the boundaries of Parliament's and Single Person's jurisdiction; and offering his Highness the Title of King. —

Readers know what choking dust-whirlwind in certain portions of "the Page of History" this last business has given rise to! Dust-History, true to its nature, has treated this as one of the most important businesses in Oliver's Protectorate: though intrinsically it was to Oliver, and is to us, a mere "feather in a man's cap," throwing no new light on Oliver; and ought to be treated with great brevity indeed, had it not to many thrown much new darkness on him. It is now our painful duty to deal with this matter also; to extricate Oliver's real words and procedure on it from the detestable confusions and lumber-mountains of Human Stupidity, old and recent. under which, as usual, they lie buried. Some Seven, or even Eight, Speeches of Oliver, and innumerable Speeches of other persons on this subject have unluckily come down to us: and cannot yet be consumed by fire; - not yet, till one has painfully extricated the real speakings and proceedings of Oliver, instead of the supposititious jargonings and imaginary dark pettifoggings of Oliver: and asked candid mankind. Whether there is anything particular in them? Mankind answering No. fire can be applied; and mountains of rubbish, yielding or not some fractions of Corinthian brass, may once more be burnt out of men's way.

The Speeches and Colloquies, reported by one knows not whom, upon this matter of the Kingship, which extend from March to May of the year 1657, and were very private at the time, came out two years afterwards as a printed Pamphlet, when Kingship was once more the question, Charles Stuart's Kingship, and men needed incitements thereto. Of course it is with the learned Law-arguments in favour of Kingship that the Pamphleteer is chiefly concerned; the words of Oliver, which again are our sole concern, have been left by him in a

very accidental condition! Most accidental, often enough quite meaningless, distracted, condition; - growing ever more distracted, as each new Imaginary-Editor and unchecked Printer, in succession, did his part to them. Till now in Somers Tracts. * which is our latest form of the business. they strike description silent! Chaos itself is Cosmos in comparison with that Pamphlet in Somers. In or out of Bedlam. we can know well, gods or men never spake to one another in that manner! Oliver Cromwell's meaning is there; and that is not it. () Sluggardship, Imaginary-Editorship, Flunkeyism, Falsehood, Human Platitude in general -! - But we will complain of nothing. Know well, by experience of him, that Oliver Cromwell always had a meaning, and an honest manful meaning; search well for that, after ten or twenty reperusals you will find it even there. Those frightful jungles, trampled down for two centuries now by mere bisons and hoofed cattle, you will begin to see, were once a kind of regularly planted wood! — Let the Editor with all brevity struggle to indicate so much, candid readers doing their part along with him; and so leave it. A happier next generation will then be permitted to seek the aid of fire; and this immense business of the Kingship, throwing little new light, but also no new darkness, upon Oliver Protector, will then reduce itself to very small compass for his Biographers.

Monday, 23d February 1656-7. Amid the Miscellaneous business of this day, Alderman Sir Christopher Pack, one of the Members for London, a zealous man, craves leave to introduce "Somewhat tending to the Settlement of the Nation,"—leave, namely, to read this Paper "which has come to his hand," which is written in the form of a "Remonstrance from the Parliament" to his Highness; which if the Parliament please to adopt, they can modify it as they see good, and present the same to his Highness. Will not the Honourable House consent at least to hear it read? The Honourable House has great doubts on that subject; debates at much length, earnestly puts the question whether the question shall

be put; at length however, after two divisions, and towards nightfall, decides that it will; and even resolves by overwhelming majority "that a candle be brought in." Pack reads his Paper: A new Instrument of Government, or improved Constitution for these Nations; increased powers to the Single Person, intimation of a Second House of Parliament, the Protector something like a King; very great changes indeed! Debate this matter farther to-morrow.

Debate it, manipulate it, day after day, — let us have a Day of Fasting and Prayer on Friday next; for the matter is really important.* On farther manipulation, this "Remonstrance" of Pack's takes improved form, increased development; and, under the name "Petition and Advice presented to his Highness," became famous to the world in those spring months. We can see, the Honourable House has "a very good resentment of it." The Lawyer-party is all zealous for it; certain of the Soldier-party have their jealousies. Already, notwithstanding the official reticence, it is plain to every clear-sighted man they mean to make his Highness King!

Friday, 27th February. "The Parliament keep a Fast "within their own House; Mr. Caryl, Mr. Nye, Mr. Manton, "carrying on the work of the day; it being preparatory to the "great work now on hand of Settling the Nation."** In the course of which same day, with an eye also to the same great work, though to the opposite side of it, there waits upon his Highness, Deputation of a Hundred Officers, Ex-Major-Generals and considerable persons some of them: To signify that they have heard with real dismay of some project now on foot to make his Highness King; the evil effects of which, as "a scandal to the People of God," "hazardous to his High-"ness's person, and making way for the return of Charles "Stuart," are terribly apparent to them!—

Whereto his Highness presently makes answer, with dignity, not without sharpness: "That he now specifically "hears of this project for the first time, — he" (with emphasis

Commons Journals, vii. 496, 7.

^{**} Newspapers (in Burton, i. 380).

on the word, and a look at some individuals there) "has not "been caballing about it, for it or against it. That the Title ""King' need not startle them so dreadfully; inasmuch as some "of them well know" (what the Historical Public never knew before) "it was already offered to him, and pressed upon him, "by themselves when this Government was undertaken. That "the Title King, a feather in a hat, is as little valuable to him "as to them. But that the fact is, they and he have not suc-"ceeded in settling the Nation hitherto, by the schemes they "clamoured for. Their Little Parliament, their First Pro-"tectorate Parliament, and now their Major-Generalcies, have "all proved failures: - nay this Parliament itself, which they "clamoured for, had almost proved a failure. That the Nation "is tired of Major-Generalcies, of uncertain arbitrary ways; "and really wishes to come to a Settlement. That actually "the original Instrument of Government does need mending "in some points. That a House of Lords, or other check upon "the arbitrary tendencies of a Single House of Parliament, "may be of real use: see what they, by their own mere vote "and will, I having no power to check them, have done with "James Navler: may it not be any one's case, some other "day?" That, in short, the Deputation of a Hundred Officers had better go its ways, and consider itself again. - So answered his Highness, with dignity, with cogency, not without sharpness. The Deputation did as bidden. "Three Major-Generals," we find next week, "have already come round. "The House hath gone on with much unity."*

The House in fact is busy, day and night, modelling, manipulating its Petition and Advice. Amid the rumour of England, all through this month of March 1657. "Chief Magistrate for the time being is to name his successor;" so much we hear they have voted. What Title he shall have is still secret; that is to be the last thing. All men may speculate and guess! — Before March ends, the Petition and Advice is got ready; in Eighteen

^{*} Passages between the Protector and the Hundred Officers (in Additional Ayscough Mss. no. 6125; printed in Burton, i. 382-4), a Fragment of a Lotter, bearing date 7th March 1656-7;—to the effect abridged as above.

well-debated Articles; * fairly engrossed on vellum: the Title, as we guessed, is to be King. His Highness shall adopt the whole Document, or no part of it is to be binding.

SPEECH VII.

On Tuesday 31st March 1657, "the House rose at eleven "o'clock, and Speaker Widdrington, attended by the whole "House, repaired to his Highness at Whitehall," ** to present this same Petition and Advice, "engrossed on vellum," and with the Title of "King" recommended to him in it. Banqueting House, Whitehall; that is the scene. Widdrington's long flowery Speech *** is omissible. As the interview began about eleven o'clock, it may now be past twelve; Oliver loquitur:

Mr. Speaker.

This Frame of Government which it hath pleased the Parliament through your hand to offer to me, truly I should have a very brazen forchead if it did not beget in me a great deal of consternation of spirit; it being of so high and great importance as, by your opening of it, + and by the mere reading of it, is manifest to all men; the welfare, the peace and settlement of Three Nations, and all that rich treasure of the best people in the world++ being involved therein! I say, this consideration alone ought to beget in me the greatest reverence and fear of God that ever possessed a man in the world.

Truly I rather study to say no more at this time than is necessary for giving some brief general answer, suitable to the nature of the thing. The thing is of weight; the greatest weight of anything that ever was

^{*} Copy of it in Whitlocke, p. 648 et seqq. *** Commons Journals, vii. 516. *** Burton, i 397-413.

[†] In this long florid speech. †† Us and all the Gospel Protestants in the world.

laid upon a man. And therefore, it being of that weight, and consisting of so many parts as it doth, — in each of which much more than my life is concerned, — truly I think I have no more to desire of you at present, but that you would give me time to deliberate and consider what particular answer I may return to so great a business as this. —

I have lived the latter part of my age in, - if I may say so, — the fire; in the midst of troubles. But all the things that have befallen me since I was first engaged in the affairs of this Commonwealth, if they could be supposed to be all brought into such a compass that I could take a view of them at once, truly I do not think they would 'so move,' nor do I think they ought so to move, my heart and spirit with that fear and reverence of God that becomes a Christian. as this thing that hath now been offered by you to me! - And truly my comfort in all my life hath been that the burdens which have lain heavy on me, they were laid upon me by the hand of God. And I have not known, I have been many times at a loss, which way to stand under the weight of what hath lain upon me: - except by looking at the conduct and pleasure of God in it. Which hitherto I have found to be a good pleasure to me.

And should I give any resolution in this 'matter' suddenly, without seeking to have an answer put into my heart, and so into my mouth, by Him that hath been my God and my Guide hitherto,—it would give you very little cause of comfort in such a choice as you have made [Of me to be King] in such a business as this. It would savour more to be of the flesh, to

proceed from lust, to arise from arguments of self. And if, - whatsoever the issue of this 'great matter' be, -'my decision in' it have such motives in me, have such a rise in me, it may prove even a curse to you and to these Three Nations. Who, I verily believe, have intended well in this business; and have had those honest and sincere aims* towards the glory of God, the good of His People, the rights of the Nation. I verily believe these have been your aims: and God forbid that so good aims should suffer by any dishonesty and indirectness on my part. For although, in the affairs that are in the world, things may be intended well, - as they are always, or for the most, by such as love God, and fear God and make Him their aim (and such honest ends and purposes, I do believe, yours now are); - yet if these considerations** fall upon a person or persons whom God takes no pleasure in; who perhaps may be at the end of his work; [Growing old and weak? Say not that, your Highness! — A kind of pathos, and much dignity and delicacy in these tones - who, to please any of those humours or considerations which are of this world, shall run upon such a rock as this is,*** - without due consideration, without integrity, without approving the heart to God, and seeking an answer from Him; and putting things to Him as if for life and death, that such an answer may be received 'from Him' as may be a blessing to the person [Me] who is to be used for these noble and worthy and honest intentions of the persons [You] that have prepared and

^{*} Subaudi, but do not insert, "which you profess."

** Means "your choice in regard to such purpose;" speaks delicately,
in an oblique way.

*** "is," — or may be: this of the Kingshlp.

perfected this work: — 'why then,' it would be like a match where a good and worthy and virtuous man mistakes in the person he makes love to: and, as often turns out, it proves a curse to the man and to the family, through mistake! And if this should be so to you, and to these Nations, whose good I cannot but be persuaded you have in your thoughts aimed at. why then, it had been better, I am sure of it, that I had never been born! -

I have therefore but this one word to say to you: That seeing you have made progress in this Business, and completed the work on your part, I 'on my side' may have some short time to ask counsel of God and of my own heart. And I hope that neither the humour of any weak unwise people, nor yet the desires of any who may be lusting after things that are not good, shall steer me to give other than such an answer as may be ingenuous and thankful, - thankfully acknowledging your care and integrity; - and such an answer as shall be for the good of those whom I presume you and I serve, and are made for serving.

And truly I may say this also: That as the thing will deserve deliberation, the utmost deliberation and consideration on my part, so I shall think myself bound to give as speedy an answer to these things as

I can. §

SPEECH VIII.

Friday, 3d April 1657. Three days after the foregoing Speech, there comes a Letter from his Highness to Mr. Speaker, the purport of which we gather to have been, that now if a Committee will attend his Highness, they shall have answer to the Petition and Advice. Committee is nominated.

§ Burton's Diary, i. 413-16.

extensive Committee of persons already engaged in this affair, among whom are Lord Broghil, General Montague, Earl of Tweedale, Whalley, Desborow, Whitlocke, and others known to us; they attend his Highness at three o'clock that afternoon; and receive what answer there is, — a negative, but none of the most decided.*

My Lords,

I am heartily sorry that I did not make this desire of mine known to the Parliament sooner; 'the desire' which I acquainted them with, by Letter, this day. The reason was, Because some infirmity of body hath seized upon me these last two days, Yesterday and Wednesday. [It is yet but three days, your Highness.]

I have, as well as I could, taken consideration of the things contained in the Paper, which was presented to me by the Parliament, in the Banqueting-House, on Tuesday last; and sought of God that I might return such an answer as might become me, and be worthy of the Parliament. I must needs bear this testimony to them, That they have been zealous of the two greatest Concernments that God hath in the world. The one is that of Religion, and of the just preservation of the professors of it; to give them all due and just Liberty; and to assert the Truth of God; - which you have done, in part, in this Paper; and do refer it more fully to be done by yourselves and me. And as to the Liberty of men professing Godliness, you have done that which was never done before! And I pray it may not fall upon the People of God as a fault in them, in any sort of them, if they do not put such a value upon this that is now done as never was put on

^{*} Commons Journals, vii. 519, 20; Burton, i. 417.

anything since Christ's time, for such a Catholic interest of the People of God! [Liberty in non-essentials; Freedom to all peaceable Believers in Christ to worship in such outward form as they will; a very "Catholic interest" indeed.] The other thing cared for is, the Civil Liberty and Interest of the Nation. Which though it is, and indeed I think ought to be, subordinate to the more peculiar Interest of God, — yet it is the next best God hath given men in this world; and if well cared-for, it is better than any rock to fence men in their other interests. Besides, if any whosoever think the Interest of Christians and the Interest of the Nation inconsistent, 'or two different things,' I wish my soul may never enter into their secrets! [We will take another course than theirs, your Highness!]

These are things I must acknowledge Christian and honourable; and they are provided for by you like Christian men and also men of honour, - like yourselves. English men. And to this I must and shall bear my testimony, while I live, against all gainsayers whatsoever. And upon these Two Interests, if God shall account me worthy, I shall live and die. And I must say. If I were to give an account before a greater Tribunal than any earthly one; if I were asked, Why I have engaged all along in the late War, I could give no answer that were not a wicked one if it did not comprehend these Two ends! - Meanwhile only give me leave to say, and to say it seriously (the issue will prove it serious), that you have one or two considerations which do stick with mc. The one is, You have named me by another Title than I now bear. [What SHALL I answer to that!]

You do necessitate my answer to be categorical;

and you have left me without a liberty of choice save as to all. [Must accept the whole Petition and Advice, or reject the whole of it.] I question not your wisdom in doing so; I think myself obliged to acquiesce in your determination; knowing you are men of wisdom, and considering the trust you are under. It is a duty not to question the reason of anything you have done. [Not even of the Kingship: say Yes, then!]

I should be very brutish did I not acknowledge the exceeding high honour and respect you have had for me in this Paper. Truly, according to what the world calls good, it hath nothing but good in it, according to worldly approbation of * sovereign power. You have testified your value and affection as to my person, as high as you could; for more you could not do! I hope I shall always keep a grateful memory of this in my heart; - and by you I return the Parliament this my grateful acknowledgment. Whatever other men's thoughts may be, I shall not own ingratitude. - But I must needs say, That that may be fit for you to offer, which may not be fit for me to undertake. [Profound silence.] And as I should reckon it a very great presumption, were I to ask the reason of your doing any one thing in this Paper, - (except 'in' some very few things, the 'new' Instrument, 'this Paper,' bears testimony to itself), - so you will not take it unkindly if I beg of you this addition to the Parliament's favour, love and indulgence unto me, That it be taken in tender part if I give such an answer as I find in my heart to give in this business, without urging many reasons for it, save such as are

^{*} Means "value for."

most obvious, and most to my advantage in answering: Namely, that I am not able for such a trust and charge. [Won't have it, then!]

And if the "answer of the tongue," as well as the preparation of the heart, be "from God," I must say my heart and thoughts ever since I heard the Parliament were upon this business—[Sentence breaks down]— 'For' though I could not take notice of your proceedings therein without breach of your privileges, yet as a common person I confess I heard of it in common with others.— I must say I have been able to attain no farther than this, That, seeing the way is hedged up so as it is to me, and I cannot accept the things offered unless I accept all, I have not been able to find it my duty to God and you to undertake this charge under that Title. [Refuses, yet not so very peremptorily!]

The most I said in commendation of the 'new' Instrument may be retorted on me; — as thus: "Are "there such good things provided for 'in this Instru-"ment;' will you refuse to accept them because of such "an ingredient?" Nothing must make a man's conscience a servant. And really and sincerely it is my conscience that guides me to this answer. And if the Parliament be so resolved, 'for the whole Paper or none of it,' it will not be fit for me to use any inducement to you to alter their resolution.

This is all I have to say. I desire it may, and do not doubt but it will, be with candour and ingenuity represented unto them by you.

[§] Additional Ayscough Mss. no. 6125: printed in Burton, i. 417; and Parliamentary History, xxiii. 161.

His Highness would not in all circumstances be inexorable, one would think! — No; he is groping his way through a very intricate business, which grows as he gropes; the final shape of which is not yet disclosed to any soul. The actual shape of it on this Friday afternoon, 3d April 1657, I suppose he has, in his own manner, pretty faithfully, and not without sufficient skill and dignity, contrived to express. Many considerations weigh upon his Highness; and in itself it is a most unexampled matter, this of negotiating about being made a King! Need of wise speech; of wise reticence no less. Nay it is of the nature of a Courtship withal: the young lady cannot answer on the first blush of the business; if you insist on her answering, why then she must even answer, No! —

SPEECH IX.

Wednesday, 8th April 1657. The Parliament, justly interpreting this No of his Highness, has decided that it will adhere to its Petition and Advice, and that it will "present reasons to his Highness;" has got, thanks to our learned Bulstrode and others, its reasons ready; — and, this day, "at three in the afternoon," walks over in a body to the Banqueting-House, Speaker Widdrington carrying in his hand the Engrossed Vellum, and a Written Paper of "Reasons," to present the same.* What Speaker Widdrington spoke on the occasion is happily lost; but his "Reasons," which are very brief, remain on the Record; ** and will require to be transcribed. They are in the form of a Vote or Resolution, of date yesterday, 7th April 1657:

"Resolved, That the Parliament having lately presented "their Humble Petition and Advice to your Highness, where"unto they have not as yet received satisfaction; and the "matters contained in that Petition and Advice being agreed"upon by the Great Council and Representative of the Three "Nations; which matters, in their judgment, are most condu-

^{*} Commons Journals, ii. 520-1 (6th, 8th April); Burton, i. 421.

^{**} Ibid.

"cing to the good of the People thereof both in Spiritual and "Civil concernments: They have therefore thought fit.

"To adhere to this Advice; and to put your Highness in "mind of the great obligation which rests upon you in respect "of this Advice; and again to desire you to give your Assent "thereunto."

Which brief Paper of Reasons, Speaker Widdrington having read, and then delivered to this Highness, with some brief touches of mellifluous eloquence now happily lost, — his Highness, with a look I think of more than usual seriousness, thus answers the Assembled Parliament and him:

Mr. SPEAKER,

No man can put a greater value than I hope I do, and shall do, upon the desires and advices of the Parliament. I could in my own heart aggravate, both concerning the Persons advising and concerning the Advice; - readily acknowledging that it is the Advice of the Parliament of these Three Nations. And if a man could suppose it were not a Parliament to some; [Malignants there are who have such notions] - vet doubtless it should be to me, and to us all that are engaged in this common Cause wherein we have been engaged. I say, surely it ought to be a Parliament to us! Because it arises as a result of those issues, and determinations of Settlement, that we have laboured to arrive at! And therefore I do most readily acknowledge the weight of authority 'you have' in advising these things.

I can aggravate also to myself the general notion of the Things Advised-to; as being things which tend to the settlement of the chiefest Interests * that can fall into the hearts of men to devise or endeavour-after. And at such a time, 'too;' when truly, I may think,

[&]quot;things" again, in orig.

the Nation is big with expectation of something that may add to their 'security of' Being. — I therefore must needs put a very high esteem 'upon,' and have a very reverent opinion of anything that comes from you.

And so I have had of this Instrument: — and, I hope, so I have expressed. And what I have expressed, hath been, — if I flatter not myself, — from a very honest heart towards the Parliament and the Public. I say not these things to compliment you. For we are all past complimenting, and all considerations of that kind! [Serious enough his Highness is, and we all are; the Nations and the Ages, and indeed the MAKER of the Nations and the Ages, looking on us here!] We must all be very real now, if ever we will be so! —

Now, howbeit your title and name you give to this Paper [Leoking on the Vellum] makes me think you intended "Advice;" and I should transgress against all reason, should I make any other construction than that you did intend Advice: 'yet' —! — [Still hesitates, then?] — I would not lay a burden on my beast but I would consider his strength to bear it! And if you lay a burden upon a man that is conscious of his own infirmity and disabilities, and doth make some measure of counsels which may seem to come from Heaven, counsels from the Word of God (who leaves room for charity, and for men to consider their own strength), — I hope it will be no evil in me to measure your "Advice" with my own Infirmities. And truly these will have some influence upon conscience! Conscience in him that receives talents* to know how he may an-

[•] Meaning "charges," "offices."

swer the trust of them. And such a conscience have I had 'in this matter:' and still have; and therefore when I thought I had an opportunity to make an Answer, I made that Answer [The unemphatic Negative; truest "Answer" Highness then had: - can it not grow an Affirmative? - and am a person that have been, before and then and since, lifting up my heart to God, To know what might be my duty at such a time as this, and upon such an occasion and trial as this was to me! [Deep silence: Old Parliament casts down its eyes.] -

Truly, Mr. Speaker, it hath been heretofore, I think, a matter of philosophical discourse, That great places, great authority, are a great burden. I know it so. And I know a man that is convinced in his conscience. Nothing less will enable him to the discharge of it than Assistance from Above. And it may very well require in such a one, so convinced and so persuaded, That he be right with the Lord in such an undertaking! -And therefore, to speak very clearly and plainly to you: I had, and I have, my hesitations as to that individual thing. [Still Negative, your Highness?] If I undertake anything not in Faith, I shall serve you in my own Unbelief; - and I shall then be the most unprofitable Servant that People or Nation ever had!

Give me leave, therefore, to ask counsel. I am ready to render a reason of my apprehensions; which haply may be overswayed by better apprehensions. I think, so far I have deserved no blame; nor do I take it you will lay any upon me. Only you mind me of the duty that is incumbent upon me. And truly the same answer I have as to the point of duty one way, the same consideration have I as to duty another way.* — I would

^{*} Bound to regard your "Advice;" and yet in doing so, not to disregard a Higher.

not urge to you the point of "Liberty." Surely you have provided for Liberty, — I have borne my witness to it, — Civil and Spiritual! The greatest provision that ever was made have you made, 'for Liberty' to all, — and I know that you do not intend to exclude me. The "Liberty" I ask is, To vent my own doubts, and my own fears, and my scruples. And though haply, in such cases as these are, the world hath judged that a man's conscience ought to know no scruples; yet surely mine doth, and I dare not dissemble. And therefore —!—

They that are knowing in the ground of their own Action will be best able to measure advice to others. [Will have us reason, in Free Conference, with him?] There are many things in this 'Instrument of' Government besides that one of the Name and Title, that deserve much to be elucidated* as to my judgment. It is you that can capacitate me to receive satisfaction in them! Otherwise, I say truly, - I must say, I am not persuaded to the performance of 'this' as my trust and duty, nor 'sufficiently' informed. 'Not persuaded or informed;' and so not actuated 'by a call of duty,' as I know you intend I should be, - and as every man in the Nation should be. You have provided for 'every one of' them as a Free Man, as a man that is to act possibly,** rationally and conscientiously! - And therefore I cannot tell what other return to make to you than this:

I am ready to give a reason, if you will, I say, capacitate me to do it; and 'capacitate' yourselves to receive it; — and to do what other things may in-

[&]quot;deserve much information," is orig.
"Means "in a way possible for him;" "does possibly" is the phrase is orig.

form me a little more particularly than this Vote which you have passed Yesterday, and which has now been read by you to me.

Truly I hope when 'once' I understand the ground of these things - the whole being 'meant' neither for your good nor mine, but for the good of the Nation, there will be no doubt but we may, even in these particulars, find out what* may answer our duty. and all our duties, to those whom we serve. And this is that that I do, with a great deal of affection and honour and respect, offer now to you.

Thus has the Honourable House gone a second time in a body, and not yet prevailed. We gather that his Highness has doubts, has scruples; on which, however, he is willing to be dealt with, "to receive satisfaction," - has intimated, in fact, that though the answer is still No, the Courtship may continue.

Committee to give satisfaction is straightway nominated: Whitlocke, Lord Chief-Justice Glynn, Lord Broghil, Fiennes, Old-Speaker Lenthall, Ninety-nine of them in all; ** and is ready to confer with his Highness. At this point, however, there occurs an extraneous Phenomenon which unexpectedly delays us for a day or two: a rising of the Fifth-Monarchy. namely. The Fifth-Monarchy, while men are meditating earthly Kingship, and Official Persons are about appointing an earthly tyrannous and traitorous King, thinks it ought to bestir itself, now or never; - explodes accordingly, though in a small way; testifying to us how electric this element of England now is.

Thursday 9th April. The Fifth-Monarchy, headed mainly by one Venner a Wine-Cooper, and other civic individuals of the old Feak-and-Powel species whom we have transiently

[&]quot;those things" in oriq.
Old Pamphlet (in Parliamentary History, xxiii., Appendix, pp. 164-6).
List in Commons Journals, vii. 521; in Somers Tracts, vi. 351.

seen emitting soot and fire before now, has for a long while been concocting underground; and Thurloe and his Highness have had eye on it. The Fifth-Monarchy has decided that it will rise this Thursday, expel carnal sovereignties; and call on the Christian population to introduce a Reign of Christ, — which it is thought, if a beginning were once made, they will be very forward to do. Let us rendezvous on Mile-End Green this day, with sword and musket, and assured heart: perhaps General Harrison, Colonel Okey, one knows not who, will join us, — perhaps a miracle will be wrought, such as Heaven might work in such a case, and the Reign of Christ actually take effect.

Alas, Heaven wrought no miracle: Heaven and his Highness sent a Troop of Horse into the Mile-End region, early in the morning; seized Venner, and some Twenty Ringleaders, just coming for the rendezvous; seized chests of arms, many copies of a flaming Pamphlet or War-manifesto with title A Standard set up; seized also a War-flag with Lion Couchant painted on it, Lion of the Tribe of Judah, and this motto, "Who shall rouse him up?" O Reader, these are not fictions, these were once altogether solid facts in this brick London of ours; ancient resolute individuals, busy with wine-cooperage and otherwise, had entertained them as very practicable things! - But in two days time, these ancient individuals and they are all lodged in the Tower; Harrison, hardly connected with the thing, except as a wellwisher, he and others are likewise made secure: and the Fifth-Monarchy is put under lock and key.* Nobody was tried for it: Cooper Venner died on the scaffold, for a similar attempt under Charles Second, some two years hence. The Committee of Ninetynine can now proceed with its "satisfaction to his Highness;" his Highness is now at leisure for them again.

This Committee did proceed with its satisfactions; had various Conferences with his Highness, — which unfortunately are not lost: which survive for us, in Somers Tracts and the old

^{*} Narrative in Thurloe, vi. 184-8.

Pamphlets, under the Title of Monarchy Asserted; in a condition, especially his Highness's part of them, enough to drive any Editor to despair! The old Pamphleteer, as we remarked, was intent only on the learned law-arguments in favour of Kingship; and as to what his Highness said, seems to have taken it very easy; printing what vocables he found on his Note-paper, with or without meaning, as it might chance. Whom new unchecked Printers and Imaginary-Editors following, and making the matter ever worse, have produced at last in our late time such a Coagulum of Jargon as was never seen before in the world! Let us not speak of it: let us endeavour to get through it, - through this also, now since we have arrived at it, and are not yet permitted to burn it! Out of this sad monument of Human Stupor too the imprisoned Soul of a Hero must be extricated. Souls of Heroes, — they have been imprisoned, enchanted into growing Trees, into glass Phials, into leaden Caskets sealed with Solomon's signet, and sunk in the deep sea; - but to this of Somers Tracts there wants yet a parallel! Have not we English a talent of musical utterance? Here are men consummating the most epic of acts, Choosing their King; and it is with such melodious elegancies that they do it; it is in such soft-flowing hexameters as the following that the Muse gives record of it! -

My reader must be patient; thankful for mere Dulness, thankful that it is not Madness over and above. Let us all be patient; walk gently, swiftly, lest we awaken the sleeping Nightmares! We suppress, we abridge, we elucidate; struggle to make legible his Highness's words, — dull but not insane. Notes where not indispensable are not given. The curious reader can, in all questionable places, refer to the Printed Coagulum of Jargon itself, and see whether we have read aright.

SPEECH X.

PROPERLY an aggregate of many short Speeches, and passages of talk: his Highness's part in this First Conference with the Committee of Ninety-nine. His Highness's part in

it; the rest, covering many pages, is, so far as possible, strictly suppressed. One of the dullest Conferences ever held, on an epic subject, in this world. Occupied, great part of it, on mere preliminaries, and beatings about the bush; throws light, even in its most elucidated state, upon almost nothing. Oliver is here — simply what we have known him elsewhere. Which so soon as Mankind once understand to be the fact, but unhappily not till then, — the aid of fire can be called in, as we suggested.

Fancy, however, that the large Committee of Ninety-nine has got itself introduced into some Council-room, or other fit locality in Whitehall, on Saturday, 11th April 1657, "about nine in the morning;" has made its salutations to his Highness, and we hope been invited to take seats; — and all men are very uncertain how to act. Who shall begin? His Highness wishes much they would begin; and in a delicate way urges and again urges them to do so; and, not till after great labour and repeated failures, succeeds. Fancy that old scene; the ancient honourable Gentlemen waiting there to do their epic feat: the ponderous respectable Talent for Silence, obliged to break up and become a kind of Utterance in this thickskinned manner: — really rather strange to witness, as dull as it is! —

The Dialogue has gone on for a passage or two, but the Reporter considers it mere preliminary flourishing, and has not taken it down. Here is his first Note, — in the abridged lucidified state:*

LORD WHITLOCKE. "Understands that the Committee is "here only to receive what his Highness has to offer; such the "letter and purport of our Instructions; which I now read. "[Reads it.] Your Highness mentions 'the Government that "now is;' seems to hint thereby: The Government being well "now, why change it? If that be your Highness's general ob-"jection, the Committee will give you satisfaction."

THE LORD PROTECTOR. Sir, I think both parties
* Somers Tracts, vi. 352.

of us meet here with a very good heart to come to some issue in this great business; and truly that is what I have all the reason in the world to move me to. And I am exceeding ready to be ordered by you as to the manner of proceeding. Only I confess, according to the thoughts I have, — in preparing my thoughts for so great a work. I formed this notion to myself: That the Parliament having already done me the honour of Two Conferences;* and now sent you again, their kind intention to me evidently is no other than this, That I should receive satisfaction. They might have been positive in the thing; might have declared their Address itself to be enough, and insisted upon Yes or No to that. But I perceive that it is really and sincerely the satisfaction of my doubts that they aim at; and there is one clause in the Paper itself, 'quoted by my Lord Whitlocke,' which doth a little warrant that: "To offer such reasons for his satisfaction," &c. -Now. Sir. it's certain the occasion of all this 'Conference' is the Answer I already made; that's the occasion of your having to come hither again. And truly, Sir, I doubt whether by your plan - If you will draw out my reasons from me, I will offer them to you: but on my own part, I doubt, if you should proceed that other way, it would a little put me out of the method of my own thoughts. And it being mutual satisfaction that is endeavoured, if you will do me the favour - ["To go by my method," his Highness means; to "offer me YOUR Reasons, and DRAW me out, rather than oblige me to COME out"] - I shall take it as a

^{*} Two Conferences with the whole Parliament; and one Conference with a Committee: Speeches VII. (31st March), IX. (8th April), and VIII. (3d April).

favour if it please you! I will leave you together to consider your own thoughts of it. [Motioning to go.]

LOBD WHITLOCKE. "This Committee, being sent to wait "upon your Highness, I do suppose cannot undertake to give "the Parliament's reasons for what the Parliament hath done. "But any gentleman here may give for your Highness's satis- faction his own particular apprehension of them. And if you will be pleased to go in the way you have propounded, and "on any point require a satisfaction from the Committee, I "suppose we shall be ready to do the best we can to give you "satisfaction." [Bar Practice! Is not yet what his Highness wants.]

THE LORD PROTECTOR. If this be so, then I suppose nothing can be said by you but what the Parliament hath dictated to you? - However, I think it is clearly expressed that the Parliament intends satisfaction. Then it is as clear that there must be reasons and arguments which have light and conviction in them. in order to satisfaction! I speak for myself in this; I hope you will not take it otherwise.* I say it doth appear to me you have the liberty of giving your own reasons. If I should write down any of them, I could not call that "the reason of Parliament." [Whitlocke, in a heavy manner, smiles respectful assent.] But in Parliamentary and other such conclusions the efficient "reason" is diffused over the general body, and every man hath his particular share of it; yet when they have determined such and such a thing, certainly it was reason that led them up into it. And if you shall be pleased to make me partaker of some of that "reason" —! — I do very respectfully represent to you that I have a general dissatisfaction at the thing

^{*} As if I meant to dictate to you, or tutor you in your duties.

[Glancing at the Engrossed Vellum; but meaning the Kingship]; and do desire to be informed of the grounds that lead you, whom I presume to be all satisfied with it and with every part of it. And if you will be pleased, if you so think fit, — I will not urge it farther upon you, — to proceed in that way, it will be a favour to me. Otherwise, I deal plainly with you, it doth put me out of the method of my own conceptions: and in that case I shall beg that we may have an hour's deliberation, and meet again in the afternoon.

LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE GLYNN, — one of the old expelled Eleven, whom we saw in great straits in 1647; a busy man from the beginning, and now again busy; begs to say in brief: "The Parliament has sent us to give all the satisfaction which "it is in our understandings to give. Certainly we will try to "proceed according to what method your Highness finds best "for that end. The Paper or Vellum Instrument, however, "is general, consisting of many heads; and we can give but "general satisfaction."

THE LORD PROTECTOR. If you will please to give me leave. [Clearing his throat to get under way.] I do agree, truly, the thing is a general; for it either falls under the notion of Settlement, which is a general consisting of many particulars; or if you call it by the name it bears in the Paper, "Petition and Advice," — that again is a general; it is advice, desires and advice. What in it I have objected to is as yet, to say truth, but one thing. Only, the last time I had the honour to meet the Parliament,* I did offer to them that they might put me in the way of getting satisfaction as to particulars, 'any or all particulars.' Now, no question I might easily offer something particular

^{*} Wednesday last, 8th April; Speech IX.

for debate, if I thought that would answer the end. [What curious pickeering, flourishing, and fencing backwards and forwards, before the parties will come to close action! As in other affairs of courtship.] For truly I know my end and yours is the same: To bring things to an issue one way or the other, that we may know where we are, - that we may attain the general end. which is Settlement. [Safe ground here, your Highness! The end is in us both! And I durst contend with any one person in the world that it is not more in his heart than in mine! - I would go into some particulars [Especially one particular, the Kingship], to ask a question, to ask a reason of the alteration 'made;' which might well enough let you into the business, - that it might.* Yet, I say, it doth not answer me. [I had counted on being drawn out, not on COMING out: I understood I was the young lady, and YOU the wooer! I confess I did not so strictly examine the terms of your Order from the Parliament, 'which my Lord Whitlocke cites;' whether I even read it or no I cannot tell. — [Pause.] — If you will have it that way, I shall, as well as I can, make such an objection as may occasion some answer, 'and so let us into the business;' - though perhaps I shall object weakly enough! I shall very freely submit to you.

GLYNN (with official solemnity). "The Parliament hath sent us for that end, to give your Highness satisfaction."

LORD COMMISSIONER FIENNES, — Nathaniel Fiennes, alias Fines alias Fenys, as he was once called when condemned to be shot for surrendering Bristol; second son of "Old Subtlety" Say and Sele; and now again a busy man, and Lord Keeper, — opens his broad jaw, and short snub face full of hard saga-

^{*} A favourite reduplication with his Highness; that it is!

city,* to say: "Looking upon the Order, I find that we may "offer your Highness our reasons, if your Highness's dissatis"faction be to the alteration of the Government whether in "general or in particular." — So that his Highness may have it his own way, after all? Let us hope the preliminary flourishing is now near complete! His Highness would like well to have it his own way.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. I am very ready to say, I have no dissatisfaction that it hath pleased the Parliament to find out a way, though it be of alteration, for bringing these Nations into a good Settlement. Perhaps you may have judged the Settlement we hitherto had was not so favourable to the great end of Government, the Liberty and Good of the Nations, and the preservation of all honest Interests that have been engaged in this Cause. I say I have no objection to the general 'fact,' That the Parliament hath thought fit to take consideration of a new Settlement or Government. But you having done it in such way, and rendered me so far an interested party in it by making such an Overture to me [As this of the Kingship, which modesty forbids me to mention], - I shall be very glad 'to learn,' if you please to let me know it, besides the pleasure of the Parliament, somewhat of the reason they had for interesting me in this thing, by such an Overture.

Truly I think I shall, as to the other particulars, have less to object.** I shall be very ready to specify objections, in order to clear for you whatsoever it may be better to clear; 'in order' at least to help myself towards a clearer understanding of these things; —

^{*} Good Portrait of him in Lord Nugent's Memorials of Hampden. * "shall, as to the other particulars, swallow this," in orig.

for better advantage 'to us all;' for that, I know, is in your hearts as well as mine. Though I cannot presume that I have anything to offer calculated to convince you; yet, if you will take it in good part, I shall offer somewhat to every particular.

'And now,' if you please, — As to the first of the things [Kingship], I am clear as to the ground of the thing, being so put to me as it hath been put. And I think that some of the reasons which moved the Parliament to do it, would, 'if they were now stated to me,' lead us into such objections or doubts as I may have to offer; and would be a very great help to me in that. And if you will have me offer this or that or the other doubt which may arise methodically, I shall do it.

Whereupon Lord Whitlocks, summoning into his glassy coal-black eyes and ponderous countenance what animation is possible, lifts up his learned voice, and speaks several pages;*— which we abridge almost to nothing. In fact the learned pleadings of the illustrious Official Persons, which once were of boundless importance, are now literally shrunk to zero for us; it is only his Highness's reply to them that is still something, and that not very much. Whitlocke intimates,

"That perhaps the former Instrument of Government "having originated in the way it did, the Parliament con"sidered it would be no worse for sanctioning by the Supreme "Authority; such was their reason for taking it up. 'Their "intentions I suppose were' this and that, at some length. "As for the new Title, that of Protector was not known to the "Law; that of King is, and has been for many hundreds of "years. If we keep the title of Protector, as I heard some "argue, our Instrument has only its own footing to rest upon;

^{*} Somers, vi. 355.

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"but with that of King, 'it will ground itself in all the ancient "foundations of the Laws of England," &c. &c.

MASTER OF THE ROLLS, — old Sly-face Lenthall, once Speaker of the Long Parliament; the same whom Harrison helped out of his Chair, — him also the reader shall conceive

speaking for the space of half an hour:

"'May it please your Highness, Hum-m-m! Drum-m-m! "'Upon due consideration you shall find that the whole body "of the Law is carried upon this wheel' of the Chief Magistrate "being called King. Hum-m-m! [Monotonous humming for "ten minutes.] 'The title of Protector is not limited by any rule "of Law that I understand; the title of Kingis. Hum-m-m! "King James wanted to change his Title, and that only from "King of England to King of Great Britain: and the Parlia-"ment could not consent, so jealous were they of new titles "bringing new unknown powers. Much depends upon a title! "The Long Parliament once thought of changing its title to "Representative of the People; but durst not. Hum-m-m! "'Nolumus Leges Anglice mutari.' Drum-m-m! 'Vox populi: "it is the voice of the Three Nations that offers your Highness "this Title.' Drum-m-m!" - Such, in abbreviated shape, is the substance of Lenthall's Speech for us. * At the ending of it, a pause.

The Lord Protector. I cannot deny but the things that have been spoken have been spoken with a great deal of weight. And it is not fit for me to ask any of you if you have a mind to speak farther of this. But if such had been your pleasure, truly then I think it would have put me into a way of more preparedness, according to the method and way I had conceived for myself, to return some answer. And if it had not been to you a trouble — Surely the business requires, from any man in the world in any case, and much more from me, that there be given to it serious and

^{*} Somers, vi. 356, 7.

true answers! I mean such answers as are not feigned in my own thoughts; but such wherein I express the truth and honesty of my heart. [Seems a tautology, and almost an impertinence, and ground of suspicion, your Highness; — but has perhaps a kind of meaning struggling half-developed in it. Many answers which call and even THINK themselves "true" are but "feigned in one's own thoughts," after all; from that to "the truth and honesty of heart" is still a great way; — witness many men in most times; witness almost all men in such times as ours.] That is what I mean by true answers.

I did hope that when I had heard you, so far as it might be your pleasure to speak on this head, I should then, having taken some short note of it as I do [Glancing at his Note-paper], have been in a condition, this afternoon [Would still fain be off!] — if it had not been a trouble to you, — to return my answer, upon a little advisement with myself. But seeing you have not thought it convenient to proceed that way, — truly I think I may very well say, I shall need to have a little thought about the thing before returning answer to it: lest our Debate should end on my part with a very vain discourse, and with lightness; as it is very like to do. [A Drama Composing itself as it gets acted, this; very different from the blank-verse Dramas.]

I say therefore, if you had found good to proceed farther in speaking of these things, I should have made my own short animadversions on the whole, this afternoon, and have made some short reply. And this would have ushered me in not only to give the best answer I could, but to make my own objections 'too.'

[An interrogative look; evidently some of us must speak! Glynn steps forward.]

LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE GLYMN steps forward, speaks largely; then Sir Charles Wolseley steps forward; and Nathamiel Fiennes steps forward; and Lord Broghil (Earl of Orrery that is to be) steps forward; and all speak largely: whom, not to treat with the indignity poor Lenthall got from us, we shall abridge down to absolute nothing. Good speaking too; but without interest for us. In fact it is but repetition, under new forms, of the old considerations offered by heavy Bulstrode and the Master of the Rolls. The only idea of the slightest novelty is this brought forward by Lord Broghil in the rear of all:*

Load Broghil. "By an Act already existing (the 11th of "Henry VII.), all persons that obey a 'King de facto' are to "be held guiltless; not so if they serve a l'rotector de facto. "Think of this. — And then 'in the 7th and last place,' I observe: The Imperial Crown of this country and the Pretended King are indeed divorced; nevertheless persons "divorced may come together again; but if the person "divorced be married to another, there is no chance left of "that!" —

Having listened attentively to perhaps some three hours of this, his Highness, giving up the present afternoon as now hopeless, makes brief answer.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. I have very little to say to you at this time. I confess I shall never be willing to deny or defer those things** that come from the Parliament to the Supreme Magistrate, [He accepts, then?] if they come in the bare and naked authority of such an Assembly as is known by that name, and is the Representative of so many people as a Parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland is. I say, this ought

Somers, p. 363.
 Means "anything, — the Kingship for one thing."

to have its weight; and it hath so, and ever will have with me.

In all things a man is free to grant desires coming from Parliament. I may say, inasmuch as the Parliament hath condescended so far as to do me this honour (a very great one added to the rest) of giving me the privilege of counsel from so many members of theirs, so able, so intelligent of the grounds of things - [Sentence breaks down] - This is, I say, a very singular honour and favour to me; and I wish I may do, and I hope I shall do, what becomes an honest man in giving an answer to these things, - according to such insight* either as I have, or as God shall give me, or as I may be helped into by reasoning with vou. But indeed I did not in vain allege conscience in the first answer I gave you. [Well!] For I must say, I should be a person very unworthy of such favour if I should prevaricate in saying things did stick upon my conscience. Which I must still say they do! Only, I must 'also' say, I am in the best way I could be 'in' for information; and I shall gladly receive it.

Here have been divers things spoken by you today, with a great deal of judgment and ability and knowledge. I think the arguments and reasonings that have been used were upon these three heads:** First, Speaking to the thing simply, to the abstract notion of the Title, and to the positive reasons upon which it stands. Then 'secondly, Speaking' comparatively of it, and of the foundation of it; in order to show the goodness of it comparatively, 'in comparison with our present title and foundation.' It is alleged to be so much better than what we now have; and that it will do the work

[&]quot;desire" in orig.: but there is no sense in that.

which this other fails in. And thirdly, Some things have been said by way of precaution; which are not arguments from the thing itself, but are considerations drawn from the temper of the English People, what will gratify them, 'and so on;' — which is surely considerable. As also 'some things were said' by way of anticipation of me in my answer; speaking to some objections which others have made against this proposal. These are things, in themselves, each of them considerable. [The "objections?" or the "Three heads" in general? Uncertain; nay it is perhaps uncertain to Oliver himself! He mainly means the objections, but the other also is hovering in his head, — as is sometimes the way with him.]

To answer objections, I know, is a very weighty business; and to make objections is very easy; and that will fall to my part. And I am sure I shall make them to men who know somewhat how to answer them,— 'to whom they are not strange,' having already in part been suggested to them by the Debates already had.

But upon the whole matter, I having as well as I could taken those things [Leoking at his Notes] that have been spoken, — which truly are to be acknowledged as very learnedly spoken, — I hope you will give me a little time to consider of them. As to when it may be the best time for me to return hither and meet you again, I shall leave that to your consideration.

LORD WHITLOCKE. "Your Highness will be pleased to appoint your own time."

THE LORD PROTECTOR. On Monday at nine of the clock I will be ready to wait upon you.§

6 Somers Tracts, vt. 351-365.

And so, with many bows, exeunt. — Thus they, doing their epic feat, not in the hexameter measure, on that old Saturday forenoon, 11th April 1657; old London, old England, sounding manifoldly round them; — the Fifth-Monarchy just locked in the Tower.

Our learned friend Bulstrode says: "The Protector often "advised about this" of the Kingship "and other great busi-"nesses with the Lord Broghil, Pierpoint" (Earl of Kingston's Brother, an old Long-Parliament man, of whom we have heard before), with "Whitlocke, Sir Charles Wolseley, and "Thurloe; and would be shut up three or four hours together "in private discourse, and none were admitted to come in to "him. He would sometimes be very cheerful with them; and "laving aside his greatness, he would be exceedingly familiar: "and by way of diversion would make verses with them," play crambo with them, "and every one must try his fancy. He "commonly called for tobacco, pipes and a candle, and would "now and then take tobacco himself;" which was a very high attempt. "Then he would fall again to his serious and great "business" of the Kingship; "and advise with them in those "affairs. And this he did often with them: and their counsel "was accepted, and" in part "followed by him in most of his "greatest affairs," - as well as it deserved to be. *

SPEECH XI.

On Monday, April 13th, at Whitehall, at nine in the morning, ** according to agreement on Saturday last, the Committee of Ninety-nine attend his Highness, and his Highness there speaks: — addressing Whitlocke as reporter of the said Committee:

My Lord,

I think I have a very hard task on my hand. Though it be but to give an account of myself, yet I see I am beset on all hands here. I say, but to give

*Whitlocke, p. 647.

** at "cight," say the Journals, vii. 522.

an account of "myself:" yet that is a business very comprehensive of others; — 'comprehending' us all in some sense, and, as the Parliament have been pleased to shape it, comprehending all the interests of these Three Nations!

I confess I have two things in view. The first is, To return some answer to what was so well and ably said the other day on behalf of the Parliament's putting that Title in the Instrument of Settlement. [This is the First thing; what the Second is, does not yet for a long while appear.] I hope it will not be expected I should answer everything that was then said: because I suppose the main things that were spoken were arguments from ancient Constitutions and Settlements by the Laws; in which I am sure I could never be well skilled, — and therefore must the more ask pardon for what I have already transgressed 'in speaking of such matters,' or shall now transgress, through my ignorance of them, in my 'present' answer to you.

Your arguments, which I say were chiefly upon the Law, seem to carry with them a great deal of necessary conclusiveness, to inforce that one thing of Kingship. And if your arguments come upon me to inforce upon me the ground of Necessity, — why, then, I have no room to answer: for what must be must be! And therefore I did reckon it much of my business to consider whether there were such a necessity, or would arise such a necessity, from those arguments. — It was said: "Kingship is not a Title, but an Office, so "interwoven with the fundamental Laws of this Nation, "that they cannot, or cannot well, be executed and ex-"ercised without 'it,' — partly, if I may say so, upon

"a supposed ignorance which the Law hath of any "other Title. It knows no other; neither doth any "know another. And, by reciprocation, — this said "Title, or Name, or Office, you were farther pleased to "say, is understood; in the dimensions of it, in the "power and prerogatives of it; which are by the Law "made certain; and the Law can tell when it [King-"ship] keeps within compass, and when it exceeds its "limits. And the Law knowing this, the People can "know it also. And the People do love what they "know. And it will neither be pro salute populi, nor "for our safety, to obtrude upon the People what they "do not nor cannot understand."

It was said also, "That the People have always, "by their representatives in Parliament, been unwill-"ing to vary Names, - seeing they love settlement "and known names, as was said before." And there were two good instances given of that: the one, in King James's time, about his desire to alter somewhat of the Title: and the other in the Long Parliament, where they being otherwise rationally moved to adopt the word "Representative" instead of "Parliament," refused it for the same reason. [Lenthall tries to blush.] - It was said also, "That the holding to this word "doth strengthen the 'new' Settlement; for hereby there "is not anything de novo done, but merely things are "revolved into their old current." It was said, "That "it is the security of the Chief Magistrate, and that it "secures all who act under him." - Truly these are the principal of those grounds that were offered the other day, so far as I do recollect.

I cannot take upon me to refel those grounds; they are so strong and rational. But if I am to be able to

make any answer to them, I must not grant that they are necessarily conclusive; I must take them only as arguments which perhaps have in them much conveniency, much probability towards conclusiveness. For if a remedy or expedient may be found, they are not of necessity, they are not inevitable grounds: and if not necessary or concluding grounds, why then they will hang upon the reason of expediency or conveniency. And if so, I shall have a little liberty 'to speak;' otherwise I am concluded before I speak. - Therefore it will behave me to say what I can, Why these are not necessary reasons; why they are not - why it* is not (I should say) so interwoven in the Laws but that the Laws may still be executed as justly, and as much to the satisfaction of the people, and answering all objections equally well, without such a Title as with it. And then, when I have done that, I shall only take the liberty to say a word or two for my own grounds.** And when I have said what I can say as to that 'latter point,' - I hope you will think a great deal more than I say. [Not convenient to SPEAK everything in so ticklish a predicament; with Deputations of a Hundred Officers, and so many "scrupulous fellows, considerable in their own conceit," glaring into the business, with eyes much sharper than they are deep!

Truly though Kingship be not a 'mere' Title, but the Name of an Office which runs through the 'whole of the' Law; yet is it not so ratione nominis, by reason of the name, but by reason of what the name signifies.

[•] The Kingship: his Highness finds that the grammar will require to be attended to.

"Grounds" originating with myself independently of yours. Is this
"the second "thing, which his Highness had in view, but did not specify
after the "first", when he started? The issue proves it to be so.

It is a Name of Office plainly implying a Supreme Authority: is it more; or can it be stretched to more? I say, it is a Name of Office, plainly implying the Supreme Authority: and if so, why then I should suppose, — I am not peremptory in anything that is matter of deduction or inference of my own, — but I should suppose that whatsoever name hath been or shall be the Name under which the Supreme Authority acts -Sentence abruptly stops; the conclusion being visible without speech! Why, I say, if it had been those Four or Five Letters, or whatever else it had been -! That signification goes to the thing, certainly it does; and not to the name. [Certainly!] Why, then, there can no more be said but this: As such a Title hath been fixed, so it may be unfixed. And certainly in the right of the Authority, I mean the Legislative Power, - in the right of the Legislative Power, I think the Authority that could christen it with such a name could have called it by another name. Therefore the name is only derived from that 'Authority.' And certainly they, 'the primary Legislative Authority,' had the disposal of it, and might have detracted 'from it:' - and I hope it will be no offence to say to you, as the case now stands, "So may you." And if it be so that you may, why then I say, there is nothing of necessity in your argument; and all turns on consideration of the expedience of it. [Is the Kingship expedient?]

Truly I had rather, if I were to choose, if it were the original question, — which I hope is altogether out of the question [His Highness means, afar off, in a polite manner, "You don't pretend that I still need to be made Protector by you or by any creature!"], — I had rather have any Name from this Parliament than

any other Name without it: so much do I value the authority of the Parliament. And I believe all men are of my mind in that; I believe the Nation is very much of my mind, - though it be an uncertain way of arguing, what mind they are of. * I think we may sav it without offence; for I would give none! [No offence to you, Honourable Gentlemen; who are here, by function, to interpret and signify the Mind of the Nation. It is very difficult to do!] - Though the Parliament be the truest way to know what the mind of the Nation is, yet if the Parliament will be pleased to give me a liberty to reason for myself; and if that be one of your arguments - ["That:" what, your Highness? That the mind of the Nation, well interpreted by this Parliament, is really for a King? That our Laws cannot go on without a King? -- His Highness means the former mainly, but means the latter too; means several things together as his manner sometimes is, in abstruse cases] -I hope I may urge against it, that the reason of my own mind is not quite to that effect. But I do say undoubtingly (let us think about other things, 'about the mind of the Nation and such like,' what we will), What the Parliament settles is what will run, 'and have currency,' through the Law; and will lead the thread of Government through this Land equally well as what hath been. For I consider that what hath been was upon the same account, 'by the same authority.' Save that there hath been some long continuance of the thing [This thing of Kingship], it is but upon the same account! It had its original somewhere! And it was with consent of the whole, - there is the ori-

Naturally a delicate subject: some assert the Nation has never recognised his Highness, — his Highness himself being of a very different opinion indeed!

ginal of it. And consent of the whole will 'still,' I say, be the needle that will lead the thread through all; [The same tailor-metaphor a second time] — and I think no man will pretend right against it, or wrong!

And if so, then, under favour to me, I think these arguments from the Law are all not as of necessity, but are to be understood as of conveniency. It is in your power to dispose and settle; and beforehand we can have confidence that what you do settle will be as authentic as the things that were of old, — especially as this individual thing, the Name or Title, — according to the Parliament's appointment. — 'Is not this so? It is question not of necessity; we have power to settle it as conveniency directs.' Why then, there will (with leave) be way made for me to offer a reason or two to the other considerations you adduced: otherwise, I say my mouth is stopped! [His Highness is plunging in deep brakes and imbroglios; hopes, however, that he now sees daylight athwart them.]

There are very many inforcements to carry on this thing. [Thing of the Kingship.] But I suppose it will 'have to' stand on its expediency — Truly I should have urged one consideration more which I forgot [Looks over his shoulder in the jungle and bethinks him], — namely, the argument not of reason only, but of experience. It is a short one, but it is a true one (under favour), and is known to you all in the fact of it (under favour) [A damnable iteration; but too characteristic to be omitted]: That the Supreme Authority going by another Name and under another Title than that of King hath been, why it hath been already twice complied-with! [Long Parliament, called "Keepers of the Liberties of England," found compliance; and now the

"Protectorate" finds.] 'Twice:' under the Custodes Libertatis Anglia, and also since I exercised the place, it hath been complied-with. And truly I may say that almost universal obedience hath been given by all ranks and sorts of men to both. Now this, 'on the part of both these Authorities,' was a beginning with the highest degree of Magistracy at the first alteration; and 'at a time' when that 'Kingship' was the Name 'established:' and the new Name, though it was the name of an invisible thing, the very Name, I say, was obeyed, did pass current, was received and did carry on the 'Public' Justice of the Nation. I remember very well, my Lords the Judges were somewhat startled: yet upon consideration, - if I mistake not, - I believe so, - they, there being among them (without reflection) as able and as learned as have sat there, - though they did, I confess, at first, demur a little, - they did receive satisfaction, and did act, as I said before. [Untwist this extraordinary WITHE of a sentence; you will find it not inextricable, and very characteristic of Oliver! And as for my own part [My own Protectorate], I profess I think I may say: Since the beginning of that change, - though I should be loath to speak anything vainly, - but since the beginning of that change to this day, I do not think there hath been a freer procedure of the Laws, not even in those years called, and not unworthily, the "Halcyon Days of Peace," from the Twentieth of Elizabeth to King James's and King Charles's time. I do not think but the Laws have proceeded with as much freedom and justice, and with less of private solicitation, since I came to the Government, as they did in those years so named, -'Halcyon.' I do not think, under favour, - His

Highness gets more emphatic] - that the Laws had a freer exercise, more uninterrupted by any hand of Power, in those years than now; or that the Judge has been less solicited by letters or private interpositions either of my own or other men's, in double so many years in all those times 'named' "of Peace!" [Sentence involving an incurable Irishbull; the head of it eating the tail of it, like a Serpent-of-Eternity; but the meaning shining very clear through its contortions nevertheless!] And if more of my Lords the Judges were here than now are, they could tell us perhaps somewhat farther.* — And therefore I say, under favour: These two Experiences do manifestly show that it is not a Title, though never so interwoven with our Laws, that makes the Law to have its free passage, and to do its office without interruption (as we venture to think it is now doing): 'not a Title, no;' and if a Parliament shall determine that another Name run through the Laws, I believe it will run with as free a passage as this 'of King ever did.' Which is all I have to say upon that head.

And if this be so, then truly other things may fall under a more indifferent consideration:** and so I shall arrive 'at the Second thing I had in view,' at some issue of answering for myself in this great matter. And all this while, nothing that I say doth any way determine as to my final resolution, or 'intimate any' thought against the Parliament's wisdom in this matter; but 'endeavoureth' really and honestly and plainly towards such an answer as may be fit for me to give. The Parliament desires to have this Title. It hath stuck with me, and doth yet stick. As truly, and I hinted

^{*} Reform of Chancery; improvements made in Law.
** "Other things," your other arguments, may lose a great deal of their formidable air of cogency, as if Necessity herself were backing them.

the other day,* it seemed as if your arguments to me did partly give positive grounds for what was to be done, and partly comparative grounds; stating the matter as you were then pleased to do, - for which I gave no cause that I know of, that is, for comparing the effects of Kingship with those of such a Name as I at present bear, with 'those of' the Protectorship 'to wit.' I say, I hope it will not be understood that I contend for the Name; or for any name, or any thing 'of a merely extraneous nature;' but truly and plainly 'for the substance of the business,' - if I speak as in the Lord's presence; ay, in all right things, as a person under the disposal of the Providence of God, neither "naming" one thing nor other; but only endeavouring to give fit answer as to this proposed Name or Title.** For I hope I do not desire to give a rule to anybody - 'much less to the Parliament.' I professed I had not been able, - and I truly profess I have not yet been able, - to give a rule to myself 'in regard to your Proposal.' I would be understood in this. Yes, your Highness. "That it is not doubt of the Par-"liament's wisdom; that it is not vain preference or post-"ponence of one 'name' to another; but doubt as to the "substantial expediency of the thing proposed, uncertainty "as to God's will and monition in regard to it, - that "has made and still makes me speak in this uncomfortable, "haggling, struggling and wriggling manner. It is no "easy thing forcing one's way through a jungle of such "denth! An affair of Courtshin moreover, which groves

* Saturday last, day before Yesterday.

** The original (Somers, vi. 368) unintelligible, illegible except with the powerfullest lenses, yields at last, — with some slight changes of the points and so forth, — this sense as struggling at the bottom of it.

"and has to grow by the very handling of it! I would "not be misunderstood in this."

I am a man standing in the Place I am in [Clearly, your Highness]; which Place I undertook not so much out of hope of doing any good, as out of a desire to prevent mischief and evil [Note this], - which I did see was imminent on the Nation. I sav. we were running headlong into confusion and disorder, and would necessarily 'have' run into blood; and I was passive to those that desired me to undertake the Place which I now have. [With tones, with a look of sorrow, solemnity and nobleness; the brave Oliver! A Place, I say, not so much of doing good, - which a man lawfully may, if he deal deliberately with God and his own conscience, - a man may (I say) lawfully, if he deal deliberately with God and his own conscience: a man may lawfully, as the case may be (though it is a very tickle case), desire a Place to do good in! [Window once more into his Highness! "Tickle" is the old form of TICKLISH: "a tickle case indeed," his Highness candidly allows; yet a case which does occur, - shame and woe to him, the poor cowardly Pedant, tied up in cobwebs and tape-thrums, that neglects it when it does! I profess I had not that apprehension, when I undertook the Place, that I could so much do good; but I did think I might prevent imminent evil — And therefore I am not contending for one "name" compared with another; - and therefore have nothing to answer to any arguments that were used for preferring 'the name' Kingship to Protectorship. For I should almost think any "name" were better than my Name; and I should altogether think any person fitter than I am for such business; [Your Highness? - But St. Paul too professed

himself "the chief of sinners," and has not been altogether thought to "cant" in doing so! - and I compliment not, God knows it! But this I should say, That I do think, you, in the settling of the peace and liberties of this Nation, which cries as loud upon you as ever Nation did for somewhat that may beget a consistence. 'ought to attend to that;' otherwise the Nation will fall in pieces! And in that, so far as I can, I am ready to serve not as a King, but as a Constable 'if you like!' For truly I have, as before God, often thought that I could not tell what my business was. nor what I was in the place I stood in, save comparing myself to a good Constable set to keep the peace of the Parish. [Hear his Highness!] And truly this hath been my content and satisfaction in the troubles I have undergone, That you yet have peace.

Why now, truly, — if I may advise, — I wish to God you may but be so happy as to keep the peace still!* If you cannot attain to such perfection as to accomplish this 'that we are now upon,' I wish to God we may still have peace, — that I do! But the "fruits of righteousness" are shown in "meekness;" a better thing than we are aware of! — I say therefore, I do judge for myself there is no such necessity of this Name of King; for the other Names may do as well. I judge for myself. I must say a little (I think I have somewhat of conscience to answer as to the matter), why I cannot undertake this Name. [We are now fairly entered upon the Second head of method.] And truly I must needs go a little out of the way, to come to my reasons. And you will be able to judge of them when

[•] If I may advise, I should say the purport and soul of our whole inquiry at present ought to be that of keeping the peace.

I have told you them. And I shall deal seriously, as before God.

If you do not all of you, I am sure some of you do. and it behoves me to say that I do, "know my calling from the first to this day." I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater; from my first being a Captain of a Troop of Horse; and did labour as well as I could to discharge my trust; and God blessed me 'therein' as it pleased Him. And I did truly and plainly, - and in a way of foolish simplicity, as it was judged by very great and wise men, and good men too, - desire to make my instruments help me in that work. And I will deal plainly with you: I had a very worthy Friend then; and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all, - Mr. John Hampden. [Hear, hear; - a notable piece of History! At my first going out into this engagement,* I saw our men were beaten at every hand. I did indeed; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's Army, of some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you; God knows I lie not. ** "Your troops," said I, "are most of them old "decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of "fellows; and," said I, "their troops are gentlemen's "sons, younger sons and persons of quality: do you

mind.

^{*} enterprise.

** A notable clause of a sentence, this latter too; physiognomic enough;

— and perhaps very liable to be misunderstood by a modern reader. The old phrase, still current in remote quarters. "It's no lie." which signifies an emphatic and even courteous assent, and affirmation, must be borne in

"think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows "will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have "honour and courage and resolution in them?" Truly I did represent to him in this manner conscientiously: and truly I did tell him: "You must get men of a "spirit: and take it not ill what I say, - I know you "will not, - of a spirit that is likely to go on as far "as gentlemen will go: - or else you will be beaten "still." I told him so; I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. [Very natural in Mr. Hampden, if I recollect him well, your Highness! With his close thin lips, and very viailant eyes; with his clear official understanding; lively sensibilities to "unspotted character," "safe courses," &c. &c. brave man; but formidably thick-quilted, and with pincerlips, and eyes very vigilant. - Alas, there is no possibility for poor Columbus at any of the Public Offices, till once he become an Actuality, and say, "Here is the America I was telling you of!" Truly I told him I could do somewhat in it. I did so, - 'did this somewhat:' and truly I must needs say this to you, 'The result was,' - impute it to what you please, - I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did; [The Ironsides; yea!] and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually. [Yea!] And truly this is matter of praise to God: and it hath some instruction in it, To own men who are religious and godly. And so many of them as are peaceably and honestly and quietly disposed to live within 'rules of' Government, and will be subject to

those Gospel rules of obeying Magistrates and living under Authority - Sentence catches fire abruptly, and explodes here I reckon no Godliness without that circle! Without that spirit, let it pretend what it will, it is diabolical, it is devilish, it is from diabolical spirits, from the depth of Satan's wickedness* - [Checks himself | - Why truly I need not say more than to apply all this ** 'to the business we have in hand.'

I will be bold to apply this to our present purpose, because it is my all! I could say as all the world says, and run headily upon anything; but I must tender this 'my present answer' to you as a thing that sways upon my conscience; or else I were a knave and a deceiver. 'Well;' I tell you there are such men in this Nation; godly men of the same spirit, men that will not be beaten down by a worldly or carnal spirit while they keep their integrity. And I deal plainly and faithfully with you, 'when I say:' I cannot think that God would bless an undertaking of anything, 'Kingship or whatever else,' which would, justly and with cause, grieve them. True, they may be troubled without cause; - and I must be a slave if I should comply with any such humour as that. [Leaves the matter open still! But I say there are honest men and faithful men, true to the great things of the Government, namely the Liberty of the People, giving them what is due to them, and protecting this Interest (and I think verily God will bless you for what you have done in that) - [Sentence broken; try it another

Not "height of Jotham's wickedness," as the lazy Reporter has it. Jotham was not "wicked" at all (Judges, c. 9). Nay the lazy Reporter corrects himself elsewhere, — if he had not been asleep! Compare p. 369 line 16 of Somers with p. 385 line 2.

** "this of my old proposal to Mr. Hampden; and how good it is to "own men who are religious and godly."

way] - But if I know, as indeed I do, that very generally good men do not swallow this Title, though really it is no part of their goodness to be unwilling to submit to what a Parliament shall settle over them, yet I must say, it is my duty and my conscience to beg of you that there may be no hard things put upon me; things, I mean, hard to them, which they cannot swallow. The Young Lady will and she will not [] If the Nation may be as well provided-for without these things we have been speaking of [Kingships &c.]. as, according to my apprehension, it may, - 'then' truly I think it will be no sin in you, it will be to you as it was to David in another case, * "no grief of heart in time coming," that you have a tenderness even possibly (if it be their weakness) to the weakness of those who have integrity and honesty and uprightness, and who are not carried away with the hurries I see some taken with, - ["A Standard lifted up," the other day! - We have had to turn the key upon them, in Chepstow, in the Tower and elsewhere] - that think their virtue lies in despising Authority, in opposing it! I think you will be the better able to root out of this Nation that 'disobedient' spirit and principle, - and to do so is as desirable as anything in this world, by complying, indulging, and being patient to the weakness and infirmities of men who have been faithful, and have bled all along in this Cause; - and who are faithful, and will oppose all oppositions (I am confident of it) to the things that are Fundamentals in your Government, in your Settlement for Civil and Gospel Liberties. [Not ill said, your Highness; and really could not well be better thought! — The moral is:

^{*} Nabal's and Abigail's case (1 Samuel, xxv. 31).

"As my old Ironsides, men fearing God, proved the suc"cessful soldiers; so in all things it is men fearing God
"that we must get to enlist with us. Without these we
"are lost: with these, if they will be soldiers with us
"(not noisy mutineers like Wildman, Harrison and Company, but true soldiers, rational persons that will learn
"discipline), — we shall, as heretofore, hope to prevail
"against the whole world and the Devil to boot, and
"never be beaten at all,' no more than the Ironsides
"were. See, therefore, that you do not disaffect THEM.
"Mount no foolish cockade or Kingship which can convert
"THEM, rational obedient men, true in all essential points,
"into mutineers."]

I confess, for it behaves me to deal plainly with you -Young Lady now flings a little weight into the other scale. - and the sentence trips itself once or twice before it can get started - I must confess I would say - I hope I may not be misunderstood in this, for indeed I must be tender in what I say to such an audience: - I say I would have it understood, That in this argument I do not make a parallel between men of a different mind, 'mere dissentient individuals,' and a Parliament, 'as to,' Which shall have their desires. I know there is no comparison. Nor can it be urged upon me that my words have the least colour that way. For the Parliament seems to have given me liberty to say whatever is on my mind to you; as that 'indeed' is a tender of my humble reasons and judgment and opinion to them: and now if I think these objectors to the Kingship* are such 'as I describe,' and 'that they' will be such; 'if I think' that they are faithful servants and will be so to the Supreme Authority, and the Legislative wheresoever it is, — if, I say, I should not tell you, knowing their minds to be so, then I should not be faithful. I am bound to tell it you, to the end you may report it to the Parliament. [Parliament very jealous lest the Army be thought of greater weight than it. We try to carry the scales even.]

I will now say something for myself. As for my own mind, I do profess it, I am not a man scrupulous about words, or names, or such things. I have not 'hitherto clear direction' * — but as I have the Word of God, and I hope shall ever have, for the rule of my conscience, for my information and direction; so, truly. if men have been led into dark paths [As this matter of the Kingship is to me even now; very "dark" and undecidable I through the providence and dispensations of God — why surely it is not to be objected to a man! For who can love to walk in the dark? But Providence doth often so dispose. And though a man may impute his own folly and blindness to Providence sinfully, — yet this must be at a man's own peril. The case may be that it is the Providence of God that doth lead men in darkness! I must needs say, I have had a great deal of experience of Providence; and though such experience is no rule without or against the Word. yet it is a very good expositor of the Word in many cases. [Yes, my brave one!]

Truly the Providence of God hath laid aside this Title of King providentially de facto: and that not by sudden humour or passion; but it hath been by issue of as great deliberation as ever was in a Nation. It hath been by issue of Ten or Twelve Years Civil War,

Coagulated Jargon (Somers, p. 370) is almost worth looking at here:
 never was such a Reporter since the Tower of Babel fell.

wherein much blood hath been shed. I will not dispute the justice of it when it was done; nor need I tell you what my opinion is in the case were it de novo to be done. [Somewhat grim expression of face, your Highness! But if it be at all disputable; and a man comes and finds that God in His severity hath not only eradicated a whole Family, and thrust them out of the land, for reasons best known to Himself, but also hath made the issue and close of that to be the very eradication of a Name or Title -! Which de facto is 'the case.' It was not done by me, nor by them that tendered me the Government I now act in: it was done by the Long Parliament, - that was it.* And God hath seemed Providential, seemed to appear as a Povidence,' not only in striking at the Family but at the Name. And, as I said before, it is blotted out: it is a thing cast out by an Act of Parliament: it hath been kept out to this day. And as Jude saith, in another case, speaking of abominable sins that should be in the Latter Times, ** - he doth farther say, when he comes to exhort the Saints, he tells them, - they should "hate even the garments spotted with the flesh " ***

I beseech you think not that I bring this as an argument to prove anything. God hath seemed so to deal with the Person and the Family that He blasted the very Title. And you know when a man comes, a parte post, to reflect, and see this done, this Title laid

Oliverian reduplication of the phrase: accent on was.
 Very familiar with this passage of Jude; see Speech II. antea, pp.

<sup>216, 7.

***</sup> Grammar a little imperfect. Really one begins to find Oliver would, as it were, have needed a new Grammar. Had all men been Olivers, what a different set of rules would Lindley Murray and the Governesses now have gone upon!

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in the first. - I confess I can come to no other condustry. In Land or Ash were to have United the very I - to loo us, a his to not some qualifying. The IR- I this may make a string impression upon will work mit as I am: - ami techase upon weaker THE HILLS IN MEY SELL IN WILL DAKE A STRONGER. I will not sold to set up that which Providence bath ierrorei, und leff in the dass I would not build " And this is somewhat to me, and to ar trigger and are considered. This in much, it is this firm hath in two the n my stiffs "Here!" And I must be the size sizes are. - they are very inkle. The uncertain, may God knows you had need Live a min is in a title to separative you in your with the life and lokes Senkmant - I would make I went in anytiling that may be at a Someman of the Nation. For the National States to be in more And therefor our orthographic or I has you I am forever bernit whatever bet miss of mit, it is twhat is best for that. - 'and I am a noter which as knowledge you have halt must be nearly and worthily with me. and havingly, and have it is restore for one who deserves in this :

Indeed on of the sense I have an infinite of your work. I would not have you have the infinity of your work. I would not have you have had a service.

Name "K"

that may sense you that may send in scale to you I would will not you a sacrifice [Ains. Posters of the sense of the parliament sit a harmony, and letter and good under-

standing between all of you. And, - whatever any man may think, - it equally concerns one of us as another to go on to Settlement: and where I meet with any that is of another mind, indeed I could almost curse him in my heart. And therefore, to deal heartily and freely, I would have you lose nothing [Not even the Scrupulous] that may stand you in stead in this way. I would advise, if there be 'found' any of a froward, unmannerly or womanish spirit, - I would not that you should lose them! I would not that you should lose any servant or friend who might help in this Work; that any such should be offended by a thing that signifies no more to me than I have told you it does. That is to say: I do not think the thing necessary; I do not. I would not that you should lose a friend for it. If I could help you to many 'friends,' and multiply myself into many, that would be to serve you in regard to Settlement! And therefore I would not that any, especially any of these who indeed perhaps are men that do think themselves engaged to continue with you, and to serve you, should be anywise disobliged from you.

'I have now no more to say.' The truth is, I did indicate this as my conclusion to you at the first, when I told you what method I would speak to you in.* I may say that I cannot, with conveniency to myself, nor good to this service which I wish so well to, speak out all my arguments as to the safety of your Proposal, as to its tendency to the effectual carrying-on of this Work. [There are many angry suspicious persons

[&]quot;This was my second head of method; all this about myself and my "own feelings in regard to the Kingship. — after I had proved to you in "my first head that it was not necessary, that it was only expedient or not "expedient. I am now therefore got to the end of my second head, to my "conclusion."

listening to me, and every word is liable to different misunderstandings in every different narrow head! I say, I do not think it fit to use all the thoughts I have in my mind as to that point of safety. But I shall pray to God Almighty that He would direct you to do what is according to His will. And this is that poor account I am able to give of myself in this thing.

And so enough for Monday, which is now far spent: "till to-morrow at three o'clock" * let us adjourn; and diligently consider in the interim.

His Highness is evidently very far yet from having made up his mind as to this thing; the undeveloped Yes still balancing itself against the undeveloped No, in a huge dark intricate manner, with him. Unable to "declare" himself; there being in fact nothing to declare hitherto, nothing but what he does here declare, - namely, darkness visible. An abstruse time his Highness has had of it, since the end of February, six or seven weeks now; all England sounding round him, waiting for his Answer. And he is yet a good way off the Answer. For it is a considerabe question this of the Kingship: important to the Nation and the Cause he presides over: to himself not unimportant, - and yet to himself of very minor importance, my erudite friend! A Soul of a Man in right earnest about its own awful Life and Work in this world; much superior to "feathers in the hat," of one sort or the other, my erudite friend! - Of all which he gives here a candid and honest account: and indeed his attitude towards this matter is throughout, what towards other matters it has been, very manful and natural.

However, on the morrow, which is Tuesday, at three o'clock, the Committee cannot see his Highness; attending at Whitehall, as stipulated, they find his Highness indisposed in health;— are to come again tomorrow, Wednesday, at the same hour. Wednesday they come again; "wait for above an hour in the Council-Chamber;"— Highness still indis-

[§] Somers Tracts, vi. 365-371.

^{*} Burton, ii. 2.

posed, 'has got a cold:' Come again tomorrow, Thursday! "Which," says the writer of the thing called Burton's Diary, who was there, "did strongly build up the faith of the Contrariants," — He will not dare to accept, think the Contrariants. The Honourable House in the mean while has little to do but denounce that Shoreditch Fifth-Monarchy Pamphlet, the Standard set up, which seems to be a most incendiary piece; — and painfully adjourn and re-adjourn, till its Committee do get answer. A most slow business; and the hopes of the Contrariants are rising.

Thursday, 16th April 1657, Committee attending for the third time, the Interview does take effect: Six of the Grandees, Glynn, Lenthall, Colonel Jones, Sir Richard Onslow, Fiennes. Broghil, Whitlocke, take up in their order the various objections of his Highness's former Speech, of Monday last, and learnedly rebut the same, in a learned and to us insupportably wearisome manner; fit only to be entirely omitted. Whitlocke urges on his Highness That, in refusing this Kingship, he will do what never any that were actual Kings of England did, reject the advice of his Parliament. * Another says, It is his duty; let him by no means shrink from his duty! - Their discoursings, if any creature is curious on the subject, can be read at great length in the distressing pages of Somers, ** and shall be matter of imagination here. His Highness said, There were weighty arguments; give him till tomorrow to think of them. *** "Tomorrow at three: spero!" says the writer of the thing called Burton's Diary, who is not one of the Contrariants.

SPEECH XIL

ALAS, tomorrow at three his Highness proves again indisposed; which doth a little damp our hopes, I fancy! Let us appoint Monday morning: Monday ten o'clock, "at the old place," Chamber of the Council-of-State in Whitehall. Accordingly, on Monday 20th April 1657, at the set place and hour, the Committee of Ninety-nine is once more in attendance,

^{*} Somers, p. 386. ** Ibid. vi. 371-387. *** Burton, ii. 5.

and his Highness speaks, — answering our arguments of Thursday last, and indicating still much darkness.

'My Lords,'

I have, as well as I could, considered the arguments used by you, the other day, to enforce your conclusion as to that Name and Title, which has been the subject of various Debates and Conferences between us. I shall not now spend your time nor my own much, in recapitulating those arguments, or giving answers to them. Indeed I think they were 'mainly' but the same we formerly had, only with some additional inforcements by new instances: and truly, at this rate of debate, I might spend your time, which I know is very precious; and unless I were 'to end in being' a satisfied person, the time would spin out, and be very unprofitably spent, — so it would. I will say a word or two to that only which I think was new.

'You were pleased to say some things as to the 'power of Parliament, as to the force of a Parliament'tary sanction in this matter.'* What comes from the Parliament in the exercise of their Legislative power, as this Proposal does, — I understand this to be an exercise of the Legislative power, and the Laws formerly were always passed in this way 'of Proposal or Conference,' and the way of Bills is of a newer date, — I understand that, I say; but — — [In short, the Sentence falls prostrate, and we must start again.] You said, "that what was done by the Parliament now, "and simply made to hang upon this Legislative "power, 'as any Title but that of King will do,' might "seem partly as if it were a thing ex dono, not de jure;

^{*} Glynn, Lenthall, Broghil, Whitlocke (Somers, pp. 371, 2, 384-6).

"a thing that had not the same weight, nor the same "strength, as if it bore a reference to 'the general "Body of' the Law that is already in being." I confess there is some argument in that. — that is there! But if the degree of strength will be as good without Parliamentary sanction, 'then' — [Sentence pauses, never gets started again.] — Though it too, 'this Title of Kingship,' comes as a gift from you! I mean as a thing which you either provide for the people or else it will never come to them; so in a sense it comes from you, it is what they cannot otherwise arrive at: therefore in a sense it is ex dono; for whoever helps a man to what he cannot otherwise attain, doth an act that is very near a gift; and you helping them to this Title. it were a kind of gift to them, since otherwise they could not get it 'though theirs' - [This Sentence also finds that it will come to nothing, and so calls halt.] - But if you do it simply by your Legislative power - [Halt again. - In what bottomless imbroglios of Constitutional philosophy and crabbed Law-logic, with the Fifth-Monarchy and splenetic Contrariants looking on, is his poor Highness plunging! A ray of natural sagacity now rises on him with guidance.] - The question, "What makes such a thing as this more firm?" is not the manner of the settling of it, or the manner of your 'or another's' doing of it; there remains always the grand question after that; the grand question lies, In the acceptance of it by those who are concerned to yield obedience to it and accept it! [Certainly, your Highness; that is worth all the Law-logic in the world! And therefore if a thing [Like this Protectorate, according to your argument, - not altogether to mine hath but, for its root, your Legislative sanction - If I may put

a "But" to it, 'to that most valid sanction!' I will not do so: for I say, It is as good a foundation as that other, 'which you ascribe to the Kingship, how-soever "grounded in the body of Law."' And if that thing, 'that Protectorate,' be as well accepted, and the other be less well—? Why, then truly it, I shall think, is the better; — and then all that I say is founded upon Law too!—

Your arguments founded upon the Law do all make for the Kingship. Because, say you, it doth agree with the Law; the Law knows, - the People know it, and are likelier to receive satisfaction that way. Those were arguments that have ["had" is truer, but less polite] been used already; and truly I know nothing that I have to add to them. And therefore, I say, those arguments also may stand as we found them and left them already; - except, truly, this 'one point.' It hath been said to me [Saluting my Lord Whitlocke slightly with the eye, whose heavy face endeavours to smile in response that I am a person who meditate to do what never any that were actually Kings of England did: "Refuse the Advice of Parliament." I confess, that runs deep enough, 'that runs' to all; that may be accounted a very great fault in me; and may rise up in judgment against me another time, - if my case be not different from any man's that ever was in the Chief Command and Government of these Nations before. But truly I think, all they that have been in this Office before, and owned in right of Law, were inheritors coming to it by birthright, - or if owned by the authority of Parliament, they yet had some previous pretence of title or claim to it. And so, under favour, I think I deserve less blame than any of them



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would have done, if I cannot so well comply with this Title, and 'with' the desire of Parliament in regard to it. as these others might do. For they when they were in, would have taken it for an injury not to be in. Truly such an argument, to them, might be very strong, Why they should not refuse what the Parliament offered! But 'as for me,' I have dealt plainly with you: and I have not complimented with you 'in saying' I have not desired, I have no title to, the Government of these Nations. 'No title,' but what was taken up in a case of necessity, and as a temporary means to meet the actual emergency; without which we must needs - [Have gone you know whither!] - I say we had been all 'topsyturvying now' at the rate of the Printed Book 'you have just got hold of' [Shoreditch STANDARD SET UP, and Painted Lion there], and at the rate of those men that have been seized going into arms, if that expedient had not been taken! That was visible to me as the day, unless I undertook it. And so, it being put upon me, I being then General, as I was General by Act of Parliament, - it being 'put' upon me to take the power into my hand after the Assembly of Men that was called together had been dissolved - ["I took it, as you all know:" but his Highness blazing off here, as his wont is when that subiect rises, the Sentence explodes -!-

Really the thing would have issued itself in this Book: — for the Book, I am told, knows an Author [Harrison, they say, is Author]; he was a Leading Person in that Assembly! And now when I say (I speak in the plainness and simplicity of my heart, as before Almighty God), I did out of necessity undertake that 'Business,' which I think no man but myself would

have undertaken, - it hath pleased God that I have been instrumental in keeping the Peace of the Nation to this day. And have kept it under a Title [Protector which, some say, signifies but a keeping of it to another's use, — to a better use; 'a Title' which may improve it to a better use! And this I may say: I have not desired the continuance of my power or place either under one Title or another, - that have I not! I say it: If the wisdom of the Parliament could find where to place things so as they might save this Nation and the Interests of it. - the Interest of the People of God in the first place; of those Godly honest men. -- for such a character I reckon them by, who live in the fear of God, and desire to hold forth the excellency 'of Christ' and a Christian course in their life and conversation - [Sentence may be said to burst asunder here for the present, but will gather itself together again perhaps! I reckon that proceeds from Faith, and 'from' looking to our duties towards Christians, and our humanity to men as men; and to such Liberties and Interests as the People of this Nation are of: - and 'I' do look upon that as a standing truth of the Gospel; and whose lives up to that is a Godly Man in my apprehension! [Looks somewhat animated.] - And therefore I say, If the wisdom of this Parliament, - I speak not this vainly or as a fool, but as to God. — if the wisdom of this Parliament should have found a way to settle the Interests of this Nation, upon the foundations of justice and truth and liberty, to the people of God, and concernments of men as Englishmen [Voice risen into a kind of recitative], - I would have lain at their feet, or at anybody else's feet, that things might have run in such a current! [Your

Highness can't get out; no place for you now but here or in the grave! — His Highness fetches a deep breath.]— I 'say I have no pretentions to things for myself; to ask this or that, or to avoid this or that. I know the censures of the world may quickly pass upon me, 'and are already passing:' but I thank God I know where to lay the weight that is laid upon me, — I mean the weight of reproach and contempt and scorn that hath been cast upon me! [Ends, I think, in a kind of snort, — and the look partly as of an injured dove, partly as of a couchant lion.]—

I have not offered you any Name in competition with Kingship. I know the evil spirits of men may easily obtrude upon a man, That he would have a Name which the Laws know not, and which is boundless, and is one under which he may exercise more arbitrariness: but I know there is nothing in that argument; and if it were in your thoughts to offer any Name of that kind, I think, whatsoever it was, you would bound it and limit it sufficiently. I wish it were come to that, That no favour should be showed to me; but that the good of these Nations should be consulted; — as 'indeed' I am confident it will be by you in whatsoever you do. - But I may say a word to another thing which doth a little pinch upon me: That it is my duty 'to accept this Title.' I think it can be no man's duty but between God and himself, if he be conscious of his own infirmities, disabilities and weakness; 'conscious' that he perhaps is not able to encounter with it, - although he may have a little faith too, for a little exercise. I say I do not know what way it can be imputed to me for a fault, or laid upon me as a duty. Except I meant to gripe at the

Government of the Nations without a legal consent,—as I say I have done in time past upon principles of Necessity, 'but have no call now to do again.' And I promise I shall think whatever is done towards Settlement, without authority of Parliament, will neither be very honest, nor to me very comprehensible at this stage of the business. I think we have fought for the Liberties of the Nation and for other Interests! — [Checks himself.]—

You will pardon me that I speak these things in such a 'desultory' way as this. I may be borne withal, because I have not truly well stood the exercise that hath been upon me these three or four days. - I have not, I say. [Besides your Highness is suffering from the dregs of a cold, and I doubt still somewhat feverish!] — I have told you my thoughts, and have laid them before you. You have been pleased to give me your grounds, and I have given you mine. And truly I do purposely refuse to mention those arguments that were used when ye were last here; but rather tell you what since (as I say) lies upon my heart, -'speaking to you' out of the abundance of difficulty and trouble that lies upon me. [His Highness, sick of body, feverish, unequal to such a jungle of a subject and its adjuncts, is really weltering and staggering like a wearied man, in the thickets and puddles. And therefore you having urged me, I mean offered reasons to me, and urged them in such way as did occur to you; and I having told you, the last time we met, that the satisfaction from them did not reach to me so as wholly to convince me of my duty, - I have thought rather to answer today by telling you my grief, and the trouble I am under. [Poor Sovereign Man!] —

And truly my intentions and purposes, they are honest to the Nation, — and shall be, by the Grace of God. And I have it not in view, upon collateral pretences, 'either by asking this Kingship or by refusing it' — to act towards things that may be destructive to the liberties of this Nation! ["I am worn and weary; let me be as clay in the hands of the potter!"] — — Any man may give me leave to die; every one may give me leave to be as a dead man, — when God takes away the spirit and life and activity that are necessary for the carrying-on of such a work! [Poor Highness, still somewhat feverish, suffering from the dregs of a cold!]

And therefore I do leave the former Debates as they were, and as we had them; and will let you know that I have looked a little upon the Paper [Petition and Advice, the Instrument, I would say, in the other parts of it, 'unconnected with this of the Kingship.' And considering that there are very many particulars in this Instrument [Holding it in his hand], some of a general reference and others specific, and all of weight (let this business of the Title be decided as it may) to the concernment of the Nations, - I think I may desire that those 'particulars' may be really such as will serve their object, — let the 'Title' we fix upon be one or the other. They might be such as the People have no cause — [Sentence checking itself]—But I am confident your care and faithfulness need neither a spur nor an admonition to that! - I say, reading in your Order, the Order of the Parliament to this Committee, I find mention there of "divers particulars," concerning which, if I do make any scruple of them, I

am to have the freedom with this Committee to cast* my doubts.

The truth of it is, I have a Paper here in my hands** that doth contain divers things with relation to the Instrument; which, I hope, have a Public aspect in them; therefore I cannot presume but they will be very welcome to you. Therefore I shall desire that you will read them. [Hands Whitlocke the Paper.] should desire, if it please you, the liberty. - which I submit to your judgment whether you think I have or no. — that I might tender these few things; and some others which I have in preparation. And truly I shall reduce them to as much brevity as I can: - they are too large here, 'these in the Paper are diffuse.'*** And if it please you, Tomorrow in the afternoon at three o'clock I may meet you again. And I hope we shall come to know one another's minds; and shall agree to that that may be for the glory of God, and for the good of these Nations. §

So much for Monday the 20th; - noontide and the hour of dinner being now nigh. Herewith exeunt till tomorrow at three.

We returned "much unsatisfied with the Lord Protector's Speech," says the Writer of Burton; it is "as dark and promiscuous as before;" nobody can know whether he will have the Kingship or not. Sometimes the "Contrariants" are up in hope, and sometimes again we, + - and the bets, if betting were permitted under Gospel Ordinances, would fluctuate not a little.

^{*} canvass, shake out.

* A Paper of Objections by his Highness; repeatedly alluded to in the Journals; "uninappliy altogether lost now," say the Parliamentary History, and the Editor of Buston, — not very unhappily, say my readers and I.

**A Ho gave them the complete Paper on the morrow (Burton, it. 7).

[§] Somers, vi. 387-389.

⁺ See Burton, il. 7 ct scqq.

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Courage, my Lord Protector! Blake even now, though as yet you know it not, is giving the Spaniards a terrible scorching for you, in the Port of Santa Cruz! - Worth noting: In those very minutes while the Lord Protector is speaking as above, there goes on far off, on the Atlantic brine, under shadow of the Peak of Teneriffe, one of the fieriest actions ever fought by land or water: this action of the Sea-king Blake. at the Port of Santa Cruz. The case was this. Blake cruising on the coast of Spain, watching as usual for Plate Fleets, heard for certain that there was a Fleet actually coming, actually come as far as the Canary Isles, and now lying in the Bay of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe there. Blake makes instant sail thither: arrives there still in time this Monday morning early: finds the Fleet fast moored in Santa Cruz Bay; rich silverships, strong war ships, Sixteen as we count them; stronger almost than himself, - and moored here under defences unassailable apparently by any mortal. Santa Cruz Bay is shaped as a horse-shoe: at the entrance are Castles, in the inner circuit are other Castles, Eight of them in all, bristling with great guns; war-ships moored at the entrance, warfrigates moored all round the beach, and men and gunners at command: one great magazine of sleeping thunder and destruction: to appearance, if you wish for sure suicide to run into, this must be it. Blake, taking measure of the business. runs into it, defying its loud thunder; much out-thunders it, - mere whirlwinds of fire and iron hail, the old Peak never heard the like; - silences the Castles, sinks or burns every sail in the Harbour; annihilates the Spanish Fleet; and then, the wind veering round in his favour, sails out again, leaving Santa Cruz Bay much astonished at him.* It is the last action of the brave Blake; who, worn out with toil and sickness and a cruize of three years, makes homewards shortly after; dies within sight of Plymouth. **

[•] Heath's Chronicle, pp. 720, 1.
** 7th August 1657, in his Fifty-ninth year (Biog. Brit. in voce).

On the whole, the Spanish Antichrist finds his Highness a rough enemy. In these same April days, Six-thousand men are getting mustered here, "furnished with new red coats" and other equipments, to join French Turenne in the Low Countries, and fight the Spaniard by land too. For our French Treaty has become a French League Offensive and Defensive,* to last for one year; and Reynolds is to be Land-General, and Montague to help him as Sea-General: of whom by and by there may be tidings. — But meanwhile this matter of the Kingship must be settled. All men wish it settled; and the present Editor as much as any! They have to meet tomorrow again, Tuesday 21st, at three o'clock: they for their uncertain airy talking, while so much hard fighting and solid work has to be managed withal.

SPEECH XIII.

His Highness this Tuesday, we find, has deserted the question of the Kingship; occupies himself with the other points of the New Instrument, what he calls the "essentials" of it; leaving that comparatively empty unessential one to hang undecided, for the present. The Writer of Burton's Diary, Nathaniel Bacon or another, is much disappointed. The question of the Kingship not advanced a whit by this long Discourse, one of the most tedious we have yet listened to from his High-"Nothing but a dark speech," says he, ** "more promiscuous than before!" — A sensible Speech too, in some respects, Mr. Bacon. His Highness once more elucidates as he best can his past conduct, and the course of Providence in bringing us all hither to the very respectable pass we now stand in; - explains next what are the essential elements of keeping us safe here, and carrying us farther, as checking of Public Immorality, attention wiser and wiser to the Preaching Clergy, and for one indispensable thing, additional Provision of Cash; - and terminates by intimating with soft diffuseness, That when he has heard their answer as to these essential

** Burton, ii. 7.

^{*} Signed 23d March 1656-7 (Godwin, iv. 540).

things (not that he makes them "conditions," that were terribly ill-judged!), he will then be prepared, in regard to unessential things, to King's Cloaks, Titles, and such-like frippery and feathers in the cap, which are not without use say the Lawyers, but which irritate weak brethren,—to give such answer as may reasonably be expected from him, as God may set him free to do.—Let us listen, us and Whitlocke who also has to report, the best we can.

My Lords,

I think you may well remember what the issue was of the last Conference I had with you 'yesterday,' and what the stick* then was. I confess I took liberty 'at that time,' from the Order of Parliament; whereby they gave me power to speak with you about those things that were in the body of that Instrument and Desire which you have been pleased to speak with me 'upon;' that I might confer with you about those particulars, and might receive satisfaction from you as to them. Whether there will a good issue be to all these affairs or no, is only in the hands of God. That is a great secret; — and secrets belong to God. To us belong things revealed; - and such things are the subject-matter of this Instrument of yours: and 'the course is,' so far as they may have relation to me, That you and I shall consider what may be for the public good 'therein,' that so they may receive such an impression** as can humanly be given them.

I would be well understood in that I say, The former Debates and Conferences have been upon the Title; and that rests as it did. But seeing, as I said before, your Order of Commitment, 'your Order to Committees,' doth as well reach to the particulars con-

^{*} stop.

tained in the Instrument 'generally' as to that of the Title, — I did offer to you that I should desire to speak with you about them also. That so we may come to an understanding one with another, not What the things in their parts are, but What is in the whole conduceable to that end we ought all to aim at, — which is a general Settlement upon good foundations.

Truly, as I have often said to the Parliament itself when they did me the honour to meet me in the Bahqueting-House, so I may now say to you who are a Committee, a very considerable representation of the Parliament: I am hugely taken with the word Settlement; with the thing, and with the notion of it. 'And indeed' I think he is not worthy to live in England who is not! No; I will do my part, so far as I am able, to expel that man out of the Nation who desireth not that in the general we come to a Settlement. Because indeed it is the great misery and unhappiness of a Nation to be without such: it is like a house (and so much worse than a "house") divided against itself; it "cannot stand" without Settlement! - And therefore I hope, so far, we are all at a good point; and the spirit of the Nation, I hope, in the generality of it, is so far at a good point: we are all contending for a Settlement. That is sure. But the question is, De modo, and Of those things 'and conditions' that will make it a good Settlement if possible. It's no fault to aim at perfection in Settlement! And truly I have said, and I say it again: That I think this 'present proposed Form of Settlement' doth tend to the making of the Nation enjoy the things we have 'all along' declared for; and I would come upon that issue with all men, or with any man. The things we have declared

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for, which have been the ground of our quarrelling and fighting all along,—the securing of these is what will accomplish the general work. Settlement is the general work. That which will give to the Nation to enjoy their civil and religious liberties; that which will conserve the liberties of every man, and not rob any man of what is justly his! I think these two things make up Settlement. I am sure they acquit us before God and man; having endeavoured, as we have done, through some streamings of blood, to attain that end.

I may tell you my 'own' experience in this business, and offend no good man who loves the Public before what is personal. Truly I shall, a little, shortl? recapitulate to you what my observations and endeavours and interest have been to this end. And I hope no man that hath been interested in transactions all along* will blame me. And he shall have no cause to blame me: because I will take myself into the number of the Culpable Persons (if there be any such), - though perhaps apt enough, from the self-love I have, to be willing to be 'reckoned' innocent where I am so! And yet as willing withal to take my reproach, if anybody will lay it upon me, where I am culpable! And truly I have, through the Providence of God. endeavoured to discharge a poor duty; having had, as I conceive, a clear call to the stations I have acted in through all these affairs; - and I believe very many are sufficiently satisfied in that. I shall not go about saying anything to clear it to you; [No, your Highness, let it stand on its own feet] - but must exercise myself in a little short Chronology. To come to that 'issue,' [Not the "Chronology," but what the Chronology will help

^{*} Not polite to add, "as I have been."

to teach us!] I say, is really all our business at present; and the business of this Nation: To come upon clear grounds; To consider the Providence of God how He hath led us hitherunto.

After it pleased God to put an end to the War of this Nation: a final end: which was done at Worcester. in the determination and decision that was there by the hand of God, - for other War, we have had none that deserves the name of War, since that time, which is now six years gone September 'last;' - I came up to the Parliament that then was. And truly I found the Parliament, as I thought, very 'well' disposed to put a good issue to all those Transactions which had been in the Nation: and I rejoiced at it. And though I had not been well skilled in Parliamentary affairs, having been near ten years in the Field; yet, in my poor measure, my desires did tend to the same issue; believing verily that all the blood which had been shed, and all the distemper which God had suffered to be among us, which in some sense God had raised among us, - 'believing, I say,' that surely Fighting was not the end, but the means, which had an end, and was in order to somewhat! Truly the end, then, was, I thought, Settlement; that is, that men might come to some consistencies. And to that end I did endeavour to add my mite, - which was no more than the interest any one member there might have, - after I was returned again to that capacity. And I did, — I shall tell you no fable, but things 'of' which divers persons here can tell whether they be true or no, Threatening to blaze up again?] - I did endeavour it. I would make the best interpretation of all that: but yet it is a truth, and nothing of a discovery on my part, but a fact which everybody knows to be true, That the Parliament, having done these memorable things - [Sentence explodes; and even launches off into a panegyric of the Long Parliament; preparatory to EXEcurion - They had done things of honour, and things of necessity; things which, if at this day you have any judgment that there lieth a possibility upon you to do any good, and to bring this Nation to any foot of Settlement, I may say you are all along, in a good manner, beholden to that Parliament 'for.' But yet truly as men who contend for the Public Interest are not like to have the applause of all men, nor justification from all hands, so it was with them. And truly, when they had made preparations which might have led to the issuing in some good for the Settlement of these Nations, in point of liberty, in point of freedom from tyranny and oppression and from hazard of our religion, - To throw it all away upon men who designed by innovations to introduce Popery, and by complying with some notions introduce Arbitrariness upon a Civil account - ["Royalist Malignants, in "1647, 1648, and Crypto-Royalists; with their 'notions' "that of all things indispensable, a Stuart King was in-"dispensablest? That would never have done! The Long "Parliament did need a Pride's Purge; could not" -But the Sentence here, in its hasty impatience, as is usual, bursts] — Why they had more enemies than friends, 'that Long Parliament had;' they had so all along! And this made them careful, [In 1648, trying to bargain with Charles, they were "full of care;" and even afterwards they could not decide all at once on granting a new Free Parliament and General Election; no!] - upon

principles of Nature, which do sometimes suggest the best. And upon the most undeniable grounds, they did think that it was not fit for them presently to go and throw themselves, and all this Cause, into hands that perhaps had no heart nor principle 'in common' with them to accomplish the end they had aimed at [In short, they, very properly, decided on sitting still for a while.]

I grant, perhaps through infirmity they did desire to have continued themselves; to have perpetuated themselves upon that Act.* An Act which was justly enough obtained, and necessarily enough obtained, when they did get it from the King. But though, truly, it was good in the first obtaining of it; yet it was, by most men who had ventured their lives in this Cause. judged not fit to be perpetuated, but rather a thing that was to have an end when it had finished its course! Which was certainly the true way of doing, in subserviency to the bringing-in of what might be a good and honest Settlement to the Nation. - I must say to you that I found them very willing to perpetuate themselves! And truly this is not a thing of reflection upon all, for perhaps some were not so; - I can say it of some. The sober men whom I had converse with. were not for continuing; but the major part, I think, did overrule in-that they would have continued. This is true that I say to you: I was entreated to comply with the plan, and advised to it; and it was to have been accomplished by this medium, 'They were' to have sent into the country to have got their number reinforced, and the Parliament filled up by new elec-

^{*} Act, 10th May 1641, That we are not to be dissolved without our own consent. Necessary in all ways; the City would not lend money otherwise, — not even money could be had otherwise (Antea, vol. i. p. 116).

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tions. And it had this excuse, That it would not be against the Liberty of the People, nor against a succession of men coming into rule and government; because as men died out of the House, so they should be supplied again. [Like Sir John Cockle's silk hose; which always, after infinite darnings, could remain the same hose, though not a thread of the original silk was now left in them: a perennial pair of stockings. Such was the plan of the Rump] And this was the best answer they could give to all objections, 'this,' "That the proper "way to govern is to have successive men in such great "bodies as Parliaments; to have men learning to know "how to obey as well as how to govern."* And truly the expedient they then offered was what I tell you.

The truth of it is, this did not satisfy a company of poor men, [Certain insignificant individuals, - mentioned elsewhere by the same name!] who thought they had ventured their lives, and had some interest to inquire after these things! And the rather, because really they had been invited out, 'first of all, into this War,' upon principles of honesty, conscience and religion; "for Spiritual Liberties;" as many as would come. 'Yes,' when the Cause was a little doubtful, there had issued forth a Declaration 'of that purport,' which was very inviting; and men did come in 'and enlist' upon that invitation; - and did thereby think themselves not to be mercenary men, but men who had wives and children in the Nation, and 'who' therefore might a little look after satisfaction in what would be the Issue of the Business! [They told us always, We were Soldiers, sworn as our first duty to obey; but we answered

^{*} The "Rota Club" (see Wood, iv. 1119, 1120. § Harrington) had not started in 1653; but this doctrine, it would seem, was already affoat; — not much patronised by his Highness at any time.

(and it was intrinsically a fact), We were the most peculiar Soldiers that had ever handled steel in England; whereby our first, and also our second and third, duties had become modified a good deal!

And when this thing was thus pressed, and perhaps overpressed 'by us,' That a period might be put, and some ascertainment made, and a time fixed, - why then truly the extreme ran another wav. 'would not go at all, that had been the one extreme; 'Parliament shall go straightway, that was now the other.' This is very true that I tell you; although it shame me. 'Extremes give rise to their opposite extremes: and are honourable to nobody!' I do not say it shames all that were of the House, for I know all were not of that mind; but truly when this was urged, they on their side did fall into another extreme. And what was that? Why truly then it was: Seeing this Parliament could not be perpetual, yet a Parliament might always be sitting. And to that end there was a Bill framed, That Parliaments might always be sitting; that as soon as one Parliament went out of place, another might leap in.* When we saw this, truly we thought it did but make a change in pretence; and did not remedy the thing! - However, it was pursued with such heat 'in the House,' I dare say there was more progress in it in a month than had ever been with the

^{*} This arrangement, of a Parliament constantly sitting, his Highness and the company of poor men did by no means consider a good "Issue of the Business." It leads almost infallibly to "arbitrarines," argues his Highness (Speech III., antea, Vol. III. p. 246), leads to &c. &c. — in fact, as in these days of ours is everywhere becoming too apparent, leads to "Nothing," to Self-cancelment (like that of the Kilkenny Cats) and peaceable Zero. Which in very few epochs of the world's history is the desirable thing! His Highness's logic-arguments, here and in his other Speech, are none of the best; but instincts and inarticulate insights much deeper than logic taught him well that "a Parliament always sitting" was not the Balm of Gilead we had all been fighting for.



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like business in four; 'so eager were they' to hasten it to an issue, to get such a Parliament brought in: — to bring the state of the Nation into this, A continual sit-

ting of Parliament.

We did think, who were plain men, and I do think it still, That that had been, according to the old foolish proverb, "out of the frying-pan into the fire!" looking at the Government you would then have had, it was 'still' a 'Commonwealth's' Government. entirely the Ideal of a Government, your Highness thinks?] Why, we should have had fine work then! We should have had a Council of State, and a Parliament of Fourhundred men, executing arbitrary government [As the Long Parliament did without intermission, except some change of a part of them; one Parliament stepping into the seat of another, just left warm for them; the same day that the one left, the other was to leap in! -Truly I did think, and I do think, however much some are enamoured with that kind of Government - [Style getting hasty, hot; the Sentence breaks - Why it was no more but this, That Committees of Parliament should take 'all' upon them, and be instead of the Courts at Westminster! Perhaps some will think there had been no hurt in that arbitrariness of Committees? Where a man can neither come to prove nor to defend, - nor to know his judges; because there are one set of men who judge him today, and another set of men tomorrow! Thus was to have been the Law of England; and thus was to have been the way of judging this Nation. And truly I thought that it was an ill way of "judging." For I may say to you, with truth in regard to that, After it pleased God, your poor Army, those poor contemptible men, came up hither,

- it did prove so. An outcry here in this place, 'then an outcry there in that,' to get some cause determined and judged. [The way of Parliaments, your Highness, with their caballings and committeeings, and futile jargonings, and Babel outbabbled! And Committees erected to fetch men from the extremest parts of the Nation to London, to attend Committees 'set' to determine all things. And without any manner of satisfaction. Whether a man travel with never such right or never such wrong, he must come, - and he must go back again. as wise as he came. This truly was the case Fancy an old Ironside who had stood Dunbar and Worcester. and Marston and Naseby, dancing attendance here!], and our condition. And truly I must needs say, Take all that was in the practices there, - [Better not, your Highness! - I am sorry to tell the story of it! -Though there was indeed some necessity for such a thing. A necessity for some Committees to look to Indemnity, 'and such like;' but no necessity for Committees instead of Courts of Justice! However, so it was: and this was the case of the People of England at that time; the Parliament assuming to itself the authority of the Three Estates that were before. It had so assumed that authority: and if any man had come and said, "What rules do you judge by?" -"Why, we have none! We are supreme, 'we,' in Legislature and in Judicature!" -

Such was the state of the case. And I thought, and we thought, and I think so still, That this was a pitiful remedy, 'this that they proposed.' [This of a Perpetual Parliament, NEW-DARNED, like Sir John's Perpetual Pair of Stockings: — a bad article in itself, whether new or new-darked, if you make it the exclusive

one!] And it will always be so when and whensoever a Perpetual Legislative is exercised; where the Legislative and Executive Powers are always the same. — Truly I think the Legislature might almost as well be in the Four Courts of Westminster Hall! If they could make Laws and judges too, you would have excellent Laws; and the Lawyers would be able to give excellent counsel! And so it was then. This was our condition, without scruple or doubt; and I shall say no more to it. But the offer was made by us with a true and honest spirit; the desire, the entreaty that we might have a Settlement. And there is our "Settlement;" that is what they propose for a Settlement! —

It was desired then, it was offered and desired, that the Parliament would be pleased, either of their own body or of any else, to choose a certain number of men [The Puritan Notables; ah yes!] to settle the Nation: "This," said we, "is unsettlement, this is confusion!" For give me leave, if any body now have the face to say, - and I would die upon this - [Sentence catching fire] — if any man in England have the impudence [Ah!] or face to say, That the reluctance of the Parliament to dissolve themselves was their fear of hasty throwing of the Liberties of the People of God, and of the Nation, into the hands of a bare Representative of the People, — which was then the business we opposed: if any man have the face to say this now, who did then judge it, 'that last measure of theirs,' and I will say more, ought then to have judged it, to be a confounding of the whole Cause we had fought for, which it was, - I would look upon that man's face! I would be glad to see such a man!* I do not say

^{*} A dangerous spectator, your Highness, with that thundery counte-Carlyle, Cromwell. IV.

there is any such here: but if any such should come to me. see if I would not look upon him, and tell him he is an hypocrite! I dare say it, and I dare die for it, 'he is an hypocrite;' - knowing the spirit that hath been in some men to me. They come and tell me, They do not like my being Protector. Why do you not? - "Why, because you will exercise arbitrary government." — Why, what is it you want me to do? - "Pray, turn those Gentlemen of the Long Parliament' all in again; then we will like you exceedingly well!" - [Inarticulate interjection; snort or "Humph!"] - I was a child in swaddling clouts!* I cannot go beyond the Instrument of Government. I cannot do anything but in coördination with the Council. They fear, 'these objectors,' "arbitrary government" by me in that way; but if arbitrary government were restored to be general 'by reinstatement of the Long Parliament,' then they are not afraid of it! Such things as these are, such hypocrisies as these are, should they enter into the heart of any man that hath truth or honesty in him? — —

Truly that was our case: — and finding our case to be thus, we did press the Parliament, as I told you, That they would be pleased to select some Worthy Persons who had loved this Cause, and the liberties of

* So tied up with restrictions in that first Instrument; had not the smallest power to do "arbitrary government."

nance of yours! — His Highness's anger is exceedingly clear; but the cause of it, in this intricate sentence, much more in the distracted congulum of jargon which the Original here offers, is by no means so clear. On intense inspection, he discovers himself to be (as above) reproaching certain parties who now affect to regret the Long Parliament, which while it existed they had been sufficiently loud in condemning. You say: "They were afraid to tiling the whole Cause into the lottery of a general Parliament:" — Then? while we opposed that; and while that was the very thing they at last were recklessly doing! I should like to see the face of a man brazen enough for a story like this!

England, and the interest of England: and we told them we would acquiesce, and lie at their 'the Worthy Persons's' feet: but that to be thrown into Parliaments which should sit perpetually, though but for three years 'each,' we had experience of that! An experience which may remain to this day, to give satisfaction to honest and sober men! — Why, truly this might have satisfied, this proposal of ours; but it did not. And therefore we did think that it 'was the greatest of dangers, 'thus' to be overwhelmed, and brought under a slavery by our own consent, and "Iniquity to become a Law."* And there was our ground we acted upon at that time. And truly they had perfected their Bill for perpetuating of Parliaments to the last Clause; [Hear!] and were resolved to pass it as a Bill in Paper, 'not even engrossed on Parchment as the wont was,' rather than comply with any expedient. [We then entered upon them; bade them with emphasis, Go about their business! That's no lie!] - If your own experience add anything to you in this, 'if you ever individually had to do with a Long-Parliament Com-'mittee, and know its ways,' - in this point, "Whether "or no, in cases civil and criminal, if a Parliament "assume an absolute power, without any control, to "determine the interests of men in property and liberty; "whether or no this be desirable in a Nation?" - if

[&]quot;The Throne of Iniquity, which frameth mischief by a Law" (Psalm xciv. 20). A fearful state of matters; shadowed forth by old Prophets as the fearfullest of all; but entirely got rid of in these modern days,—if Dryasdust and the general course of new Prophecy may be credited, to whom Law is Equity, and the mere want of "Law," with its three readings, and tanned pieces of sheepskin written-over in bad English, is Iniquity.—
O Dryasdust, thy works in this world are wonderful. Thy notions of this world, thy ideas, what thou namest ideas, perhaps defy all ages, even ages when Witchcraft was believed in,—or when human creatures worshipped Leeks, and considered that the Founder of this Universe was one Apis, a sacred Prize-Ox! I begin to be weary of thee.

you have any sense, ["General openness of perception;" not exactly our modern word; but a questionable expression, as his Highness immediately sees: "any sense"]—as I believe you have,—you have more than I,——'then' I think you will take it for a mercy that that did not befall England at that time! And that is all I will say of it.

Truly I will now come and tell you a story of my own weakness and folly. [The little Parliament.] And yet it was done in my simplicity, I dare avow it was: and through some of my companions - ["May dislike my mentioning the story?" - The Sentence, in its haste, has no time to END.] — And truly this is a story that should not be recorded, that should not be told, except when good use may be made of it. I say, It was thought then that men of our own judgment, who had fought in the Wars, and were all of a piece upon that account; - 'it was thought,' "Why surely these men will hit it, and these "men will do it to the purpose, whatever can be desired!" And truly we did think, and I did think so, - the more blame to me. And such a Company of Men were chosen; [The little Parliament; - Convention of the Puritan Notables and did proceed to action. And truly this was the naked truth, That the issue was not answerable to the simplicity and honesty of the design. [Poor Puritan Notables!]

What the issue of that Meeting would have been 'scemed questionable,' and was feared: upon which the sober men of that Meeting did withdraw; and came and returned my power as far as they could, — they did actually the greater part of them, — into my hands; professing and believing that the issue of that

Meeting would have been The subversion of your Laws and of all the Liberties of this Nation, the destruction of the Ministers of this Nation; in a word, the confusion of all things. 'Confusion of all things!' To set up, instead of Order, the Judicial Law of Moses, in abrogation of all our administrations; to have had administered the Judicial Law of Moses pro hic et nunc, according to the wisdom of any man that would have interpreted the Text this way or that -! - And if you do not believe that these Persons, 'thereupon sent home,' were sent home by the major part 'of themselves,' who were judicious and sober and learned (the minority being the worser part upon this account, and with my consent a parte post, — you will believe nothing! [Somewhat tart.] For the persons that led in that Meeting were Mr. Feak and his assemblage in Blackfriars. [We know "Feak," and other foul chimneys on fire, from of old! - As for "Mr. Squib," he sits now with Venner and the Fifth-Monarchy, safe locked in the Tower.] 'Mr. Feak,' Major-General Harrison, and the rest that associated with him at one Mr. Squib's house. There were all the resolutions taken that were acted in that House 'of Parliament' day by day. And this was so de facto; I know it to be true. And that such must naturally be the product of it, I do but appeal to that Book I told you of the other day ["Standard set up"], That all Magistracy and Ministry is Antichristian, wherefore all these things ought to be abolished. Which we are certain must have been the issue of that Meeting. [A failure, that poor Convention of the Puritan Notables!]

So that you have been delivered, if I think aright, from two evils. The one, a secular evil, which would

have swallowed up all religious and civil interest, and brought us under the horridest arbitrariness that ever was exercised in the world: To have had Five or Six hundred "Friends," * with their friends, 'the Feaks, &c.,' entrusted with the judgment of all causes, and to judge of them without rule; thinking that "the Power which swallowed up all other Lawful Powers in the Nation" hath all the power they ever had, both Legislative and Judiciary! In short, a thing which would have swallowed both the Civil and Religious Interest. And the other evil - [His Highness has already inextricably caudled the two together, and here merely gives them another stir] - merely under a Spiritual Interest, would have swallowed up all again in another extreme, -'no stated Ministry being allowed.' All our Civil and Religious Interest; and had made our Ministry, and all the things we were beholding to God for, 'of no account!' Truly we think we ought to value this Interest above all the interests in the world: but if this latter had not as surely been destroyed as the former. I understand nothing. -

And having told you these two things, 'two Failures in getting Settlement' — truly it makes me in love with this Paper; and with all the things in it; and with the additions I have now to tender you thereto; and with Settlement above all things in the world! — Except 'only' that, where I left you last time; ["The Kingship!" Committee of Ninety-nine look alert] — for that, I think, we have debated. [Look dumpish again.] I have heard your mind, and you have heard mine 'as

The name of Quakers already budding in 1653, — now, in 1657, budded and blown.

to that;' I have told you my heart and judgment; and the Lord bring forth His own issue. [His Highness produces the Engrossed Vellum.]

I think we are now to consider, not what we are in regard to our Footing and that of the Government which called this Parliament. [No: our First foolish Parliament spent all their time on that; not you, my wiser Friends. Our Footing and Government is, till there be an end put to it, - that that hath existence! [What other definition of it can be given, or need?] And so I shall say nothing to it. If it accomplisheth the end of our Fighting, and all those blessed ends and aims that we should aim at; if it do, - I would we might keep it, and remain where we are.' If it do not, I would we might have a better! - Which* truly I do come out of myself to tell you, That as to the substance and body of your Instrument, I do look upon it as having things in it, - if I may speak freely and plainly; I may, and we all may! - I say, the things that are provided for in this 'Act of' Government [Handling the Vellum do secure the Liberties of the People of God so as they never before had them! And he must be a pitiful man who thinks the People of God ever had the like Liberty either de facto or de jure; - de jure from God, I think they have had it from the beginning of the world to this day, and have it still, but asserted by a jus humanum, I say, they never had it so as they have it now. I think you have provided for the Liberty of the People of God, and 'for the Liberty' of the Nation. And I say he sings sweetly that sings a song of reconciliation betwixt those two Interests! And it is a pitiful fancy, like wisdom and

[&]quot; Ungrammatical, but unalterable. Means "On which hint."

ignorance, to think they are inconsistent. Certainly they may consist! And, I speak my conscience of this 'Act of' Government, I think you have made them to consist.

And therefore, I must say, in that, and in other things, you have provided well, - that you have. And because I see the Rule of the Parliament, 'your written Order here,' gives you leave to speak with me about the particulars (I judge the Parliament doth think that any Member it has is not to be neglected in offering of anything that may be of additional good), - therefore, I having a little surveyed the Instrument, I have a Paper here to offer you upon that account. [Handles a Paper of his own.] And truly I must needs say and think that, in such a case as this, where so new a work and so strange a work as this is before you, it will not be thought ill [Not at all, your Highness, only get on!] if I do with a little earnestness press you for some explanations in some things. 'A few explanations' that may help to complete the business, and leave me - (for it is only handled with me 'and for my behoof' at this time, not with you and the Parliament whom you represent): - I say, I would be glad that you might leave me, and all opposers, without excuse; as well as glad that you should settle this Nation to the uttermost advantage for it; - in all the things I have to offer you. They are not very weighty; they may tend to the completion of the business; and therefore I shall take the freedom to read them to vou.

[First, however, this Editor, with your Highness's leave, will read to the Moderns a certain excerpt or abstract from the Engrossed Vellum itself, which he has obtained sight of, that they also may understand what your Highness will animadvert upon. Let the Moderns pay what attention they can.

Whitlocke, p. 648 et seqq.; Parliamentary History, xxi. 129 et seqq.

"Article Fourth of the Petition and Advice is taken up with "describing who are to be Electors to Parliament, and Eli"gibles, — or rather who not; for it is understood that, except "the classes of persons here specified, all who had such a pri"vilege by the old Laws are still entitled to vote and to be "voted for.

"The Classes excluded from elected or being elected are

"the following:

"1. All who have been concerned in the rebellion of Ire"land; or who, with or without concern in said Rebellion, are
"or shall become Papists. — All who have advised, abetted or
"assisted in any War against the Parliament since the First
"of January 1641-2, — unless they have since given signal
"proofs of repentance, by bearing arms for the Parliament, —
"or in some other 'signal' manner, difficult to define. The
"defining of which has occasioned great debates in Parlia"ment.* This excludes all the English and other Malignants.
"— All who have ever been engaged in any Plot against the
"Person of his Highness; or, apart from that, have been en"gaged in any Insurrection in England or Wales 'since 16th
"December 1653,' beginning of the Protectorate.

"2. In Scotland all who have been in arms against the "Parliament of England or the Parliament of Scotland before "the First of April 1648. This excludes the Montrose Party "and Royalists Proper of Scotland, — except such as have "given 'signal' &c. But then follows this clause in favour of "the Hamilton Engagers, and the Dunbar and Worcester "people, which attracts his Highness's animadversion in the "present Discourse: 'Nor any' (shall elect or be elected) 'who "since the First of April 1648 have been in arms, or otherwise "aided, abetted' &c. (which excludes all the Preston, and all "the Dunbar and Worcester people; with, however, a most "important exception) — 'except such as since the First day of "March 1651-2 have lived peaceably,' — as they might all very "well do, having been all smashed to powder, six months be-

"fore, at Worcester Fight, and their 'Chief Malignant,' whom "they had set up as King, being now sent on his travels, some"what in the style of a King of the Gipsies!" His Highness cannot but animadvert on this with some tartness.

With these exceptions, and one "proviso for Ireland" to be speedily noticed, all Freeholders of Counties, according to the old definition, shall vote; and all Burgesses and Citizens of Towns, — nay, I think, there is in this latter department a tendency towards the *Potwalloper* System; but modified of course by the established custom of each several locality in that respect.

And now let us hear his Highness in regard to Paragraph Second of Article Fourth:

In the Fourth Article and Second Paragraph, you have something that respects the calling of Members to Parliament 'for Scotland.' You would not have those excluded that were under Duke Hamilton, and made that Invasion.* Because it hath been said to you, perhaps, that if you should exclude all 'such,' you would have no Members from that Nation? I hope there be persons of that Nation who will be ready to give a better testimony of their country than admit that argument! And I hope it is no argument: but if it be one, then truly, to meet with the least certainty as to qualifications, you should indeed exclude men of your own country upon better 'defined' crimes; you should hold them off upon stricter characters 'than those given!' It is thought, the qualification there which saith, of their "good testimony," That they are to be men who have given good testimony by their quiet living - Why, truly, for divers years, they have not been willing to do other; they have not had an easy possibility to do otherwise, than to live

[&]quot; Which met its due at Preston.

quietly! Not since the taming they got at Worcester, your Highness! Though perhaps 'at bottom' many of them have been the same men: - and vet 'certainly too' I know many of them are good men. worthy men. — And therefore whether it be not fit, in that place, to explain somewhat farther, and put some other character* upon what may really be regarded as "a good testimony" of their being otherwise minded, of their being now of another judgment? I confess I have not anything here to supply this defect with: but certainly if the description so stand as it now is in your Article, - those men, though they be never so indisposed, enemies and remain so, yet if they have "lived peaceably," where they could neither will nor choose 'to live otherwise,' they are to be admitted. I only tell you so, being without any amendment for it; and when done, I shall leave it all with yourselves. This is for the Second Paragraph.

[For the Second Paragraph his Highness is 'without any amendment' of his own; offers us nothing to 'supply the defect:' indeed it is difficult to supply well, as that Nation stands and has stood. Besides they send but Fifty Members in all, poor creatures; it is no such vital matter! Paragraph Second remains unaltered. — And now let the Moderns attend for an instant to Paragraph Third:

"Article Fourth, Paragraph Third: A proviso as to Ireland, "that no English or Scotch Protestant in Ireland who before "the First of March 1649-50" (just about the time his now "Highness, then Lord General, was quitting Ireland, having "entirely demolished all chance of opposition there) 'have "borne arms for the Parliament or your Highness, or other-"wise given signal testimony' &c. 'shall be excluded." also to his Highness seems worthy of animadversion.]

In the Third Paragraph of the same Article. whereas it is said, "That all persons in Ireland be "made canable to elect or to be elected who, before "the First of March 1649, have borne arms for the "Parliament, or otherwise given testimony of their "good affections to the Parliament and continued faith-"ful to the Parliament:" - and yet perhaps many of them are since revolted 'against us!' - Whether it be not necessary that this be more clearly expressed? For it seems to capacitate all those who revolted from the Parliament; * if they have borne arms for the State before the First of March 1649, it seems to restore them. But if since then they have revolted, as I doubt many of our English-Irish have done, why then the question is, Whether those men who lately** have been angry and have flown to arms; Whether you will think their having borne arms formerly on the Parliament's side shall be an exemption to them? This is but tendered to you, for some worthy person here to give an answer unto?

[Very rational and irrefragable. It is accordingly altered: "Signal testimony of their good affection to the Commonwealth" or your Highness, and continued" &c. — And now let us look at Paragraph Fifth; concerning the last item of which his Highness has a word to say:

"Article Fourth, Paragraph Fifth. All who are atheistical, blasphemous, 'married to Popish wives,' who train or shall train any child to be Popish, or consent that a son or daughter of theirs shall marry a Papist; — who are scoffers of religion, or can be proved to have scoffed any one for being religious; who deny the Scriptures to be God's Word; who deny Sacraments, Ministry or Magistracy to be ordinances

The Ormond Royalists almost all; — Malignant enough many of them.
 in late years.

"ofGod (Harrison's set); who are Sabbath-breakers, swearers, "haunters of taverns or alehouses; — in short demonstrably "unchristian men. All who are Public Preachers too." Concerning this latter clause his Highness has a remark to make.

"Following in the rear of which, in the same Fifth Para"graph, is a new Item which still more deserves consideration.
"For securing the 'Freedom of Parliament' as well as its
"Purity, there are to be Forty-one Commissioners appointed
"by Act of Parliament with your Highness's consent,' who
"are to examine and certify whether the Persons returned by
"these rules are, after all, qualified to sit." — So that it is not
to be by the Council of State henceforth, and by 'Nathaniel
Tayler, Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery,' with his
Certificate in the Lobby, that Honourable Gentlemen are to be
turned back at the door of the House, and sent to redact Protests, as in the case of this present Parliament! Forty-one
Commissioners are now to do it. His Highness on this also
will have a word to say.]

In the Fifth Paragraph of the same Article, you have incapacitated Public Preachers from sitting in Parliament. And truly I think your intention is 'of' such 'only' as have Pastoral Function; such as are actually real Ministers. For I must say to you, in behalf of our Army, - in the next place to their fighting, they have been very good "Preachers:" and I should be sorry they should be excluded from serving the Commonwealth because they have been accustomed to "preach" to their troops, companies and regiments: which I think has been one of the blessings upon them to the carrying-on of the great Work. I think you do not mean so 'that they should be excluded:' but I tender it to you that, if you think fit, there may be a consideration had of it. There may be some of us, it may be, who have been a little guilty of that, who would be loath to be excluded from sitting in Parliament 'on account of it!' ["I myself have been known, "on occasion, to exhort my troops with Bible texts and "considerations; to 'preach,' if you like to call it so!" What has my whole Life been but a 'Sermon' of some "emphasis; preached with tongue and sword, with head "and heart and right hand, and soul and body and "breeches pocket, — not without results, one would venture "to hope!" — This Clause, the Committee, expressly or tacitly, will modify as desired.]

In the same Paragraph, there is care taken for the nominating of Commissioners to try the Members who are chosen to sit in Parliament. And truly those Commissioners are uncertain Persons; and it is hard to say what may happen. I hope they will be always good men; - but if they should be bad, then perhaps they will keep out good men! Besides we think, - truly, if you will give us leave to help as to the "freedom of Parliament," this 'of the Commissioners' will be something that may go rather harshly down than otherwise! Very many reasons might be given; but I do only tender it to you. I think, if there were no Commissioners, it might be never a whit the worse: - if you make qualifications 'for Membership,' and any man presume to sit without those qualifications, you may deal with him. A man without qualifications, sitting there, is as if he were not chosen; and if he sit without being chosen, without having qualification, - I am sure the old custom was to send him to the Tower, [That will settle him!] to imprison such a one! If any sit there that have not right to sit, - if any stranger come in upon a pretended title of election, perhaps it is a different case, - but if any sit there upon a pretence of qualification in him, you may send him to prison without more ado. Whether you think fit to do so or no, is parliamentary business: — I do but hint it to you. I believe, If any man had sat in former Parliaments without, 'for instance,' taking the oaths &c. that were prescribed, it would have been fault enough in him. I believe something of that kind, 'instead of your Forty-one Commissioners,' might be equivalent to any other way, if not better.

[The Honourable House does not want any more concern with Nathaniel Tayler and his Certificates. This Paragraph remains unaltered. Forty-one Commissioners, Fifteen a quorum; future Parliaments to name a future set when they like: the Examinations as to Members are to be by oath of informer in writing, with copies left &c., and rigorous enough formalities.— Let us now glance at Article Fifth:

"Article Fifth relates to the 'Other House;' a new House of "Lords we are getting up. Not more than Seventy of them, "not fewer than Forty: they are to be nominated by our High-"ness and approved by this House: all classes excluded by the "preceding Article from our body are of course excluded from "theirs." His Highness has a remark to make on this also.]

In that Article, which I think is the Fifth Article [Yes], which concerns the Nomination of the Other House, — in the beginning of that Article it stands, That the House is to be nominated as you there design it,* and the approbation is to be from This House, — I would say, from the Parliament. It stands so. But then now, if any shall be subsequently named, after the Other House is sat, upon any accidental removal or death, — you do not say 'How.' Though it seems to refer to the same 'rule' as the first 'original' selec-

^{* &}quot;as you there design it;" polite for "by me."

tion doth; yet it doth not so clearly intimate this, That the nomination shall be, where it was, with the Chief Officer,* and the approbation of the "Other House." If I do express clearly what you — Pardon me: but I think that is the aim of it; and it is not clearly expressed there; — as I think you will be able to judge whether it be or no.

[Article Fifth ruled as his Highness wishes. And now take Article Seventh:

"Article Seventh promises, but does not say how, that there "shall be a yearly Revenue of 1,300,000\(lambda\), one million for Navy "and Army, 300,000\(lambda\). for the support of the Government. No "part of it by a Land-tax. Other temporary supplies to be "granted by the Commons in Parliament, — and neither this "Revenue nor any other charge whatever to be laid upon the "subject except according to the Parliament's direction and "sanction." Such yearly Revenue the Parliament promises in this Petition and Advice, but does not specify in what way it shall be raised: which omission also his Highness fails not to comment on.]

In the Seventh Article, which concerns the Revenue, that is, the Revenue which you have appointed for the Government; wherein you have distributed Three-hundred-thousand pounds of it to the Maintenance of the Civil Authority, and One-million to the maintenance of your Forces by Sea and Land: — you have indeed in your Instrument said so, 'that there shall be such a Revenue,' and we cannot doubt of it: but yet you have not made it certain; nor yet those "temporary supplies" which are intended for the peace and safety of the Nations. It is desired, That you will take this into your thoughts, and make the general

[&]quot; Cannot say "me."

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and temporary allowances of Revenue certain, both as to the sum and to the times those "supplies" are to be continued. [Let us know what ground we stand on.] And truly I hope I do not curry favour with you: but another thing is desired, and I may very reasonably desire it, That these moneys, whatever they are; - that they may not, if God shall bring me to any interest in this business,* as lieth at His disposal; - that these moneys, 'I say,' may not be issued out by the authority of the Chief Magistrate, but by the advice of his Council. You have made in your Instrument a coordination 'of Council and Chief Magistrate' in general terms: 'but I could wish' that this might be a specified thing, That the moneys were not to be distributed 'except by authority of both.' It will be a safety to whosoever is your Supreme Magistrate, as well as a security to the Public, That the moneys be issued out by advice of the Council, and that the Treasurers who receive these moneys be accountable every Parliament, within a certain time limited by yourselves; - 'that' every new Parliament, the Treasurer be accountable

["Article Ninth: Judges, Principal Officers of State, Com-"manders-in-chief by Sea or Land, all chief Officers civil and "military, 'are to be approved-of by both Houses of Parlia-"ment.'"]

to the Parliament for the disposing of the Treasury.

There is mention made of the Judges in your Ninth Article. It is mentioned that the Officers of State and the Judges are to be chosen with the approbation of Parliament. But now if there be no Parliament sitting, should there be never so great a loss of Judges, it

^{*} If I live, and continue to govern.

cannot be supplied. And whether you do not intend that, in the intervals of Parliament, it should be by the choice — [Omit "of the Chief Magistrate," or politely mumble it into indistinctness], — with the consent of the Council; to be afterwards approved by Parliament?

[Certainly, your Highness; reason so requires it. Be it tacitly so ruled. — And now for Article Twelfth:

"Article Twelfth (Let us still call it Article Twelfth, though "in the ultimate Redaction it has come to be marked Thir"teenth): — Classes of persons incapable of holding any office.
"Same, I think, as those excluded from elections, —only there
"is no penalty annexed. His Highness makes some remarks
"upon this, under the Title of 'Article Twelfth;' — a new
"article introduced for securing Purchasers of Church Lands,
"which is now Article Twelfth, * has probably pushed this
"into the Thirteenth place."

The Twelfth Article relates to several qualifications that persons must be qualified with, who are put into places of Public Office and Trust. [Treats all of DISqualifications, your Highness; which, however, comes to the same thing.] Now if men shall step into Public Places and Trust who are not so qualified, 'I do not see but hereby still' they may execute them. "Office of Trust" is a very large word; it goeth almost to a Constable, if not altogether; - it goeth far. Now if any shall come-in who are not so qualified, they certainly do commit a breach upon your rule: - and whether you will not think in this case that if any shall take upon him an Office of Trust, there shall not some Penalty be put upon him, where he is excepted by the general rule? Whether you will not think it fit in that respect to deter men from accepting Offices and Places of Trust, contrary to that Article?

Whitlocke, p. 659.

Nothing done in this. The "Penalty," vague in outline but all the more terrible on that account, can be sued-for by any complainant in Westminster Hall.

"Article Thirteenth suddenly provides that your Highness "will be pleased to consent that 'Nothing in this Petition and "Advice, or the assent thereto, shall be construed to extend to "- the dissolving of this present Parliament!" - "Oh, no!" answers his Highness in a kind of bantering way; "not in the least!"]

The next 'Article' is fetched, in some respects, I may say, by head and shoulders into your Instrument! Yet in some sense it hath an affinity 'with the rest, too; I may say, I think it is within your general scope* upon this account; — 'yes,' I am sure of it: There is mention made in the last parts of your Instrument [Looking in the Paper; Article Eighteenth] of your purpose to do many good things: — I am confident, not like the gentleman who made his last will, and set down a great number of names of men who were to receive benefit by him, and there was no sum at the latter end! ["You cannot do these 'many good "things' if I dissolve you! That will be a Will, with "many beneficiary legatees, and no sum mentioned at the "end!" His Highness wears a pleasant bantering look; - to which the countenances of the others, even Bulstrode's leaden countenance, respond by a kind of smile.]

I am confident you are resolved to deal effectually in these things at the latter end; and I should wrong my own conscience if I thought otherwise. I hope you will think sincerely, as before God, "That the Laws be regulated!"** I hope you will. We have been often talking of them: - and I remember well. at the

[&]quot; "order" in orig.
" One of their concluding promises (Article Eighteenth).

old Parliament [Whitlocke and Glynn look intelligence], we were three months, and could not get over the word "Incumbrances" [Hum-m-m!]: and we thought there was little hope of "regulating the Law" where there was such difficulty as to that. But surely the Laws need to be regulated! And I must needs say, I think it were a sacrifice acceptable to God, upon many accounts. And I am persuaded it is one of the things that God looks for, and would have. [Alas, your Highness! - I confess, if any man should ask me, "Why, how would you have it done?" I confess I do not know How. But I think verily, at the least, the Delays in Suits, and the Excessiveness in Fees, and the Costliness of Suits, and those various things which I do not know what names they bear - I heard talk of "Demurrers" and such-like things, which I scarce know - [Sentence is wrecked]! - But I say certainly, The people are greatly suffering in this respect; they are so. And truly if this whole business of settlement. whatever be the issue of it, if it come, which I am persuaded it doth, as a thing that would please God; - 'then,' by a sacrifice 'to God' in it, or rather as an expression of our thankfulness to God, I am persuaded that this will be one thing that will be upon your hearts, to do something that is honourable and effectual in this.

["Reforming of the Law!" Alas, your Highness!] —

'Another thing' that — truly I say that it is not in your Instrument — [Nothing said of it there, which partly embarrasses his Highness; who is now getting into a small Digression]! — Somewhat that relates to the Reformation of Manners, — you will pardon me! — My Fellow Soldiers 'the Major-Generals,' who were raised-up upon that just occasion of the Insurrection, not only

"to secure the Peace of the Nation," but to see that persons who were least likely to help-on "peace" or to continue it, but rather to break it - [" These Major-"Generals, I say, did look after the restraining of such "persons; suppressed their horse-racings, cock-fightings, "sinful roysterings; took some charge of 'REFORMATION "OF MANNERS,' they:" - but his Highness is off elsewhither, excited by this 'tickle subject,' and the Sentence has evaporated - Dissolute loose persons that can go up and down from house to house, - and they are Gentlemen's sons who have nothing to live on, and cannot be supplied with means of living to the profit of the Commonwealth: these I think had a good course taken with them. [Ordered to fly-away their game-cocks, unmuzzle their bear-baitings; fall to some regular livelihood, some fixed habitat, if they could, - and, on the whole, to duck low, keep remarkably quiet, and give no rational man any trouble with them which could be avoided!] And I think what was done to them was honourably and honestly and profitably done. And, for my part, I must needs say, It* showed the dissoluteness which was then in the Nation: - as indeed it springs most from that Party of the Cavaliers! Should that Party run on, and no care be taken to reform the Nation; to prevent, perhaps, abuses which will not fall under this head alone —! [Not under Reformation of MANNERS alone: what will the consequence be?]

We send our children into France before they know God or Good Manners;** and they return with all the licentiousness of that Nation. Neither care taken to educate them before they go, nor to keep them in good order

^{*} The course taken with them, the quantity of coercion they needed, and/of complaint made thereupon, are all loosely included in this "It." ** Morals.

when they come home! Indeed this makes the Nation not only commit those abominable things, most inhuman things, but hardens men to justify those things; - as the Apostle saith, "Not only to do wickedly themselves, but to take pleasure in them that do so." And truly, if something be not done in this kind, 'in the way of reforming public morals,' without sparing that condition of men, without sparing men's sons, though they be Noblemen's sons -! [Sentence breaks down - Let them be who they may that are deboist, it is for the glory of God that nothing of outward consideration should save them in their debauchery from a just punishment and reformation! And truly I must needs say it, I would much bless God to see something done in that matter heartily, not only as to those persons mentioned, but to all the Nation; that some course might be taken for Reformation; that there might be some stop put to such a current of wickedness and evil as this is! And truly, to do it heartily, and nobly and worthily! The Nobility of this Nation, they especially, and the Gentry, would have cause to bless you. And likewise that some care might be taken that those good Laws already made for punishing of vice might be put in execution.

This I must needs say of our Major Generals who did that service: I think it was an excellent good thing; — I profess I do! [Yes; though there were great outcries about it.] And I hope you will not think it unworthy of you 'to consider,' that though we may have good Laws against the common Country disorders that are everywhere, yet Who is to execute them 'now, the Major-Generals being off?' Really a Justice of the Peace, — he shall by the most be wondered at as

an owl, if he go but one step out of the ordinary course of his fellow Justices in the reformation of these things! [Cannot do it; not he.] And therefore I hope I may represent this to you as a thing worthy your consideration, that something may be found out to repress such evils. I am persuaded you would glorify God by this as much as by any one thing you could do. And therefore I hope you will pardon me.

[His Highness looks to the Paper again, after this Digression. Article Fifteenth in his Highness's copy of the Paper, as we understand, must have provided, "That no part of the Public Revenue be alienated except by consent of Parliament:" but his Highness having thus remonstrated against it, the Article is suppressed, expunged; and we only gather by this passage that such a thing had ever been.]

I cannot tell, in this Article that I am now to speak unto, whether I speak to anything or nothing! There is a desire that 'no part of' "the Public Revenue be alienated except by consent of Parliament." I doubt "Public Revenue" is like "Custodes Libertatis Angliæ;" a notion only; and not to be found that I know of! [It is all alienated; Crown Lands &c. are all gone, long ago. A beautiful dream of our youth as the "Keepers of the LIBERTY of England" were — a thing you could nowhere lay hands on, that I know of!] But if there be any, — and if God bless us in our Settlement, there will be Public Revenue accruing, — the point is, Whether you will subject this to any alienation without consent of Parliament?

[We withdraw the question altogether, your Highness: when once the chickens are hatched, we will speak of selling them!—Let us now read Article Sixteenth:

"Article Sixteenth," in his Highness's copy of the Paper.

"provides that no Act or Ordinance already extant, which is "not contrary to this Petition and Advice, shall be in the least "made void hereby." — His Highness, as we shall see, considers this as too indefinite, too indistinct; a somewhat vague foundation for Church-Land Estates (for example), which men purchased with money, but hold only in virtue of Writs and Ordinances issued by the Long Parliament. — A new Article is accordingly added, in our Perfect-copy; specifying, at due breadth, with some hundreds of Law-vocables, that all is and shall be safe, according to the common sense of mankind, in that particular.]

Truly this thing that I have now farther to offer you, - it is the last in this Paper; it is the thing mentioned in the Sixteenth Article: That you would have those Acts and Ordinances which have been made since the late Troubles, and during the time of them, 'kept unabrogated;' that they should, if they be not contrary to this Advice, * - that they should remain in force, in such manner as if this Advice had not been given. Why, what is doubted is, Whether or no this will be sufficient to keep things in a settled condition?** Because it is but an implication 'that you here make; 'it is not determined. You do pass-by the thing, without such a foundation as will keep those people, who are now in possession of Estates upon this account, that their titles be not questioned or shaken. - if the matter be not explained. Truly I believe you intend very fully in regard to this 'of keeping men safe who have purchased on that footing.' If the words already 'used' do not suffice - That I submit to your own advisement.

But there is in this another very great considera-* Petition and Advice; but we politely suppress the former part of the

^{**} It was long debated; see Burion.

tion. There have been, since the present Government 'began,' several Acts and Ordinances, which have been made by the exercise of that Legislative Power that was exercised since we undertook this Government: [Very cumbrous phraseology, your Highness for indeed the subject is somewhat cumbrous. Questionable, to some. whether one CAN make Acts and Ordinances by a mere Council and Protector! And I think your Instrument speaks a little more faintly 'as' to these, and dubiously, than to the other! And truly, I will not make an anology for anything: but surely two persons, two sorts of them, 'very extensive sorts,' will be merely concerned upon this account: They who exercised that authority, and they who were objects of its exercise! This wholly dissettles them; wholly, if you be not clear in your expressions. It will dissettle us very much to think that the Parliament doth not approve well of what hath been done 'by us' upon a true ground of necessity, in so far as the same hath saved this Nation from running into total arbitrariness. 'Nay, if not,' why subject the Nation to a sort of men who perhaps would do so?* We think we have in that thing deserved well of the State. [Do not "dissettle" his Highness! He has "in that thing," of assuming the Government and passing what Ordinances &c. were indispensable, "deserved well." - Committee of Ninety-nine agree to what is reasonable.]

If any man will ask me, "But ah, Sir, what have you done since?" — Why, ah, — as I will confess my fault where I am guilty, so I think, taking things as they 'then' were, I think we have done the Com-

^{*} Why subject the Nation to us, who perhaps would drive it into arbitrariness, as your non-approval of us seems to insinuate?

monwealth service! We have therein made great settlements, - that have we. We have settled almost all the whole affairs in Ireland; the rights and interests of the Soldiers there, and of the Planters and Adventurers. And truly we have settled very much of the business of the Ministry; ["Triers" diligent here, "Expurgators" diligent everywhere; much good work completed] — and I wish that be not an aggravation of our fault:* I wish it be not! But I must needs say. If I have anything to rejoice in before the Lord in this world, as having done any good or service, 'it is this.' I can say it from my heart; and I know I say the truth, let any man say what he will to the contrary. — he will give me leave to enjoy my own opinion in it, and my own conscience and heart; and 'to' dare bear my testimony to it: There hath not been such a service to England since the Christian Religion was perfect in England! I dare be bold to say it; however there may have, here and there, been passion and mistakes. And the Ministers themselves, take the generality of them - ["are unexceptionable, nay exemplary as Triers and as Expurgators:" but his Highness, blazing up at touch of this tender topic, wants to utter three or four things at once, and his "elements of rhetoric' fly into the ELEMENTAL state! We perceive he has got much blame for his Two Church Commissions; and feels that he has deserved far the reverse.] - They will tell 'you,' it is beside their instructions, 'if they have 'fallen into "passion and mistakes," if they have 'meddled with civil matters, in their operations as 'Triers!' And we did adopt the thing upon that ac-

[&]quot;be not to secure the grave men" (Scott's Somers, p. 399) is unadulterated nonsense: for grave men road gravamen, and we have dubiously a sense as above; "an aggravation of our fault with such objectors."

count; we did not trust upon doing what we did virtute Instituti, as if 'these Triers were' jure divino, but as a civil good. But — [Checks himself] — So we end in this: We 'knew not and' know not better how to keep the Ministry good, and to augment it in goodness, than by putting such men to be Triers. Men of known integrity and piety; orthodox men and faithful. We knew not how better to answer our duty to God and the Nation and the People of God, in that respect, than by doing what we did.

And, I dare say, if the grounds upon which we went will not justify us, the issue and event of it doth abundantly justify us: God having had exceeding glory by it, - in the generality of it, I am confident, fortyfold! For as heretofore the men that were admitted into the Ministry in times of Episcopacy - alas what pitiful Certificates served to make a man a Minister! Forty-fold better now. If any man could understand Latin and Greek, he was sure to be admitted; - as if he spake Welsh; which in those days went for Hebrew with a good many! [Satirical. "They studied Pan, "Bacchus, and the Longs and Shorts, rather than their "Hebrew Bible, and the Truths of the Living Jehovah!"] Certainly the poorest thing in the world would serve a turn; and a man was admitted upon such an account [As this of mere Latin and Greek, with a suspicion of Welsh-Hebrew]; — ay, and upon a less. — I am sure the admission granted to such places since has been under this character as the rule: That they must not admit a man unless they were able to discern something of the Grace of God in him. [Really it is the grand primary essential, your Highness. Without which, Pan, Bacchus, Welsh-Hebrew, nay Hebrew itself, must go for nothing, — nay for less, if we consider well. In some points of view, it is horrible!] 'Grace of God;' which was to be so inquired for, as not foolishly nor senselessly, but so far as men could judge according to the rules of Charity. Such and such a man, of whose good life and conversation they could have a very good testimony from four or five of the neighbouring Ministers who knew him, — he could not yet be admitted unless he could give a very good testimony of the Grace of God in him. And to this I say, I must speak my conscience in it,* — though a great many are angry at it, nay if all are angry at it, — for how shall you please everybody?

Then say some, None must be admitted except. perhaps, he will be baptised 'again.' That is their opinion. [Anabaptists.] They will not admit a man into a Congregation to be Minister, except he commence by being so much less. The Presbyterians 'again,' they will not admit him unless he be "ordained." Generally they will not go to the Independents: - truly I think, if I be not partial, I think if there be a freedom of judgment, it is there. [With the Independents: that is your Highness's opinion.] Here are Three sorts of Godly Men whom you are to take care for; whom you have provided for in your Settlement. And how could you put the selection upon the Presbyterians without, by possibility, excluding all those Anabaptists, all those Independents! And so now you have put it into this way, That though a man be of any of those three judgments, if he have the root of the matter in him, he may be admitted. [Very good, your Highness! This hath been our care and work;

^{* &}quot;I do approve it" is modestly left out.



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both by some Ordinances of ours, laying the foundations of it, and by many hundreds of Ministers being 'admitted' in upon it. And if this be a "time of Settlement," then I hope it is not a time of shaking; — and therefore I hope you will be pleased to settle this business too: and that you will neither "shake" the Persons [Us] who have been poorly instrumental in calling you to this opportunity of settling this Nation, and of doing good to it; nor shake those honest men's interests who have been thus settled. And so I have done with the offers to you, — 'with these my suggestions to you.' —

[His Highness looks now on the Paper again; looks at Article Seventh there, "That the Revenue shall be 1,300,000*l.*;" and also at a Note by himself of the Current Expenses; — much wondering at the contrast of the two; not having Arithmetic enough to reconcile them!]

But here is somewhat that is indeed exceedingly past my understanding; for I have as little skill in Arithmetic as I have in Law! These are great sums: it is well if I can count them to you. [Looking on his Note. The present charge of the Forces both by Sea and Land will be 2,426,989 l. The whole present Revenue in England, Scotland and Ireland, is about 1,900,000l; I think this was reckoned the most, as the Revenue now stands. Why, now, towards this you settle, by your Instrument, 1,300,000 l. for the Government; and out of that "to maintain the Force by Sea and Land," and "without Land-tax," I think! and this is short of the Revenue which now can be raised by the 'present Act of' Government 600,0001.! [A grave discrepancy! Because, you see, the present Government has 1,900,0001; and the whole sum which can be raised comes 'short' of the present charge by 542,6891., - So his Highness says; but, by the above data, must be mistaken or misreported: 526,9891, is what "Arithmetic" gives.] And although an end should be put to the Spanish War, yet there will be a necessity. for preserving the peace of the Three Nations, to keep up the present established Army in England. Scotland and Ireland: also a considerable Fleet for some good time, until it shall please God to quiet and compose men's minds, and bring the Nation to some better consistency. So that, considering the Pay of the Army, which comes to upwards of 1,100,000 l. per annum, and the "Support of the Government" 300,000/., it will be necessary for some convenient time, - seeing you find things as you do, and it is not good to think a wound healed before it be, - that there be raised, over and above the 1,300,000 l., the sum of 600,000 l. per annum: which makes up the sum of 1,900,000 i. And likewise that the Parliament declare. How far they will carry on the Spanish War, and for what time; and what farther sum they will raise for carrying on the same, and for what time. [Explicit, and undeniable!] And if these things be not ascertained, - as one saith "Money is the Cause," and certainly whatever the Cause is, if Money be wanting, the business will fall to the ground, - all our labour will be lost. And therefore I hope you will have a care of our undertakings! — [Most practical paragraph.]

And having received expressions from you which we may believe, we need not offer these things to you; 'we need not doubt' but these things will be cared for. Those things have 'already in Parliament' been made overture of to you; and are before you: — and so has

likewise the consideration of the Debts, which truly I think are apparent.

And so I have done with what I had to offer you. I think I have, truly, for my part. ["Nothing of the Kingship, your Highness?" Committee of Ninety-nine looks expectant - And when I shall understand where it lies on me to do farther; and when I shall understand your pleasure in these things a little farther; - we have answered the Order of Parliament in considering and debating of those things that were the subjectmatter of debate and consideration; - and when you will be pleased to let me hear farther of your thoughts in these things, then I suppose I shall be in a condition to discharge myself, Throws no additional light on the Kingship at all! as God shall put in my mind. And I speak not this to evade; but I speak in the fear and reverence of God. And I shall plainly and clearly, I say, - when you shall have been pleased among vourselves to take consideration of these things, that I may hear what your thoughts are of them. - I do not say that as a condition to anything - but I shall then be free and honest and plain to discharge myself of what, in the whole and upon the whole, may reasonably be expected from me, and 'what' God shall set me free to answer you in. §

Exeunt the Ninety-nine, much disappointed; the Moderns too look very weary. Courage, my friends, I now see land! — This Speech forms by far the ugliest job of buckwashing (as Voltaire calls it) that his Highness has yet given us. As printed in the last edition of Somers, it is perhaps the most unadulterated piece of coagulated nonsense that was ever put into types by human kind. Yet, in order to educe some sense

out of it as above, singularly few alterations, except in the punctuation, have been required; no change that we could detect has been made in the style of dialect, which is physiognomic and ought to be preserved; in the meaning, as before, all change was rigorously forbidden. In only one or two places, duly indicated, did his Highness's sense, on earnest repeated reading, continue dubious. And now the horrid buck-basket is reduced in some measure to clean linen or huckabuck: thanks be to Heaven!—

For the next ten days there is nothing heard from his Highness; much as must have been thought by him in that space. The Parliament is occupied incessantly considering how it may as far as possible fulfil the suggestions offered in this Speech-of his Highness; assiduously perfecting and newpolishing the Petition and Advice according to the same. Getting Bills ready for "Reformation of Manners," - with an eye on the "idle fellows about Piccadilly," who go bowling and gambling, with much tippling too, about "Piccadilly House" and its green spaces. * Scheming out how the Revenue can be raised: - "Land-tax," alas, in spite of former protest on that subject; "tax on new buildings" (Lincoln's Inn Fields for one place), which gives the public some trouble afterwards. Doing somewhat also in regard to "Triers for the Ministry;" to "Penalties" for taking Office when disqualified by Law; and very much debating and scrupling as to what Acts and Ordinances (of his Highness and Council) are to be confirmed.

Finally, however, on Friday, 1st of May, the Petition and Advice is again all ready; and the Committee of Ninety-nine wait upon his Highness with it,**—who answers briefly, "speaking very low," That the things are weighty, and will require meditation; that he cannot just at present say On

^{*} Dryasdust knows a little piece of Archeology: How "piccadillies" (quasi Spanish peccadillos, or little sins, a kind of notched linen-tippet) used to be sold in a certain shop there: whence &c. &c.

** Burton, ii. 101.

what day he will meet them to give his final answer, but will so soon as possible appoint a day.

So that the Kingship remains yet a great mystery! "By the generality" it is understood that he will accept it. But to the generality, and to us, the interior consultations and slow-formed resolutions of his Highness remain and must remain entirely obscure. We can well believe with Ludlow, sulkily breathing the air in Essex, who is incorrect as to various details, That in general a portion of the Army were found averse to the Title; a more considerable portion than the Title was worth. Whereupon, "for the present," as Bulstrode indicates, "his Highness did decide to" — in fact speak as follows:

SPEECH XIV.

BANQUETING-HOUSE, Whitehall, Friday forenoon, 8th May 1657, the Parliament in a body once more attends his Highness; receives at length a final Answer as to this immense matter of the Kingship. Which the reader shall now hear, and so have done with it.

The Whitlocke Committee of Ninety-nine had, by appointment, waited on his Highness yesterday, Thursday May 7th; gave him "a Paper," — some farther last-touches added to their ultimate painfully revised edition of the Petition and Advice, wherein all his Highness's suggestions are now, as, much as possible, fulfilled; — and were in hopes to get some intimation of his Highness's final Answer then. Highness, "sorry to have kept them so long," requested they would come back next morning. Next morning, Friday morning: "We have been there; his Highness will see you all in the Banqueting-House even now."* Let us shoulder our Mace, then, and go. — "Petition of certain Officers," that Petition which Ludlow** in a vague erroneous manner represents to have been the turning-point of the business, is just "at the door:"

^{*} Report by Whitlocke and Committee: in Commons Journals (8th May 1657), vil. 531.

** ii. 588, &c., the vague passage always cited on this occasion.

we receive it, leave it on the table, and go. And now hear his Highness.

Mr. SPEAKER,

I come hither to answer That that was in your last Paper to your Committee you sent to me 'yesterday;' which was in relation to the Desires that were offered me by the House in That they called their Petition.

I confess, that Business hath put the House, the Parliament, to a great deal of trouble, and spent much time.* I am very sorry for that. It hath cost me some 'too,' and some thoughts: and because I have been the unhappy occasion of the expense of so much time, I shall spend little of it now.

I have, the best I can, revolved the whole Business in my thoughts: and I have said so much already in testimony to the whole, I think I shall not need to repeat what I have said. I think it is an 'Act of' Government which, in the aims of it, seeks the Settling of the Nation on a good foot, in relation to Civil Rights and Liberties, which are the Rights of the Nation. And I hope I shall never be found one of them that go about to rob the Nation of those Rights; but 'always' to serve it what I can to the attaining of them. It has also been exceedingly well provided there for the safety and security of honest men in that great natural and religious liberty, which is Liberty of Conscience. - These are the great Fundamentals; and I must bear my testimony to them; as I have done, and shall do still, so long as God lets me live in this world: That the intentions and the things are very honourable and honest, and the product worthy of a Parliament.

^{* 23} Febr. - 8th May: ten weeks and more.



1657.] SPEECH XIV. 131

I have only had the unhappiness, both in my Conferences with your Committees, and in the best thoughts I could take to myself, not to be convinced of the necessity of that thing which hath been so often insisted on by you, - to wit, the Title of King, - as in itself so necessary as it seems to be apprehended by And yet I do, with all honour and respect, testify that, cæteris paribus, no private judgment is to be in the balance with the judgment of Parliament. But in things that respect particular persons, — every man who is to give an account to God of his actions. he must in some measure be able to prove his own work, and to have an approbation in his own conscience of that which he is to do or to forbear. And whilst you are granting others Liberties, surely you will not deny me this; it being not only a Liberty but a Duty, and such a Duty as I cannot without sinning forbear, - to examine my own heart and thoughts and judgment, in every work which I am to set my hand to, or to appear in or for.

I must confess therefore, though I do acknowledge all the other 'points,' I must be a little confident in this, That what with the circumstances which accompany human actions, — whether they be circumstances of time or persons [Straightlaced Republican Soldiers that have just been presenting you their Petition], whether circumstances that relate to the whole, or private and particular circumstances such as compass any person who is to render an account of his own actions, — I have truly thought, and I do still think, that, at the best, if I should do anything on this account to answer your expectation, at the best I should do it doubtingly. And certainly whatsoever is so is not of faith. And

whatsoever is not so, whatsoever is not of faith, is sin to him that doth it, - whether it be with relation to the substance of the action about which that consideration is conversant, or whether to circumstances about it [Thinskinned Republicans or the like "circumstances"], which make all indifferent actions good or evil. "Circumstances" [Yes!]; and truly I mean "good or evil" to him that doth it. [Not to you Honourable Gentlemen, who have merely advised it in general.]

I, lying under this consideration, think it my duty - Only I could have wished I had done it sooner, for the sake of the House, who have laid such infinite obligations on me [With a kind glance over those honourable faces; all silent as if dead, many of them with their mouths open; I wish I had done it sooner for your sake, and for saving time and trouble; and for the Committee's sake, to whom I must acknowledge I have been unreasonably troublesome! But truly this is my Answer, That (although I think the Act of Government doth consist of very excellent parts, in all but that one thing, of the Title as to me) I should not be an honest man, if I did not tell you that I cannot accept of the Government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of it - as to which I have a little more experimented than everybody what troubles and difficulties do befall men under such trusts and in such undertakings - [Sentence irrecoverable] - I say I am persuaded to return this Answer to you, That I cannot undertake this Government with the Title of King. And that is mine Answer to this great and weighty Business.

[§] Commons Journals, vii. 533; as reported by Speaker Widdrington, on Tuesday the 12th. Reported too in Noners (pp. 400-1), but in the form of coagulated nonsense there. The Commons Journals give it as here, with no variation worth noticing, in the shape of sonse.

133 1657.] SPEECH XIV.

And so exeunt Widdrington and Parliament: "Buzz. buzz! Distinct at last!" - and the huge buzzing of the public mind falls silent, that of the Kingship being now ended; - and this Editor and his readers are delivered from a very considerable weariness of the flesh.

"The Protector," says Bulstrode, "was satisfied in his "private judgment that it was fit for him to accept this Title "of King, and matters were prepared in order thereunto. But "afterwards, by solicitation of the Commonwealth's-men." by solicitation, representation and even denunciation from "the Commonwealth's-men" and "many Officers of the Army." he decided "to attend some better season and opportunity in the business, and refused at this time."* With which summary account let us rest satisfied. The secret details of the matter are dark, and are not momentous. The Lawyer-party, as we saw, were all in favour of the measure. Of the Soldier-party, Ex-Major-Generals Whalley, Goffe, Berry are in a dim way understood to have been for it; Desborow and Fleetwood strong against it; to whom Lambert, much intriguing in the interim, had at last openly joined himself. ** Which line of conduct, so soon as it became manifest, procured him from his Highness a handsome dismissal. Dismissal from all employment; but with a retiring pension of 2,000l.: which mode of treatment passed into a kind of Proverb, that season; and men of wooden wit were wont to say to one another, "I will Lambertise you." *** The "greatLord Lambert," hitherto a very important man, now "cultivated flowers at Wimbledon;" attempted higher things, on his own footing, in a year or two, with the worst conceivable success; and in fact had at this point, to all reasonable intents, finished his public work in this world.

The rest of the Petition and Advice, so long discussed and conferenced upon, is of course accepted; + a much improved

^{*} Whitlocke, p. 616.

^{**} Godwin, iv. 352, 367. *** Heath's Chronicle.

[†] Commons Journals, vii. 358 (25th May 1657); Whitlocke, p. 648.— See, in Appendix, No. 32, another Speech of Oliver's on the occasion; forgotten hitherto (Note of 1857.)

Frame of Government; with a Second House of Parliament; with a Chief Magistrate who is to "nominate his successor;" and be King in all points except the name. News of Blake's victory at Santa Cruz reach us in these same days, * whereupon is Public Thanksgiving, and voting of a Jewel to General Blake: and so: in a general tide of triumphant accordance. and outward and inward prosperity, this Second Protectorate Parliament advances to the end of its First Session.

SPEECH XV., LETTERS CCXVIII.—CCXXIV.

THE Session of Parliament is prosperously reaching its close; and during the recess there will be business enough to do. Selection of our new House of Lords; carrying-on of the French League Offensive against Spain; and other weighty interests. Of which the following small documents, one short official Speech, and seven short, most official Letters, are all that remain to us.

SPEECH XV.

PARLIAMENT has passed some Bills; among the rest, some needful Money-Bills, Assessment of 340,000/. a-month on England, 6,000% on Scotland, 9,000% on Ireland;"** to all which his Highness, with some word of thanks for the money, will now signify his assent. Unexceptionable word of thanks, accidentally preserved to us, *** which, with the circumstances attendant thereon, we have to make conscience of reporting.

Tuesday morning, 9th June 1657, Message comes to the Honourable House, That his Highness, in the Painted Chamber, requires their presence. They gather up their Bills; certain Money-Bills "for an assessment towards the Spanish War;" and "divers other Bills, some of public, some of more private concernment," among which latter we notice one for settling Lands in the County of Dublin on Widow Bastwick and her four children, Dr. Bastwick's widow, poor Susannah,

^{* 28}th May (Commons Journals, vii. 54; Burton, ii. 142).

** Parliamentary History, xxi. 151; Commons Journals, vii. 554-7.

*** Commons Journals, vii. 551-2.

who has long been a solicitress in this matter: these Bills the Clerk of the Commons gathers up, the Sergeant shoulders his Mace; and so, Clerk and Sergeant leading off, and Speaker Widdrington and all his Honourable Members following, the whole House in this due order, with its Bills and apparatus, proceeds to the Painted Chamber. There, on his platform, in chair of state sits his Highness, attended by his Council and others. Speaker Widdrington at a table on the common level of the floor "finds a chair set for him, and a form for his clerk." Speaker Widdrington, hardly venturing to sit, makes a "short and pithy Speech" on the general proceedings of Parliament; presents his Bills, with probably some short and pithy words, such as suggest themselves, prefatory to each: "A few slight Bills; they are but as the grapes that precede the full vintage, may it please your Highness." His Highness in due form signifies assent; and then says:

Mr. SPEAKER,

I perceive that, among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the Parliament to provide for the just and necessary support of the Commonwealth by those Bills for the levying of Money, now brought to me, which I have given my consent unto. Understanding it hath been the practice of those who have been Chief Governors to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons their care and regard of the Public, I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness herein. §

The Parliament has still some needful polishing-up of its Petition and Advice, other perfecting of details to accomplish: after which it is understood there will be a new and much more solemn Inauguration of his Highness; and then the First Session will, as in a general peal of joy-bells, harmoniously close.

[§] Commons Journals, vii. 552: Reported by Widdrington in the afternoon.

LETTER CCXVIII.

Official Letter of Thanks to Blake, for his Victory at Santa Cruz on the 20th April last. The "small Jewel" sent herewith is one of 500l. value, gratefully voted him by the Parliament; among whom, as over England generally, there is great rejoicing on account of him. Where Blake received this Letter and Jewel we know not; but guess it may have been in the Bay of Cadiz. Along with it, "Instructions" went out to him to leave a Squadron of Fourteen Ships there, and come home with the rest of the Fleet. He died, as we said above, within sight of Plymouth, on the 7th of August following.

'To General Blake, at Sea.'

SIR, Whitehall, 10th June 1657.

I have received yours of 'the 20th of April last;'* and thereby the account of the good success it hath pleased God to give you at the Canaries, in your attempt upon the King of Spain's Ships in the Bay of Santa Cruz.

The mercy therein, to us and this Commonwealth, is very signal; both in the loss the Enemy hath received, and also in the preservation of our 'own' ships and men;**— which indeed was very wonderful; and according to the goodness and lovingkindness of the Lord, wherewith His People hath been followed in all these late revolutions; and doth call on our part, That we should fear before Him, and still hope in His mercy.

We cannot but take notice also how eminently it hath pleased God to make use of you in this service; assisting you with wisdom in the conduct, and courage in the execution 'thereof;' — and have sent you a

^{*} Blank in Ms.: see antea, vol. iv. p. 85.
** "50 slain outright, 150 wounded, of ours" (Burton, ii. 142).

small Jewel, as a testimony of our own and the Parliament's good acceptance of your carriage in this Action. We are also informed that the Officers of the Fleet, and the Seamen, carried themselves with much honesty and courage; and we are considering of a way to show our acceptance thereof. In the mean time, we desire you to return our hearty thanks and acknowledgments to them.

Thus, beseeching the Lord to continue His presence

with you, I remain,

Your very affectionate friend,

'OLIVER P.' &

Land-General Reynolds has gone to the French Netherlands, with Six-thousand men, to join Turenne in fighting the Spaniards there; and Sea-General Montague is about hoisting his flag to co-operate with him from the other element. By sea and land are many things passing; — and here in London is the loudest thing of all: not yet to be entirely omitted by us, though now it has fallen very silent in comparison. Inauguration of the Lord Protector; second and more solemn Installation of him, now that he is fully recognised by Parliament itself. He cannot yet, as it proves, be crowned King; but he shall be installed in his Protectorship with all solemnity befitting such an occasion.

Friday, 26th June 1657. The Parliament and all the world are busy with this grand affair; the labours of the Session being now complete, the last finish being now given to our new Instrument of Government, to our elaborate Petition and Advice, we will add this topstone to the work, and so, amid the shoutings of mankind, disperse for the recess. Friday at two o'clock, "in a place prepared," duly prepared with all manner of "platforms," "cloths of state," and "seats raised one above the other," "at the upper end of Westminster Hall."

[§] Thurloe, vi. 342. "Instructions to General Blake," of the same date, ibid.

Palaceyard and London generally, is all a-tiptoe, out of doors. Within doors, Speaker Widdrington and the Master of the Ceremonies have done their best: the Judges, the Aldermen, the Parliament, the Council, the foreign Ambassadors, and domestic Dignitaries without end; chairs of state, cloths of state, trumpet-peals, and acclamations of the people — Let the reader conceive it; or read in old Pamphlets the "exact relation" of it with all the speeches and phenomena, worthier

than such things usually are of being read. *

"His Highness standing under the Cloth of State," says Bulstrode, whose fine feelings are evidently touched by it. "the Speaker in the name of the Parliament presented to him: "First, a Robe of purple velvet; which the Speaker, assisted "by Whitlocke and others, put upon his Highness. Then he." the Speaker, "delivered to him the Bible richly gilt and bossed," an affecting symbolic Gift: "After that, the Speaker girt the "Sword about his Highness; and delivered into his hand the "Sceptre of massy gold. And then, this done, he made a "Speech to him on these several things presented;" eloquent mellifluous Speech, setting forth the high and true significance of these several Symbols, Speech still worth reading; to which his Highness answered in silence by dignified gesture only. "Then Mr. Speaker gave him the Oath;" and so ended, really in a solemn manner. "And Mr. Manton, by prayer, recom-"mended his Highness, the Parliament, the Council, the "Forces by land and sea, and the whole Government and "People of the Three Nations, to the blessing and pro-"tection of God." - And then "the people gave several great shouts;" and "the trumpets sounded; and the Protector "sat in his chair of state, holding the Sceptre in his hand:" a remarkable sight to see. "On his right sat the Ambassador "of France," on his left some other Ambassador; and all round, standing or sitting, were Dignitaries of the highest quality; "and near the Earl of Warwick, stood the Lord "Viscount Lisle, stood General Montague and Whitlocke,

^{*} An exact Relation of the Manner of the solemn Investiture, &c. (Reprinted in Parliamentary History, xxi. 152-160.

"each of them having a drawn sword in his hand," — a sublime sight to some of us!*

And so this Solemnity transacts itself; — which at the moment was solemn enough; and is not yet, at this or any hollowest moment of Human History, intrinsically altogether other. A really dignified and veritable piece of Symbolism; perhaps the last we hitherto, in these quack-ridden histrionic pages, have been privileged to see on such an occasion. — The Parliament is prorogued till the 20th of January next; the new House of Lords, and much else, shall be got ready in the interim.

LETTER CCXIX.

Sea-General Montague, whom we saw standing with drawn sword beside the chair of state, is now about proceeding to co-operate with Land-General Reynolds, on the despatch of real business.

For General Montague, on board the Naseby, in the Downs. SIR, Whitehall, 11th August 1657.

You having desired by several Letters to know our mind concerning your weighing anchor and sailing with the Fleet out of the Downs, we have thought fit to let you know, That we do very well approve thereof, and that you do cruise up and down in the Channel, in such places as you shall judge most convenient, taking care of the safety, interest and honour of the Commonwealth.

I remain, Your very loving friend,

'OLIVER P.' §

* Whitlocke, p. 661.

\$ Cromwelliana, p. 168: "Original Letter, in the possession of Thomas Lister Parker, Esq.," — is now (1846) in the British Museum (Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 12,098). Only the Signature is Oliver's, — tragically physiognomic: — in letters long, thin, singularly straight in direction, but all notched and tremulous.

Under the wax of the Commonwealth Seal, Montague has written, His Highness's letter, Augst 11, 1657, to common mee to sayle.

LETTER CCXX.

For my loving Friend John Dunch, Esquire. SIR, 'Hampton Court,' 27th August 1657.

I desire to speak with you; and hearing a report from Hursley that you were going to your Father's in Berkshire, I send this express to you, desiring you to come to me at Ilampton Court.

With my respects to your Father,* — I rest, Your loving friend,

OLIVER P. §

This is the John Dunch of Pusey; married, as we saw, to Mayor's younger Daughter, the Sister-in-law to Richard Cromwell: the Collector for us of those Seventeen Pusey Letters; of which we have here read the last. He is of the present Parliament, was of the former; seems to be enjoying his recess, travelling about in the Autumn Sun of those old days,—and vanishes from History at this point, in the private apartments of Hampton Court.

LETTER CCXXI.

General Montague, after a fortnight's cruising, has touched at the Downs again, "28th August, wind at S. S. W.," being in want of some instruction on a matter that has risen.**
"A Flushinger," namely, "has come into St. Maloes; said to have twenty-five ton of silver in her;" a Flushinger there, and "six other Dutch Ships" hovering in the distance; which are thought to be carrying silver and stores for the Spaniards. Montague has sent Frigates to search them, to seize the very bullion if it be Spanish; but wishes fresh authority, in case of accident.

^{*} Father-in-law, Mayor. § Harris, p. 515. ** His Letter to Secretary (Thurloc Thurloc, vi. 489).

1657.]

'For General Montague, on board the Naseby, in the Downs.'
SIR, Hampton Court, 30th August 1657.

The Secretary hath communicated to us your Letter of the 28th instant; by which you acquaint him with the directions you have given for the searching a Flushinger and other Dutch Ships which, as you are informed, have bullion and other goods aboard them belonging to the Spaniard, the declared Enemy of this State.

There is no question to be made but what you have directed therein is agreeable both to the Laws of Nations and 'to' the particular Treaties which are between this Commonwealth and the United Provinces. And therefore we desire you to continue the said direction, and to require the Captains to be careful in doing their duty therein.

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P. §

LETTER CCXXII.

By the new and closer Treaty signed with France in March last, * for assaulting the Spanish Power in the Netherlands, it was stipulated that the French King should contribute Twenty-thousand men, and the Lord Protector Six-thousand, with a sufficient Fleet; which combined forces were straightway to set about reducing the three Coast Towns, Gravelines, Mardike and Dunkirk; the former when reduced to belong to France, the two latter to England; if the former should chance to be the first reduced, it was then to be given up to England, and held as cautionary till the other two were got. Mardike and Dunkirk, these were what Oliver expected to gain by this adventure. One or both of which strong Haventowns would naturally be very useful to him, connected with

[§] Thurloe, vi. 489. * 23d March 1656-7: Authorities in Godwin (iv. 540-3).

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the Continent as he was, — continually menaced with Royalist Invasion from that quarter; and struggling, as the aim of his whole Foreign Policy was, to unite Protestant Europe with England in one great effectual league.* Such was the French Treaty of the 23d of March last.

Oliver's part of the bargain was promptly and faithfully fulfilled. Six-thousand well-appointed men, under Commissary-General Reynolds, were landed, "in new red coats." "near Boulogne, on the 13th and 14th days of May" last; and a Fleet under Montague, as we observe, sufficient to command those seas, and prevent all relief by ships in any Siege, is actually cruising there. Young Louis Fourteenth came down to the Coast to see the English Troops reviewed; expressed his joy and admiration over them: - and has set them, the Cardinal and he have set them, to assault the Spanish Power in the Netherlands by a plan of their own! To reduce not "Gravelines, Mardike and Dunkirk," on the Coast, as the Treaty has it, but Montmédi, Cambray, and I know not what in the Interior; - the Cardinal doubling and shuffling, and by all means putting off the attack of any place whatever on the Coast! With which arrangement Oliver Protector's dissatisfaction has at length reached a crisis; and he now writes, twice on the same day, to his Ambassador, To signify peremptorily that the same must terminate.

Of "Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France" in these years, there were much more to be said than we have room for here. A man of distinguished qualities, of manifold adventures and employments; whose Biography, if he could find any Biographer with real industry instead of sham industry, and above all things with human eyes instead of pedant spectacles, might still be worth writing in brief compass**. He is Scotch; of the "Lockharts of Lee" in Lanark-

^{*} Foreign Affairs in the Protector's Time (in Somers Tracts, vi. 329-39), by some ancient anonymous man of sense, is worth reading.

^{**} Noble (ii. 233-73) has reproduced, probably with new errors, certain s. "Family Memoirs" of this Lockhart, which are everywhere very vague, and in passages (that of Dunkirk, for example) quite mythological. Lock-

shire; has been in many wars and businesses abroad and at home: - was in Hamilton's Engagement, for one thing; and accompanied Dugald Dalgetty or Sir James Turner in those disastrous days and nights at Preston,* though only as a common Colonel then, and not noticed by anybody. In the next Scotch War he received affronts from the Covenanted King; remained angrily at home, did not go to Worcester or The Covenanted King having vanished, and elsewhither. Lockhart's connexions being Presbyterian-Royalist. there was little outlook for him now in Scotland, or Britain; and he had resolved on trying France again. He came accordingly to London, seeking leave from the Authorities; had an interview with Oliver, now newly made Protector, - who read the worth of him, saw the uses of him, advised him, to contique where he was.

He did continue; married "Miss Robina Sewster," a Huntingdonshire lady, the Protector's Niece, to whom, in her girlhood, we once promised "a distinguished husband;" ** has been our Ambassador in France near two years now; *** - does diplomatic, warlike, and whatever work comes before him, in an effectual and manful manner. It is thought by judges, that, in Lockhart, the Lord Protector had the best Ambassador of that age. Nay, in spite of all considerations, his merits procured him afterwards a similar employment in Charles Second's time. We must here cease speaking of him; recommend him to some diligent succinct Biographer of insight, should such a one, by unexpected favour of the Destinies, turn up.

To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France + Whitehall, 31st August 1657. Sir.

I have seen your last Letter to Mr. Secretary, as hart's 'own Letters' are his best Memorial; — for the present, drowned, with so much else, in the deep slumber-lakes of Thurloe; with or without chance of recovery.

^{*} Antea, vol. ii. p. 25.

** Antea, vol. i. p. 266.

** Since 30th Dec. 1655 ("Family Memoirs" in Noble, 11. 244).

† Now with the Court at Peronne (Thurloe, vi. 482, 487); soon after at Paris (ib 496).

also divers others: and although I have no doubt either of your diligence or ability to serve us in so great a Business, yet I am deeply sensible that the French are very much short with us in ingenuousness †† and performance. And that which increaseth our sense 'of this' is, The resolution we 'for our part' had, rather to overdo than to be behindhand in anything of our Treaty. And although we never were so foolish 'as' to apprehend that the French and their interests were the same with ours in all things; yet as to the Spaniard, who hath been known in all ages to be the most implacable enemy that France hath, — we never could doubt, before we made our Treaty, that, going upon such grounds, we should have been failed 'towards' as we are!

To talk of 'giving us Garrisons' which are inland, as Caution for future action; to talk of 'what will be done next Campaign,' — are but parcels of words for children. If they will give us Garrisons, let them give us Calais, Dieppe and Boulogne; — which I think they will do as soon as be honest in their words in giving us any one Spanish Garrison upon the coast into our hands! I positively think, which I say to you, they are afraid we should have any footing on that side 'of the Water,' though Spanish.

I pray you tell the Cardinal from me, That I think, if France desires to maintain its ground, much more to get ground upon the Spaniard, the performance of his Treaty with us will better do it than anything appears yet to me of any Design he hath! — Though we cannot so well pretend to soldiery as those that are with him; yet we think that, we being able by sea to

[&]quot; "ingenuity," as usual, in orig.

strengthen and secure his Siege, and 'to' reinforce it as we please by sea, and the Enemy 'being' in capacity to do nothing to relieve it, — the best time to besiege that Place will be now. Especially if we consider that the French horse will be able so to ruin Flanders as that no succour can be brought to relieve the place; and that the French Army and our own will have constant relief, as far as England and France can give it, without any manner of impediment, — especially considering the Dutch are now engaged so much to Southward* as they are.

I desire you to let him know That Englishmen have had so good experience of Winter expeditions, they are confident, if the Spaniard shall keep the field, As he cannot impede this work, so neither will he be able to attack anything towards France with a possibility of retreat.** And what do all delays signify but 'even this:' The giving the Spaniard opportunity so much the more to reinforce himself; and the keeping our men another Summer to serve the French, without any colour of a reciprocal, or any advantage to ourselves!—

And therefore if this will not be listened unto, I desire that things may be considered-of To give us satisfaction for the great expense we have been at with our Naval Forces and otherwise; which out of an honourable and honest aim on our part hath been incurred, thereby to answer the Engagements we had made. And, 'in fine,' That consideration may be had

^{*} Spain-ward: so much inclined to help the Spaniard, if Montague would let them; a thing worth Mazarin's consideration too, though it comes in irregularly here!

^{**} You may cut off his retreat, if he venture that way.

Carlyle. Cromwell. IV.

how our Mcn may be put into a position to be returned to us; — whom we hope we shall employ to a better purpose than to have them continue where they are.

I desire we may know what France saith, and will do, upon this point. We shall be ready still, as the Lord shall assist us, to perform what can be reasonably expected on our part. And you may also let the Cardinal know farther, That our intentions, as they have been, will be to do all the good offices we can to promote the Interest common to us.*

Apprehending it is of moment that this Business should come to you with speed and surety, we have sent it by an Express.

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P. §

LETTER CCXXIII.

Same date, same parties; an afterthought, by the same Express.

'To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France.'
SIR, Whitchall, 31st August 1657.

We desire, having written to you as we have, that the Design be *Dunkirk* rather than Gravelines; and much more that it be: — but one of them rather than fail.

We shall not be wanting, To send over, at the French charge, Two of our old regiments, and Two-thousand foot more, if need be, — if Dunkirk be the design.** Believing that if the Army be well entrenched, and if La Ferte's Foot be added to it, we shall be able to give liberty to the greatest part of the French

^{* &}quot;thereof" in orig. § Thurloe, vi. 490.

*** Gravelines is to belong to them; Dunkirk to us; Dunkirk will be much preferable.

Cavalry to have an eye to the Spaniard, — leaving but convenient numbers to stand by the Foot.

And because this action will probably divert the Spaniard from assisting Charles Stuart in any attempt upon us, you may be assured that, if reality may with any reason be expected from the French, we shall do all reason on our part. But if indeed the French be so false to us as that they would not have us have any footing on that side the Water, — then I desire, as in our other Letter to you, That all things may be done in order to the giving us satisfaction 'for our expense incurred,' and to the drawing-off of our Men.

And truly, Sir, I desire you to take boldness and freedom to yourself in your dealing with the French on these accounts.

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.§

This Letter naturally had its effect: indeed there goes a witty sneer in France, "The Cardinal is more afraid of Oliver than of the Devil;" — he ought indeed to fear the Devil much more, but Oliver is the palpabler Entity of the two! Mardike was besieged straightway; girt by sea and land, and the great guns opened "on the 21st day of September" next: Mardike was taken before September ended; and due delivery to our General was had of Mardike. The place was in a weak state; but by sea and land all hands were now busy fortifying and securing it.

LETTER CCXXIV.

Here has an old dim Letter lately turned up, — communicated, for new editions, by the distinguished General Montague's Descendant, — which evidently relates to this operation. Resuscitated from its dim Archives, it falls with ready

fitness into rank here; kindling the old dead Books into pleasant momentary light and wakefulness at this point, and sufficiently illuminating itself also thereby. A curious meeting, one of those curious meetings, of old Letterpress now forgotten with old Manuscript never known till now, such as occasionally cheer the learned mind! — Of "Denokson," clearly some Dutch Vauban, or war tinnnerman on the great scale; of him, or of "Colonel Clerke," whom I take to be a Sea-Colonel mainly, the reader needs no commentary; — and is to understand withal that their hasty work was got accomplished, and Mardike put in some kind of fencible condition.

For General Montague, on board the London, before Dunkirk:
These.

Sir,

Whitehall, 2d October 1657.

This Bearer, Christian Denokson, I have sent to you, — being a very good artist, especially in wooden works, — to view the Great Fort and the Wooden Fort, in order to the further strengthening of them.

I hope he is very able to make the Wooden Fort as strong as it is capable to be made; which I judge very desirable to be done with all speed. I desire you will direct him in this view; and afterwards speak with him about it, that upon his return I may have a very particular account about what is fit to be done, and what Timber will be necessary to be provided. I have written also to Colonel Clerke, the Governor of the Fort, about it. I pray, when he has finished his view, that you will hasten him back.

I rest,
Your very affectionate friend,
OLIVER P. 8

[§] Original in the possession of the Earl of Sandwich, at Hinchinbrook (February 1849). Only the Signature is Oliver's; hand, as before, "very shaky."

An attempt to retake Mardike, by scalado or surprisal from the Dunkirk side, was made, some three weeks hence, by Don John with a great Spanish Force, among which his Ex-Royal Highness the Duke of York, with Four English-Irish emigrant Regiments he has now got raised for him on Spanish pay, was duly conspicuous; but it did not succeed; it amounted only to a night of unspeakable tumult; to much expenditure of shot on all sides, and of life on his Royal Highness's and Don John's side, — Montague pouring death-fire on them from his ships too, and "four great flaming links at the corners of Mardike Tower" warning Montague not to aim thitherward; — and "the dead were carried-off in carts before sunrise."*

Let us add here, that Dunkirk, after gallant service shown by the Six-thousand, and brilliant fighting and victory on the sandhills, was also got, next summer;** Lockhart himself now commanding there, poor Reynolds having perished at sea. Dunkirk too remained an English Garrison, much prized by England; till, in very altered times, his now Restored Majesty saw good to sell it, and the loyallest men had to make their comparisons. — On the whole we may say, this Expedition to the Netherlands was a successful one; the Six-thousand, "immortal Six-thousand" as some call them, *** gained what they were sent for, and much glory over and above.

These Mardike-and-Dunkirk Letters are among the last Letters left to us of Oliver Cromwell's: — Oliver's great heroic Dayswork, and the small unheroic pious one of Oliver's Editor, is drawing to a close! But in the same hours, 31st August 1657, while Oliver wrote so to Lockhart, — let us still spare a corner for recording it, — John Lilburn, Freeborn John, or alas only the empty Case of John, was getting buried; still in a noisy mauner! Noisy John, set free from many prisons, had been living about Eltham lately, in a state of Quakerism,

 ²²d October (Heath's Chronicle, p. 727; Carte's Ormond, ii. 175).
 13th June 1658, the fight; 15th June, the surrender; 24th, the delivery to Lockhart (Thurloe, vii. 155, 173, &c.). Clarendon, iii. 85-88.
 8ir William Temple, Memoirs, Part iii. 154 (cited by Godwin, iv. 547).

or Quasi-Quakerism. Here is the clipping from the old Newspaper:

"Monday, 31st August 1657. Mr. John Lilburn, commonly "known by the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburn, dying "on Saturday at Eltham, was this morning removed thence to "London; and his corpse conveyed to the House called the "Mouth," old, still extant Bull-and-Mouth Inn, "at Aldersgate, "- which is the usual meeting-place of the people called "Quakers, to whom, it seems, he had lately joined in opinion. "At this place, in the afternoon, there assembled a medley of "people; among whom the Quakers were most eminent for "number: and within the house a controversy was, Whether "the ceremony of a hearse-cloth" (pall) "should be cast over "his coffin? But the major part, being Quakers, would not "assent; so the coffin was, about five o'clock in the evening, "brought forth into the street. At its coming out, there stood "a man on purpose to cast a velvet hearse-cloth over the "coffin; and he endeavoured to do it; but the crowd of Quakers "would not permit him; and having gotten the body upon "their shoulders, they carried it away without farther cere-"mony; and the whole company conducted it into Moorfields, "and thence to the new Churchyard adjoining to Bedlam. "where it lieth interred."*

One noisy element, then, is out of this world: - another is fast going. Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, over here once more on Insurrectionary business, scheming out a new Invasion of the Charles-Stuart Spaniards and English-Irish Regiments, and just lifting anchor for Flanders again, was seized "in the "Ship Hope, in a mean habit, disguised like a countryman, "and his face much altered by an overgrown beard;" - be fore the Ship Hope could get under weigh, about a month ago. ** Bushy-bearded Sexby, after due examination by his Highness, has been lodged in the Tower; where his mind falls into a very unsettled state. In October next he volunteers a

[•] Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 168). • 24th July (Newspapers, in Cromwelliana, p. 167).



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confession; goes mad; and in the January following dies,* and to his own relief and ours disappears, — poor Sexby.

Sexby, like the Stormy Peterel, indicates that new Royalist-Anabaptist Tumult is a-brewing. "They are as the waves of the Sea, they cannot rest; they must stir up mire and dirt,"—it is the lot appointed them! In fact, the grand Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion is again on the anvil; and they will try it, this year, even without the Preface of Assasination. New troubles are hoped from this new Session of Parliament, which begins in January. The "Excluded Members" are to be readmitted then; there is to be a "Second House:" who knows what possibilities of trouble! A new Parliament is always the signal for new Royalist attempts; even as the Moon to waves of the sea: but we hope his Highness will be prepared for them!—

Wednesday, 11th November 1657. "This day," say the old Newspapers, "the most Illustrious Lady, the Lady Fran-"ces Cromwell, youngest Daughter of his Highness the Lord "Protector, was married to the most noble gentleman, Mr. "Robert Rich. Son of the Lord Rich. Grandchild of the Earl "of Warwick and of the Countess-Dowager of Devonshire; "in the presence of their Highnesses, and of his Grandfather "and Father, and the said Countess, with many other per-"sons of high honour and quality." At Whitehall, this blessed Wednesday; all difficulties now overcome; - which we are glad to hear of, "though our friends truly were very few!" - And on the Thursday of next week follows, at Hampton Court, the Lady Mary's own wedding.** Wedding "to the most noble lord, the Lord Fauconberg," lately returned from his Travels in foreign parts: a Bellasis, of the Yorkshire kindred so named, - which was once very high in Royalism, but is now making other connexions. For the rest, a brilliant, ingenuous and hopeful young man, "in my opinion a person of extraordinary parts;"*** of whom his Highness has made due investigation, and finds that it may answer.

Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 169-70).

^{**} Ibid. p. 169.
*** Lockhart's report of him to Thurloe, after an interview at Paris, as

[20 Jan.

And now for 'the new Session of Parliament which assembles in January next: the Second Session of Parliament, and indeed the last of this and of them all!

SPEECHES XVI. - XVIII., LETTER CCXXV.

The First Session of this Parliament closed, last June, under such auspicious circumstances as we saw; leaving the People and the Lord Protector in the comfortable understanding that there was now a Settlement arrived at, a Government possible by Law; that irregular exercises of Authority, Major-Generals and such like, would not be needed henceforth for saving of the Commonwealth. Our Public Affairs, in the Netherlands and elsewhere, have prospered in the interim; nothing has misgone. Why should not this Second Session be as successful as the First was? — Alas, success, especially on such a basis as the humours and parliamentary talkings and self-developments of Four-hundred men, is very uncertain! And indeed this Second Session meets now under conditions somewhat altered.

For one thing, there is to be a new House of Lords: we know not how that may answer! For another thing, it is not now permissible to stop our Haselrigs, Scotts and Ashley Coopers at the threshold of the Parliament, and say, Ye shall not enter: if they choose to take the Oath prescribed by this new Instrument, they have power to enter, and only the Parliament itself can reject them. These, in this Second Session, are new elements; on which, as we have seen, the generation of Plotters are already speculating; on which naturally his Highness too has his anxieties. His Highness, we find, as heretofore, struggles to do his best and wisest, not yielding much to anxieties: but the result is, this Session proved entirely unsuccessful; perhaps the unsuccessfullest of all Sessions or Parliaments on record hitherto!—

The new House of Lords was certainly a rather questionable adventure. You do not improvise a Peerage: — no, his ordered on Fauconberg's return homeward, 21st March 1657 (Thurloe, vi. 134; 125).

he can.

Highness is well aware of that! Nevertheless "somewhat to stand between me and the House of Commons" has seemed a thing desirable, a thing to be decided on: and this new House of Lords, this will be a "somewhat," - the best that can be had in present circumstances. Very weak and small as yet, like a tree new planted; but very certain to grow stronger, if it have real life in it. if there be in the nature of things a real necessity for it. Plant it, try it, this new Puritan Oliverian Peerage-of-Fact, such as it has been given us. The old Peerage-of-Descent, with its thousand years of strength, what of the old Peerage has Puritan sincerity, and manhood and marrow in its bones, will, in the course of years, rally round an Oliver and his new Peerage-of-Fact. - as it is already, by many symptoms, showing a tendency to do. If the Heavens ordain that Oliver continue and succeed as hitherto, undoubtedly his new Peerage may succeed along with him, and gather to it whatever of the Old is worth gathering. In the mean while it has been enacted by the Parliament and him; his part is now, To put it in effect the best

The List of Oliver's Lords can be read in many Books; *but issuing as that matter did, it need not detain us here. Puritan Men of Eminence, such as the Time had yielded: Skippon, Desborow, Whalley, Pride, Hewson, these are what we may call the Napoleon-Marshals of the business: Whitlocke, Haselrig, Lenthall, Maynard, old Francis Rouse, Scotch Warriston, Lockhart; Notabilities of Parliament, of Religious Politics, or Law. Montague, Howard are there; the Earls of Manchester, Warwick, Mulgrave, — some six Peers; of whom only one, the Lord Eure from Yorkshire, would, for the present, take his seat. The rest of the Six as yet stood aloof; even Warwick, as near as he was to the Lord Protector, could not think ** of sitting with such a Napoleon-

^{*} Complete, in Parliamentary History, xxi. 167-9: incomplete, with angry contemporary glosses to each Name, which are sometimes curious, in Harleian Miscellany vi. 460-71. An old Copy of the official Summons to these Lords is in Additional Ayscough MSS., no. 3246.

4 Ludlow, ii. 596.

Marshal as Major-General Hewson, who, men say, started as a Shoemaker in early life. Yes: in that low figure did Hewson start; and has had to fight every inch of his way up hitherward, doing manifold victorious battle with the Devil and the World as he went along, — proving himself a bit of right good stuff, thinks the Lord Protector! You, Warwicks and others, according to what sense of manhood you may have, you can look into this Hewson, and see if you find any manhood or worth in him; - I have found some! The Protector's List, compiled under great difficulties, * seems, so far as we can now read it, very unexceptionable; practical, substantial, with an eye for the New and for the Old; doing between these two, with good insight, the best it can. There were some Sixtythree summoned in all: of whom some Forty and upwards sat. mostly taken from the House of Commons: - the worst effect of which was, that his Highness thereby lost some forty favourable votes in that other House; which, as matters went, proved highly detrimental there.

However, Wednesday 20th January 1657-8 has arrived. The Excluded Members are to have readmission, — so many of them as can take the Oath according to this New Instrument. His Highness hopes if they volunteer to swear this Oath, they will endeavour to keep it; and seems to have no misgivings about them. He to govern and administer, and they to debate and legislate, in conformity with this Petition and Advice, not otherwise; this is, in word and in essence, the thing they and he have mutually with all solemnity bargained to do. It may be rationally hoped that in all misunderstandings, should such arise, some good basis of agreement will and must unfold itself between parties so related to each other. The common dangers, as his Highness knows and will in due time make known, are again imminent; Royalist Plottings once more rife, Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion once more preparing itself.

But now the Parliament reassembling on this Wednesday

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the 20th, there begins, in the "Outer Court," since called the Lobby, an immense "administering of the Oath," the whole Parliament taking it: Six Commissioners appearing "early in the morning," with due apparatus and solemnity, minutely described in the Journals and Old Books; * and then labouring till all are sworn. That is the first great step. Which done, the Commons House constitutes itself; appoints "Mr. Smythe" Clerk, instead of Scobell, who has gone to the Lords, and with whom there is continual controversy thenceforth about "surrendering of Records" and the like. In a little while (hour not named) comes Black Rod; reports that his Highness is in the Lords House, waiting for this House. Whereupon, Shoulder Mace, - yes, let us take the Mace, and march. His Highness, somewhat indisposed in health, leaving the main burden of the exposition to Nathaniel Fiennes of the Great Seal, who is to follow him, speaks to this effect; as the authentic Commons Journals yield it for us.

SPEECH XVI.

My Lords, and Gentlemen 'or' the House of Commons,

I meet you here in this capacity by the Advice and Petition of this present Parliament. After so much expense of blood and treasure, 'we are now' to search and try what blessings God hath in store for these Nations. I cannot but with gladness of heart remember and acknowledge the labour and industry that is past, 'your past labour,' which hath been spent upon a business worthy of the best men and the best Christians. [May it prove fruitful!]

It is very well known unto you all what difficulties we have passed through, and what 'issue' we are now arrived at. We hope we may say we have arrived if not 'altogether' at what we aimed at, yet at that which

^{*} Commons Journals vii. 578; Whitlocke, p. 666; Burton, ii. 322.

is much beyond our expectations. The nature of this Cause, and the Quarrel, what that was at the first, you all very well know; I am persuaded most of you have been actors in it: It was the maintaining of the Liberty of these Nations; our Civil Liberties as Men, our Spiritual Liberties as Christians. [Have we arrived at that?] I shall not much look back; but rather say one word concerning the state and condition we are all now in.

You know very well, the first Declaration,* after the beginning of this War, that spake to the life, was a sense held forth by the Parliament, That for some succession of time designs had been laid to innovate upon the Civil Rights of the Nations, 'and' to innovate in matters of Religion. And those very persons who, a man would have thought, should have had the least hand in meddling with Civil things, did justify them all. [Zealous sycophant Priests, Sibthorp, Manwaring, Montagu, of the Laud fraternity: forced-loans, monopolies, ship-moneys, all Civil Tyranny was right according to them! All the 'Civil' transactions that were, -'they justified them' in their pulpits, presses, and otherwise! Which was verily thought, 'had they succeeded in it,' would have been a very good shelter to them, to innovate upon us in matters of Religion also. And so to innovate as to eat out the core and power and heart and life of all Religion! By bringing on us a company of poisonous Popish Ceremonies Somewhat animated, your Highness!], and imposing them upon those that were accounted "the Puritans" of the Na-

Declaration, 2d August 1642, went through the Lords House that day; it is in Parliamentary History, vi. 350. A thing of audacity reckoned almost implous at the time (see D'Ewes's ws. Journal, 23d July); corresponds in purport to what is said of it here.

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tion, and professors of religion among us, — driving them to seek their bread in an howling wilderness! As was instanced to our friends who were forced to fly for Holland, New England, almost anywhither, to find Li-

berty for their Consciences.

Now if this thing hath been the state and sum of our Quarrel, and of those Ten Years of War wherein we were exercised; and if the good hand of God, for we are to attribute it to no other, hath brought this business thus home unto us as it is now settled in the Petition and Advice, — I think we have all cause to bless God, and the Nations have all cause to bless Him. [If we were of thankful just heart, — yea!]

I well remember I did a little touch upon the Eighty-fifth Psalm when I spake unto you in the beginning of this Parliament.* Which expresseth well what we may say, as truly as it was said of old by the Penman of that Psalm! The first verse is an acknowledgment to God that He "had been favourable unto His land," and "brought back the captivity of His people;" and 'then' how that He had, "pardoned all their iniquities and covered all their sin, and taken away all His wrath;" - and indeed of these unspeakable mercies, blessings, and deliverances out of captivity, pardoning of national sins and national iniquities. Pardoning, as God pardoneth the man whom He justifieth! He breaks through, and overlooks in iquity; and pardoneth because He will pardon. And sometimes God pardoneth Nations also! - And if the enjoyment of our present Peace and other mercies may be witnesses for God 'to us,' — we feel and we see them every day.

^{*} Antea, Speech VI. p. 13.

The greatest demonstration of His favour and love appears to us in this: That He hath given us Peace; - and the blessings of Peace, to wit, the enjoyment of our Liberties civil and spiritual! [Were not our prayers, and struggles, and deadly wrestlings, all even for this; - and we in some measure have it! And I remember well, the Church 'in that same Eighty-fifth Psalm' falls into prayer and into praises, great expectations of future mercies, and much thankfulness for the enjoyment of present mercies; and breaks into this expression: "Surely salvation is nigh unto them that fear Him; that glory may dwell in our land." In the beginning it is called His land; "Thou hast been favourable to Thy land." Truly I hope this is His land! In some sense it may be given out that it is God's land. And he that hath the weakest knowledge, and the worst memory, can easily tell that we are "a Redeemed People," — 'from the time' when God was first pleased to look favourably upon us, 'to redeem us' out of the hands of Popery, in that never to be forgotten Reformation, that most significant and greatest 'mercy' the Nation hath felt or tasted! I would but touch upon that, - but a touch: How God hath redeemed us, as we stand this day! Not from trouble and sorrow and anger only, but into a blessed and happy estate and condition, comprehensive of all Interests, of every member, of every individual; - 'an imparting to us' of those mercies 'there spoken of,' as you very well see!

And then in what sense it is "our Land;"—through this grace and favour of God, That He hath vouchsafed unto us and bestowed upon us, with the Gospel, Peace, and rest out of Ten Years War; and



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given us what we would desire! Nay, who could have forethought, when we were plunged into the midst of our troubles, That ever the people of God should have had liberty to worship God without fear of enemies? [Strange: this "liberty" is to Oliver Cromwell a blessing almost too great for belief; to us it has become as common as the liberty to breathe atmospheric air. - a liberty not once worth thinking of. It is the way with all attainments and conquests in this world. Do I think of Cadmus, or the old unknown Orientals, while I write with LETTERS? The world is built upon the mere dust of Heroes: once carnest-wrestling, death-defying, prodigal of their blood; who now sleep well, forgotten by all their heirs. - "Without fear of enemies," he says Which is the very acknowledgment of the Promise of Christ that "He would deliver His from the fear of enemies. "that they might worship Him in holiness and in "righteousness all the days of their life."

This is the portion that God hath given us; and I trust we shall forever heartily acknowledge it! - The Church goes on there, 'in that Psalm,' and makes her boast 'yet farther; "His salvation is nigh them that fear Him, that glory may dwell in our land." His glory; not carnal, nor anything related thereto: this glory of a Free Possession of the Gospel; this is that which we may glory in! [Beautiful, thou noble soul! - And very strange to see such things in the Journals of the English House of Commons. O Heavens, into what oblivion of the Highest have stupid, canting, cotton-spinning, partridge-shooting mortals fallen, since that January 1658!] And it is said farther, "Mercy and Truth are met to-"gether; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each "other." And 'note,' it shall be such righteousness as comes down from Heaven: "Truth shall grow out of the Earth, and Righteousness shall come down from Heaven." Here is the Truth of all 'truths;' here is the righteousness of God, under the notion of righteousness confirming our abilities,—answerable to the truth which He hath in the Gospel revealed to us! [According to Calvin and Paul.] And the Psalm closeth with this: "Righteousness shall go before Him, and shall set us in the way of His steps;"—that righteousness, that mercy, that love and that kindness which we have seen, and been made partakers of from the Lord, it shall be our Guide, to teach us to know the right and the good way; which is, To tread in the steps of mercy, righteousness and goodness that our God hath walked before us in.—

We 'too' have a Peace this day! I believe in my very heart, you all think the things that I speak to

you this day. I am sure you have cause.

And yet we are not without the murmurings of many people, who turn all this grace and goodness into wormwood; who indeed are disappointed by the works of God. And those men are of several ranks and conditions; great ones, lesser ones, — of all sorts. Men that are of the Episcopal spirit, with all the branches, the root and the branches; — who gave themselves a fatal blow in this Place,* when they would needs make a "Protesta-"tion that no Laws were good, which were made by "this House and the House of Commons in their ab-"sence;" and so without injury to others cut themselves off! 'Men of an Episcopal spirit:' indeed men

In this same House of Lords, on the 10th of December 1641. Busy Williams the Lincoln Decoy-duck, with his Eleven too-hasty Bishops, leading the way in that suicide. (Antea, vol. i. p. 118).



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that know not God; that know not how to account upon the works of God, how to measure them out; but will trouble Nations for an Interest which is but mixed, at the best, — made up of iron and clay, like the feet of Nebuchadnezzar's Image: whether they were more Civil or Spiritual was hard to say. But their continuance was like to be known beforehand; [Yes, your Highness!] iron and clay make no good mixtures, they are not durable at all! —

You have now a godly Ministry; you have a knowing Ministry; such a one as, without vanity be it spoken, the world has not. Men knowing the things of God, and able to search into the things of God, — by that only which can fathom those things in some measure. The spirit of a beast knows not the things of a man; nor doth the spirit of man know the things of God! "The things of God are known by the Spirit."*

— Truly I will remember but one thing of those, "the misguided persons now cast out from us: 'Their greatest persecution hath been of the People of God; — men really of the spirit of God, as I think very experience hath now sufficiently demonstrated! —

But what's the reason, think you, that men slip in this age wherein we live? As I told you before, They understand not the works of God. They consider not the operation of His Laws. They consider not that God resisted and broke in pieces the Powers that were, that men might fear Him; — might have liberty to do and enjoy all that we have been speaking of! Which certainly God has manifested to have been the end; and so hath He brought the things to pass! Therefore it is that men yet slip, and engage themselves against God.

And for that very cause, saith David (Psalm Twenty-eighth), "He shall break them down, and not build them up!"

If, therefore, you would know upon what foundation you stand, own your foundation 'to be' from God. He hath set you where you are: He hath set you in the enjoyment of your Civil and Spiritual Liberties.

I deal clearly with you,* I have been under some infirmity; [His Highness still looks unwell] therefore dare not speak farther to you; - except to let you know thus much. That I have with truth and simplicity declared the state of our Cause, and our attainments in it by the industry and labour of this Parliament since they last met upon this foundation - You shall find I mean, Foundation of a Cause and Quarrel thus attained-to, wherein we are thus estated.** I should be very glad to lay my bones with yours; [What a tone!] - and would have done it, with all heartiness and cheerfulness, in the meanest capacity I ever yet was in, to serve the Parliament.

If God give you, as I trust He will, - ["His blessing" or "strength:" but the Sentence is gone.] - He hath given it you, for what have I been speaking of but what you have done? He hath given you strength to do what you have done! And if God should bless you in this work, and make this Meeting happy on this account, you shall all be called the Blessed of the Lord. [Poor Oliver.] - The generations to come will bless us. You shall be the "repairers of breaches, and the restorers of paths to dwell in!"*** And if there be

Means "Give me leave to say."
 This Parliament's "foundation," the ground this Parliament took its stand upon, was a recognition that our Cause had been so and so, that our "attainment" and "estate" in it were so and so; hence their Petition and Advice, and other very salutary labours, *** Isaiah, lviii. 12.

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any higher work which mortals can attain unto in the world, beyond this, I acknowledge my ignorance 'of it.'

As I told you, I have some infirmities upon me. I have not liberty to speak more unto you; but I have desired an Honourable Person here by me—[Glancing towards Nathaniel Fiennes, him with the Purse and Seal] to discourse, a little more particularly, what may be more proper for this occasion and this meeting.§

Nathaniel Fiennes follows in a long highflown, ingenious Discourse,* characterised by Dryasdust, in his Parliamentary History and other Works, as false, canting, and little less than insane; for which the Anti-dryasdust reader has by this time learned to forgive that fatal Doctor of Darkness. Fiennes's Speech is easily recognisable, across its Calvinistic dialect, as full of sense and strength; broad manful thought and clear insight, couched in a gorgeous figurative style, which a friendly judge might almost call poetic. It is the first time we thoroughly forgive the Honourable Nathaniel for surrendering Bristol to Prince Rupert long ago; and rejoice that Prynne and Independency Walker did not get him shot, by Court-Martial, on that occasion.

Nathaniel compares the present state of England to the rising of Cosmos out of Chaos as recorded in Genesis: Two "firmaments" are made, two separate Houses of Parliament; much is made, but much yet remains to be made. He is full of figurative ingenuity; full of resolution, of tolerance, of discretion, and various other good qualities not very rife in the world. "What shall be done to our Sister that hath no breasts?" he asks, in the language of Solomon's Song. What shall we do with those good men, friends to our Cause, who yet reject us, and sit at home on their estates? We will soothe

[§] Commons Journals, vii. 579: that is the Original, — reported by Widdrington next day. Burton (ii. 322), Parliamentary History (xxt. 170) are copies.

them, we will submit to them, we will in all ways invite them to us. Our little Sister,—"if she be a wall, we will build a "palace of silver upon her; if she be a door, we will enclose "her with boards of cedar:"— our little Sister shall not be estranged from us, if it please God!—

There is, in truth, need enough of unanimity at present. One of these days, there came a man riding jogtrot through Stratford-at-the-Bow, with "a green glazed cover over his hat," a "nightcap under it," and "his valise behind him;" a rustic-looking man; recognisable to us, amid the vanished populations who take no notice of him as he jogs along there,— for the Duke of Ormond, Charles Stuart's head man! He sat up, at Colchester, the night before, "playing shuffleboard with some farmers, and drinking hot ale." He is fresh from Flanders, and the Ex-King; has arrived here to organise the Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion, and see what Royalist Insurrection, or other domestic mischief there may be hopes of. Lodges now, "with dyed hair," in a much disguised manner, "at the house of a Papist Chirurgeon in Drury Lane;" communicating with the ringleaders here.*

The Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion is again on foot, and no fable. He has Four English-Irish Regiments; the low-minded Dutch, we understand, have hired him Two-and-twenty ships, which hope to escape our frigates some dark night; and Don John has promised a Spanish Army of Sixthousand or Ten-thousand, if the domestic Royalists will bestir themselves. Like the waves of the sea, that cannot rest; that have to go on, throwing up mire and dirt! Frantic-Anabaptists too are awakening; the general English Hydra is rallying itself again, as if to try it one other last time.

Foreign Affairs also look altogether questionable to a Protestant man. Swede and Dane in open war; inextricable quarrels bewildering the King of Sweden, King of Denmark, Elector of Brandenburg, all manner of Foreign Protestants, whom Oliver never yet could reconcile; and the Dutch

^{*} Carte's Ormond, ii. 176-8.



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playing false; and the Spaniards, the Austrians, the Pope and Papists, too well united! — Need enough that this Parliament be unanimous.

The hopes of Oliver and Fiennes and all practicable Puritans may have naturally stood high at this meeting: - but if so, it was not many hours till they began fatally to sink. There exists also an impracticable set of Puritan men. — the old Excluded Members, introduced now, or now first admitted into this Parliament, - whom no beautifullest "two firmaments" seen overspanning Chaos, no Spanish Invasion threatening to bring Chaos back, no hopefullest and no fearfullest phenomenon of Nature or Constitutional Art, will ever divorce from their one Republican Idea. Intolerability of the Single Person: this, and this only, will Nature in her dumb changes, and Art in her spoken interpretations thereof, reveal to these men. It is their one Idea; which, in fact, they will carry with them to - the gallows at Charing Cross, when no Oliver any more is there to restrain it and them! Poor windy angry Haselrig, poor little peppery Thomas Scott - And yet these were not the poorest. Scott was only hanged: but what shall we say of a Luke Robinson, also very loud in this Parliament, who had to turn his coat that he might escape hanging? The history of this Parliament is not edifying to Constitutional men.

SPEECH XVII.

WE said, the Two Houses, at least the First House, very ill fulfilled his Highness's expectations. Hardly had they got into their respective localities after his Highness's Opening Speech, when the New House, sending the Old a simple message about requesting his Highness to have a day of Fasting, there arose a Debate as to What answer should be given; as to What "name," first of all, this said New House was to have, — otherwise what answer could you give? Debate carried on with great vigour; resumed, re-resumed day after day; — and never yet terminated; not destined to be terminated in this world! How eloquent were peppery Thomas

Scott and others, lest we should call them a House of Lords, - not, alas, lest he the peppery Constitutional Debater, and others such, should lose their own heads, and entrust their Cause with all its Gospels to a new very curious Defender of the Faith! It is somewhat sad to see.

On the morning of Monday January 25th, the Writer of the Diary called Burton's, - Nathaniel Bacon if that were he, finds, on entering the House, Sir Arthur Haselrig on his feet there, saying, "Give me my Oath!" Sir Arthur, as we transiently saw, was summoned to the Peers House; but he has decided to sit here. It is an ominous symptom. After "Mr. Peters" has concluded his morning exercise, the intemperate Sir Arthur again demands, "Give me my Oath!" - "I dare not," answers Francis Bacon, the official person; Brother of the Diarist. But at length they do give it him; and he sits: Sir Arthur is henceforth here. And, on the whole, ought we not to call this pretended Peers House the "Other House" merely? Sir Arthur, peppery Scott, Luke Robinson and Company, are clearly of that mind.

However, the Speaker has a Letter from his Highness, summoning us all to the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, this afternoon at three; both Houses shall meet him there. There accordingly does his Highness, do both Houses and all the Official world make appearance. Gloomy Rushworth, Bacon, and one "Smythe," with Notebooks in their hands, are there. His Highness, in the following large manful manner, looking before and after, looking abroad and at home, with true noble-

ness if we consider all things, - speaks:

My Lords and Gentlemen of the Two Houses of Parliament,

(For so I must own you), in whom together with myself is vested the Legislative Power of these Nations! - The impression of the weight of those affairs and interests for which we are met together is such

^{*} Burton, ii. 347.

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that I could not with a good conscience satisfy myself, if I did not remonstrate to you somewhat of my apprehensions of the State of the Affairs of these Nations; together with the proposal of such remedy as may occur, to the dangers now imminent upon us.

I conceive the Well-being, yea the Being of these Nations is now at stake. If God bless this Meeting. our tranquillity and peace may be lengthened out to us: if otherwise, - I shall offer it to your judgments and considerations, by the time I have done, whether there be, as to men,* 'so much as' a possibility of discharging that Trust which is incumbent upon us for the safety and preservation of these Nations! When I have told you what occurs to my thoughts, I shall leave it to such an operation on your hearts as it shall please God Almighty to work upon you. [His Highness, I think, looks carnest enough today. Oppressed with many things, and not in good health either. In those deep mournful eyes, which are always full of noble silent sorrow, of affection and pity and valour, what a depth today of thoughts that cannot be spoken! Sorrow enough, depth enough, - and this deepest attainable depth, to rest upon what "it shall please God Almighty" to do!]

I look upon this to be the great duty of my Place; as being set on a watch-tower to see what may be for the good of these Nations, and what may be for the preventing of evil; that so, by the advice of so wise and great a Council as this, which hath in it the life and spirit of these Nations, such "good" may be attained, and such "evil," whatever it is, may be obviated. [Truly!] We shall hardly set our shoulders to this

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work, unless it shall please God to work some conviction upon our hearts that there is need of our most serious and best counsels at such a time as this is! — I have not prepared any such matter and rule of speech to deliver myself unto you, as perhaps might have been fitter for me to have done, and more serviceable for you in understanding me; — but shall only speak plainly and honestly to you out of such conceptions as it hath pleased God to set upon me.

We have not been now four years and upwards in this Government, to be totally ignorant of what things may be of the greatest concernment to us. [No mortal thinks so, your Highness!] Your dangers, — for that is the head of my speech, — are either with respect to Affairs Abroad and their difficulties, or to Affairs at Home and their difficulties. You are come now, as I may say, into the end [Which may but prove the new beginning! of as great difficulties and straits as, I think, ever Nation was engaged in. I had in my thoughts to have made this the method of my Speech: To have let you see the things which hazard your Being, and those which hazard' your Well-being. But when I came seriously to consider better of it, I thought, as your affairs stand, all things would resolve themselves into very Being! You are not a Nation, you will not be a Nation, if God strengthen you not to meet these evils that are upon us!

First, from Abroad: What are the Affairs, I beseech you, abroad? I thought the Profession of the Protestant Religion was a thing of "Well-being;" and truly, in a good sense, so it is, and it is no more: though it be a very high thing, it is but a thing of

"Well-being." [A Nation can still BE, even without Protestantism. But take it with all the complications of it, with all the concomitants of it, with respect had to the Nations abroad. - I do believe, he that looks well about him, and considereth the estate of the Protestant Affairs all Christendom over; he must needs say and acknowledge that the grand Design now on foot, in comparison with which all other Designs are but low things, is, Whether the Christian world shall be all Popery? Or, whether God hath a love to, and we ought to have 'a love to, and' a brotherly fellow-feeling of, the interests of all the Protestant Christians in the world? [Yes, your Highness; the raging sea shut out by your labour and valour and death-peril, - with what indifference do we now, safe at two-centuries distance, look back upon it, hardly audible so far off, - ungrateful as we are! He that strikes at but one species of a general* to make it nothing, strikes at all.

Is it not so now, that the Protestant Cause and Interest abroad is struck-at; and is, in opinion and apprehension, quite under foot, trodden down? Judge with me a little, I beseech you, Whether it be so or no. And then, I will pray you, consider how far we are concerned in that danger, as to 'our very' Being!

We have known very well, the Protestant Cause is accounted the honest and religious Interest of this Nation. It was not trodden under foot all at once, but by degrees, — that this Interest might be consumed as with a canker insensibly, as Jonah's gourd was, till it was quite withered. It is at another rate now! For certainly this, in the general, 'is the fact:' The Papacy, and those that are upholders of it, they have openly

^{*} Means "one limb of a body: " metaphysical metaphor.

and avowedly trodden God's people under foot, on this very motion and account, that they were Protestants. The money you parted-with in that noble Charity which was exercised in this Nation, and the just sense you had of those poor Piedmonts, was satisfaction enough to yourselves of this,* That if all the Protestants in Europe had had but that head, that head had been cut off, and so an end of the whole. But is this 'of Piedmont' all? No. Look how the House of Austria, on both sides of Christendom, 'both in Austria Proper and Spain,' are armed and prepared to destroy the whole Protestant Interest.

Is not, - to begin there, - the King of Hungary, who expecteth with his partisans to make himself Emperor of Germany, and in the judgment of all men with not only a possibility but a certainty of the acquisition of it, - is not he, since he hath mastered the Duke of Brandenburg, one of the Electors, 'as good as sure of the Emperorship?' ** No doubt but he will have three of the Episcopal Electors 'on his side,' and the Duke of Bavaria. [There are but Eight Electors in all; Hanover not yet made.] Whom will he then have to contest with him abroad, for taking the Empire of Germany out of his hands? Is not he the son of a Father whose principles, interest and personal conscience guided him to exile all the Protestants out of his own patrimonial country, - out of Bohemia, got with the sword; out of Moravia and Silesia? [Ferdinand

the Prussian Monarchy.

^{*} proof enough that you believed.

** Emperor Ferdinand III., under whom the Peace of Westphalia was made, had died this year; his second son, Leopold, on the death of the first son, had been made King of Hungary in 1655; he was, shortly after this, elected Emperor, Leopold I., and reigned till 1705. "Brandenburg" was Frederick William; a distinguished Prince; father of the First King of Prussia; Frederick the Great's great-grandfather; properly the Founder of

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the Second, his Grandfather; yea, your Highness; — and brought the great Gustavus upon him in consequence. Not a good kindred, that!] 'And' it is the daily complaint which comes over to us, — new reiterations of which we have but received within these two or three days, being conveyed by some godly Ministers of the City, That the Protestants are tossed out of Poland into the Empire; and out thence whither they can fly to get their bread; and are ready to perish for want of food.

And what think you of the other side of Europe. Italy to wit, - if I may call it the other side of Europe, as I think I may, - 'Italy,' Spain, and all those adjacent parts, with the Grisons, the Piedmonts before mentioned, the Switzers? They all: - what are they but a prey of the Spanish power and interest? And look to that that calls itself [Neuter gender] the Head of all this! A Pope fitted, - I hope indeed "born" not "in" but out of "due time," to accomplish this bloody work; so that he may fill up his cup to the brim, and make himself ripe for judgment! [Somewhat grim of look, your Highness!] He doth as he hath always done. He influences all the Powers, all the Princes of Europe to this very thing [Rooting-out of the Protestants. - The sea which is now scarcely audible to us, two safe centuries off, how it roars and devouringly rages while this Valiant One is heroically bent to bank it in! - He prospers, he does it, flings his life into the gap, - that WE for all coming centuries may be safe and ungrateful!]; — and no man like this present man.* So that, I beseech you, what is there in all the parts of Europe but a consent, a cooperating, at this very time and season, 'of all Popish Powers' to suppress

^{*} Alexander VII.; "an able Pope," Dryasdust informs me.

everything that stands in their way? [A grave epoch indeed.]

But it may be said, "This is a great way off, in the extremest parts of the world;* what is that to us?" — If it be nothing to you, let it be nothing to you! I have told you it is somewhat to you. It concerns all your religions, and all the good interests of England.

I have, I thank God, considered, and I would beg of you to consider a little with me: What that resistance is that is likely to be made to this mighty current, which seems to be coming from all parts upon all Protestants? Who is there that holdeth up his head to oppose this danger? A poor Prince [Charles X. King of Sweden; at present attacked by the King of Denmark; the Dutch also aiming at him]; - indeed poor; but a man in his person as gallant, and truly I think I may say as good, as any these last ages have brought forth; a man that hath adventured his all against the Popish Interest in Poland, and made his acquisition still good 'there' for the Protestant Religion. He is now reduced into a corner: and what addeth to the grief of all. more grievous than all that hath been spoken of before (I wish it may not be too truly said!) — is, That men of our Religion forget this, and seek his ruin. [Dutch and Danes: but do not some of us too forget? "I wish it may not be too truly said!"]

I beseech you consider a little; consider the consequences of all that! For what doth it all signify? Is it only a noise? Or hath it not withal an articulate sound in it? Men that are not true to the Religion we profess,—'profess' I am persuaded, with greater truth, uprightness

[&]quot; "parts of it" in orig.



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and sincerity than it is 'professed' by any collected body, so nearly gathered together as these Nations are, in all the world, — God will find them out! [The lowminded Dutch; pettifogging for "Sound Dues," for "Possession of the Sound," and mere shopkeeper lucre! I beseech vou consider how things do cooperate. 'Consider.' If this may seem but a design against your Well-being? It is a design against your very Being; this artifice, and this complex design, against the Protestant Interest, wherein so many Protestants are not so right as were to be wished! If they can shut us out of the Baltic Sea, and make themselves masters of that, where is your Trade? Where are your materials to preserve your Shipping? Where will you be able to challenge any right by sea, or justify yourselves against a foreign invasion in your own soil? Think upon it; this is in design! I believe, if you will go and ask the poor mariner in his red cap and coat ["Coat," I hope, is not "red:" - but we are in haste, as he passeth from ship to ship, you will hardly find in any ship but they will tell you this is designed against you. So obvious is it, by this and other things, that you are the object. And in my conscience, I know not for what else 'you are so' but because of the purity of the profession amongst you; who have not yet made it your trade to prefer your profit before your godliness [Whatever certain Dutch and Danes may do!], but reckon godliness the greater gain!

But should it happen that, as contrivances stand, you should not be able to vindicate yourselves against all whomsoever, — I name no one state upon this head, [Do not name the Dutch, with their pettifoggings for the Sound; no!] but I think all acknowledge States are en-

gaged in the combination, — judge you where you were! You have accounted yourselves happy in being environed with a great Ditch from all the world beside. Truly you will not be able to keep your Ditch, nor your Shipping, — unless you turn your Ships and Shipping into Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot; and fight to defend yourselves on terra firma! —

And these things stated, liberavi animam meam; and if there be "no danger" in 'all' this, I am satisfied. I have told you; you will judge if no danger! If you shall think, We may discourse of all things at pleasure, - [Debate for days and weeks. Whether it shall be "House of Lords" or "Other House;" put the question, Whether this question shall be put; and say Ay, say No: and thrash the air with idle jargon! - and that it is a time of sleep and case and rest, without any due sense of these things, - I have this comfort to God-ward: I have told you of it. [Yes, your Highness! - O intemperate vain Sir Arthur, peppery Thomas Scott, and ye other constitutional Patriots, is there no sense of truth in you, then; no discernment of what really is what? Instead of belief and insight, have you nothing but whirlpools of old paper-clippings, and a gray waste of Parliamentary constitutional logic? Such HEADS, too common in the world, will run a chance in these times to get themselves - stuck up on Temple Bar!

Really were it not that France (give me leave to say it) is a balance against the Party at this time —!
— Should there be a Peace made (which hath been, and is still laboured and aimed at, "a General Peace"), then will England be the "general" object of all the fury and wrath of all the Enemies of God and our Religion in the world! I have nobody to accuse; —

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but do look on the other side of the water! You have neighbours there; some that you are in amity with; some that have professed malice enough against you. I think you are fully satisfied in that. I had rather you would trust your enemy than some friends, - that is, rather believe your enemy, and trust him that he means your ruin, than have confidence in some who perhaps may be in some alliance with you! [We have watched the Dutch, and their dealings in the Baltic lately! - I perhaps could enforce all this with some particulars, nay I 'certainly' could. For you know that your enemies be the same who have been accounted your enemies ever since Queen Elizabeth came to the An avowed designed enemy 'all along;' wanting nothing of counsel, wisdom and prudence, to root you out from the face of the Earth: and when public attempts [Spanish Armadas and such like] would not do, how have they, by the Jesuits and other their Emissaries, laid foundations to perplex and trouble our Government by taking away the lives of them whom they judged to be of any use for preserving our peace! [Guy Faux and Jesuit Garnet were a pair of pretty men; to go no farther. Ravaillac in the Rue de la Ferronerie, and Stadtholder William's Jesuit; and the Night of St. Bartholomew: here and elsewhere they have not wanted "counsel," of a sort!] And at this time I ask you, Whether you do not think they are designing as busily as ever any people were, to prosecute the same counsels and things to the uttermost?

The business then was: The Dutch needed Queen Elizabeth of famous memory for their protection. They had it, 'had protection from her.' I hope they will never ill requite it! For if they should forget either

the kindness that was then shown them (which was their real safety), or the desires this Nation hath had to be at peace with them, - truly I believe whoever exercises any ingratitude in this sort will hardly prosper in it. [He cannot, your Highness: unless God and His TRUTH be a mere Hearsay of the market, he never can! But this may awaken you, howsoever. I hope you will be awakened, upon all these considerations! It is certain, they [These Dutch] have professed a principle which, thanks be to God, we never knew. They will sell arms to their enemies, and lend their ships to their enemies. They will do so. And truly that principle is not a matter of dispute at this time, 'we are not here to argue with them about it:' only let everything weigh with your spirits as it ought; - let it do so. And we must tell you, we do know that this, 'of their having such a principle,' is true. I dare assure you of it; and I think if but your Exchange here 'in London' were resorted-to, it would let you know, as clearly as you can desire to know, That they have hired sloops, I think they call them, or some other name, they have hired sloops, 'let sloops on hire,' to transport upon you Four-thousand Foot and a Thousand Horse, upon the pretended interest of that young man that was the late King's Son. [What a designation for "Charles by the grace of God!" The "was" may possibly have been "is" when spoken; but we cannot afford to change it.] And this is, I think, a thing far from being reckonable as a suggestion to any ill end or purpose: - a thing to no other end than that it may awaken you to a just consideration of your danger, and to uniting for a just and natural defence.

Indeed I never did, I hope I never shall, use any

artifice with you to pray you to help us with money for defending ourselves: but if money be needful, I will tell you, "Pray help us with money, that the Interest of the Nation may be defended abroad and at home." I will use no arguments; and thereby will disappoint the artifice of bad men abroad who say, It is for money. Whosoever shall think to put things out of frame upon such a suggestion — [His fate may be quessed; but the Sentence is off] — For you will find I will be very plain with you before I have done; and that with all love and affection and faithfulness to you and these Nations.

If this be the condition of your affairs abroad, I pray a little consider what is the estate of your affairs at home. And if both these considerations, 'of home affairs and foreign,' have but this effect, to get a consideration among you, a due and just consideration,—let God move your hearts for the answering* of anything that shall be due unto the Nation, as He shall please! And I hope I shall not be solicitous [The "artifice" and "money" of the former paragraph still sounding somewhat in his Highness's ears]; I shall look up to Him who hath been my God and my Guide hitherto.

I say, I beseech you look to your own affairs at home, how they stand! I am persuaded you are all, I apprehend you are all, honest and worthy good men; and that there is not a man of you but would desire to be found a good patriot. I know you would! We are apt to boast sometimes that we are Englishmen: and truly it is no shame for us that we are English-

^{*} performing on such demand.

men; — but it is a motive to us to do like Englishmen, and seek the real good of this Nation, and the interest of it. [Truly!] - But, I beseech you, what is our case at home? - I profess I do not well know where to begin on this head, or where to end, - I do not. But I must needs say, Let a man begin where he will, he shall hardly be out of that drift I am speaking to you 'upon.' We are as full of calamities, and of divisions among us in respect of the spirits of men, 'as we could well be,' - though, through a wonderful, admirable, and never to be sufficiently admired providence of God, 'still' in peace! And the fighting we have had, and the success we have had - yea, we that are here, we are an astonishment to the world! And take us in that temper we are in, or rather in that distemper, it is the greatest miracle that ever befell the sons of men, 'that we are got again to peace' -

["Beautiful great Soul," exclaims a modern Commentator here, "Beautiful great Soul; to whom the Temporal is all "irradiated with the Eternal, and God is everywhere divinely "visible in the affairs of men, and man himself has as it were "become divine! O ye eternal Heavens, have those days and "those souls passed away without return? — Patience: in-"trinsically they can never pass away: intrinsically they "remain with us; and will yet, in nobler unexpected form, "reappear among us, — if it please Heaven! There have been "Divine Souls in England; England too, poor moiling toiling "heavyladen thickeyed England has been illuminated, though "it were but once, by the Heavenly Ones; — and once, in a "sense, is always!"]

— that we are got again to peace. And whoever shall seek to break it, God Almighty root that man out of

this Nation! And He will do it, let the pretences be what they may! [Privilege of Parliament, or whatever else, my peppery friends!]

'Peace-breakers, do they consider what it is they are driving towards? They should do it!' He that considereth not the "woman with child," — the sucking children of this Nation that know not the right hand from the left, of whom, for aught I know, it may be said this City is as full as Nineveh was said to be; - he that considereth not these, and the fruit that is like to come of the bodies of those now living added to these; he that considereth not these, must have the heart of a Cain; who was marked, and made to be an enemy to all men, and all men enemies to him! For the wrath and justice of God will prosecute such a man to his grave, if not to Hell! [Where is Sam Cooper, or some 'prince of limners,' to take us that look of his Highness? I would give my ten best Historical Paintings for it, gilt frames and twaddle-criticisms into the bargain!] - I say, look on this Nation; look on it! Consider what are the varieties of Interests in this Nation. if they be worthy the name of Interests. If God did not hinder, it would all but make up one confusion. We should find there would be but one Cain in England, if God did not restrain! We should have another more bloody Civil War than ever we had in England. For, I beseech you, what is the general spirit of this Nation? Is it not that each sect of people, if I may call them sects, whether sects upon a Religious account or upon a Civil account - [Sentence gone; meaning left clear enough] - Is not this Nation miserable in that respect? What is that which possesseth every sect? What is it? That every sect may be

uppermost! That every sort of men may get the power into their hands, and "they would use it well;"—that every sect may get the power into their hands! [A reflection to make one wonder.— Let them thank God they have got a man able to bit and bridle them a little; the unfortunate, peppery, loud-babbling individuals,—with so much good in them too, while 'bitted!']

It were a happy thing if the Nation would be content with rule. "Content with rule," if it were but in Civil things, and with those that would rule worst: - because misrule is better than no rule; and an ill Government, a bad Government, is better than none! - Neither is this all: but we have an appetite to variety; to be not only making wounds, 'but widening those already made.' As if you should see one making wounds in a man's side, and eager only to be groping and grovelling with his fingers in those wounds! This is what 'such' men would be at; this is the spirit of those who would trample on men's liberties in Spiritual respects. They will be making wounds, and rending and tearing, and making them wider than they were. not this the case? Doth there want anything - I speak not of sects in an ill sense; but the Nation is hugely made up of them, - and what is the want that prevents these things from being done to the uttermost, but that men have more anger than strength? They have not power to attain their ends. 'There wants nothing else.' And, I beseech you, judge what such a company of men, of these sects, are doing, while they are contesting one with another! They are contesting in the midst of a generation of men (a malignant Episcopal Party, I mean); contesting in the midst of these all united. What must be the issue of such a thing as

this? 'So stands it;' it is so. — And do but judge what proofs have been made of the spirits of these men. [Republican spirits: we took a "Standard" lately, a Painted one, and a Printed, with wondrous apparatus behind it!] Summoning men to take up arms; and exhorting men, each sort of them, to fight for their notions; each sort thinking they are to try it out by the sword; and every sort thinking that they are truly under the banner of Christ, if they but come in, and bind themselves in such a project!*

Now do but judge what a hard condition this poor Nation is in. This is the state and condition we are in. Judge, I say, what a hard condition this poor Nation is in, and the Cause of God 'is in,' — amidst such a party of men as the Cavaliers are, and their participants! Not only with respect to what these — ["Cavaliers and their Participants," both equally at first, but it becomes the latter chiefly, and at length exclusively, before the Sentence ends] — are like to do of themselves: but some of these, yea some of these, they care not who carry the goal: [Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, dead the other day, he was not very careful!] — some of these have invited the Spaniard himself to carry on the Cavalier Cause.

And this is true. 'This' and many other things that are not fit to be suggested unto you; because 'so' we should betray the interest of our intelligence. [Spy-Royalist Sir Richard Willis and the like ambiguous persons, if we show them in daylight, they vanish forever,—as Manning, when they shot him in Neuburg, did.] I say, this is your condition! What is your defence? What hindereth the irruption of all this upon you, to

^{* &}quot;and oblige upon this account" in orig.

your utter destruction? Truly, 'that' you have an Army in these parts, — in Scotland, in England and Take them away tomorrow, would not all these Interests run into one another? - I know you are rational prudent men. Have you any Frame or Model of things that would satisfy the minds of men. if this be not the Frame, 'this' which you are now called together upon, and engaged in, - I mean, the Two Houses of Parliament and myself? What hinders this Nation from being an Aceldama, 'a field of blood,' if this doth not? It is, without doubt, 'this:' give the glory to God; for without this, it would prove* as great a plague as all that hath been spoken of. It is this, without doubt, that keeps this Nation in peace and quietness. — And what is the case of your Army 'withal?' A poor unpaid Army; the soldiers going barefoot at this time, in this city, this weather! [Twentyfifth of January.] And yet a peaceable people, 'these soldiers;' seeking to serve you with their lives; judging their pains and hazards and all well bestowed, in obeying their officers and serving you, to keep the Peace of these Nations! Yea, he must be a man with a heart as hard as the weather who hath not a due sense of this! [A severe frost, though the Almanacs do not mention it.] ----

So that, I say, it is most plain and evident, this is your outward and present defence. [This frame of Government; the Army is a part of that.] And yet, at this day, — do but you judge! The Cavalier Party, and the several humours of unreasonable men 'of other sorts,' in those several ways, having 'continually' made

[&]quot;it would prove" is an impersonal verb; such as "it will rain," and the like.

battery at this defence ever since you got to enjoy peace - [Sentence catches fire] - What have they made their business but this, To spread libellous Books; [Their "Standard," "Killing no Murder," and other little fiddling things belonging to that sort of Periodical Literature] yea and pretend the "Liberty of the Subject" — [Sentence gone again] —? — which really wiser men than they may pretend! For let me say this to you at once: I never look to see the People of England come into a just Liberty, if another 'Civil' War overtake us. I think, 'I' at least, that the thing likely to bring us into our "Liberty" is a consistency and agreement at this Meeting! — Therefore all I can say to you is this: It will be your wisdom, I do think truly, and your justice, to keep that concernment close to you; to uphold this Settlement 'now fallen-upon.' Which I have no cause but to think you are agreed to; and that you like it. For I assure you I am very greatly mistaken else, 'for my own part;' having taken this which is now the Settlement among us as my chief inducement to bear the burden I bear, and to serve the Commonwealth in the place I am in!

And therefore if you judge that all this be not argument enough to persuade you to be sensible of your danger —?— 'A danger' which 'all manner of considerations,' besides goodnature and ingenuity 'themselves,' would move a stone to be sensible of! — Give us leave to consider a little, What will become of us, if our spirits should go otherwise, 'and break this Settlement?' If our spirits be dissatisfied, what will become of things? Here is an Army five or six months behind in pay; yea, an Army in Scotland near as much 'behind;' an Army in Ireland much more. And if

these things be considered, - I cannot doubt but they will be considered; - I say, judge what the state of Ireland is if free-quarter come upon the Irish People! [Free-quarter must come, if there be no pay provided, and that soon! You have a company of Scots in the North of Ireland, 'Forty or Fifty thousand of them settled there; who, I hope, are honest men. In the Province of Galway almost all the Irish, transplanted to the West.* You have the Interest of England newly begun to be planted. The people there, 'in these English settlements,' are full of necessities and complaints. They bear to the uttermost. And should the soldiers run upon free-quarter there, -- upon your English Planters, as they must, — the English Planters must quit the country through mere beggary: and that which hath been the success of so much blood and treasure, to get that Country into your hands, what can become of it, but that the English must needs run away for pure beggary, and the Irish must possess the country again' for a receptacle to the Spanish Interest? —

And hath Scotland been long settled? [Middleton's Highland Insurrection, with its Mosstroopery and misery, is not dead three years yet.**] Have not they a like sense of poverty? I speak plainly. In good earnest, I do think the Scots Nation have been under as great a suffering, in point of livelihood and subsistence outwardly, as any People I have yet named to you. I do think truly they are a very ruined Nation. [Torn to pieces with now near Twenty Years of continual War, and foreign and intestine worrying with themselves and with all the world.]— And yet in a way (I have spoken

^{* &}quot;All the Irish;" all the Malignant Irish, the ringleaders of the Popish Rebellion: Galway is here called "Galloway." ** Febr. 1654-5 (Whitlocke, p. 599).



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with some Gentlemen come from thence) hopeful enough; — it hath pleased God to give that plentiful encouragement to the meaner sort in Scotland. I must say, if it please God to encourage the meaner sort - [The consequences may be foreseen, but are not stated here.] - The meaner sort 'in Scotland' live as well, and are likely to come into as thriving a condition under your Government, as when they were under their own great Lords, who made them work for their living no better than the Peasants of France. I am loath to speak anything which may reflect upon that Nation: but the middle sort of people do grow up there into such a substance as makes their lives comfortable, if not better than they were before. [Scotland is prospering; has fair-play and ready-money; - prospering though sulky.]

If now, after all this, we shall not be sensible of all those designs that are in the midst of us: of the united Cavaliers; of the designs which are animated every day from Flanders and Spain; while we have to look upon ourselves as a divided people - [Sentence off] - A man cannot certainly tell where to find consistency anywhere in England! Certainly there is no consistency in anything, that may be worthy of the name of a body of consistency, but in this Company who are met here! How can any man lay his hand on his heart, and 'permit himself to' talk of things, - [Roots of Constitutional Government, "Other House," "House of Lords" and such like neither to be made out by the light of Scripture nor of Reason; and draw one another off from considering of these things, - 'which are very palpable things!' I dare leave them with you, and commit them to your bosom. They have a weight, -

a greater weight than any I have yet suggested to you, from abroad or at home! If such be our case abroad and at home. That our Being and Well-being. - our Well-being is not worth the naming comparatively, - I say, if such be our case, of our Being at home and abroad, That through want to bear up our Honour at Sea, and through want to maintain what is our Defence at Home, 'we stand exposed to such dangers;' and if through our mistake we shall be led off from the consideration of these things; and talk of circumstantial things, and quarrel about circumstances: and shall not with heart and soul intend and carry-on these things -! - I confess I can look for nothing 'other,' I can say no other than what a foolish Book* expresseth, of one that having consulted everything, could hold to nothing; neither Fifth-Monarchy, Presbytery, nor Independency, nothing; but at length concludes, He is for nothing but an "orderly confusion!" And for men that have wonderfully lost their consciences and their wits, - I speak of men going about who cannot tell what they would have, yet are willing to kindle coals to disturb others —! [An "orderly confusion," and general fire-consummation: what else is possible ?1

And now having said this, I have discharged my duty to God and to you, in making this demonstration, — and I profess, not as a rhetorician! My business was to prove the verity of the Designs from Abroad; and the still unsatisfied spirits of the Cavaliers at Home, — who from the beginning of our Peace to

^{*} Now rotting probably, or rotten, among the other Pamphletary rubbish, in the crypts of Public Dryasdust Collections, — all but this one phrase of it, here kept alive.

this day have not been wanting to do what they could to kindle a fire at home in the midst of us. And I say, if this be so, the truth, — I pray God affect your hearts with a due sense of it! [Yea!] And give you one heart and mind to carry on this work for which we are met together! If these things be so, — should you meet tomorrow, and accord in all things tending to your preservation and your rights and liberties, really it will be feared there is too much time elapsed 'already' for your delivering yourselves from those dangers that hang upon you! —

We have had now Six Years of Peace, and have had an interruption of Ten Years War. We have seen and heard and felt the evils of War; and now God hath given us a new taste of the benefits of Peace. Have you not had such a Peace in England, Ireland and Scotland, that there is not a man to lift up his finger to put you into distemper? Is not this a mighty blessing from the Lord of Heaven? [Hah!] Shall we now be prodigal of time? Should any man, shall we, listen to delusions, to break and interrupt this Peace? There is not any man that hath been true to this Cause, as I believe you have been all, who can look for anything but the greatest rending and persecution that ever was in this world! [Peppery Scott's hot head will go up on Temple Bar, and Haselrig will do well to die soon.*] - I wonder how it can enter into the heart of man to undervalue these things; to slight Peace and the Gospel, the greatest mercy of God. We have Peace and the Gospel! [What a tone!] Let us have one heart and soul; one mind to maintain the honest and

He died in the Annus Mirabilis of 1660 itself, say the Baronetages. Worn to death, it is like, by the frightful vicissitudes and distracting excitement of those sad months.

just rights of this Nation; - not to pretend to them, to the destruction of our Peace, to the destruction of the Nation! [As yet there is one Hero-heart among you. ye blustering contentious rabble; one Soul blazing as a light-beacon in the midst of Chaos, forbidding Chaos yet to be supreme. In a little while that too will be extinct: and then! Really, pretend what we will, if you run into another flood of blood and War, the sinews of this Nation being wasted by the last, it must sink and perish utterly. I beseech you, and charge you in the name and presence of God, and as before Him, be sensible of these things and lay them to heart! You have a Day of Fasting coming on. I beseech God touch your hearts and open your ears to this truth; and that you may be as deaf adders to stop your ears to all Dissension! And may look upon them 'who would sow dissension,' whoever they may be, as Paul saith to the Church of Corinth,* as I remember: "Mark such as cause divisions and offences," and would disturb you from that foundation of Peace you are upon, under any pretence whatsoever! -

I shall conclude with this. I was free, the last time of our meeting, to tell you I would discourse upon a Psalm; and I did it.** I am not ashamed of it at any time, [Why should you, your Highness? A word that does speak to us from the eternal heart of things, "word of God" as you well call it, is highly worth discoursing upon!]—especially when I meet with men of such consideration as you. There you have one verse which I forgot. "I will hear what God the Lord will "speak: for He will speak peace unto His people, and

[•] Not "Corinth" properly, but Rome (Romans xvi. 17).
• The Eighty-fifth; antea, pp. 157 et seqq.

"to His saints; but let them not turn again to folly." Dissension, division, destruction, in a poor Nation under a Civil War, - having all the effects of a Civil War upon it! Indeed if we return again to "folly," let every man consider, If it be not like turning to destruction? If God shall unite your hearts and bless you, and give you the blessing of union and love one to another; and tread down everything that riseth up in your hearts and tendeth to deceive your own souls with pretences of this thing or that, as we have been saying, - [The Sentence began as a positive, "if God shall;" but gradually turning on its axis, it has now got quite round into the negative side] - and not prefer the keeping of Peace, that we may see the fruit of righteousness in them that love peace and embrace peace, - it will be said of this poor Nation, Actum est de Anglia, 'It is all over with England!'

But I trust God will never leave it to such a spirit. And while I live, and am able, I shall be ready—

[Courage, my brave one! Thou hast but some Seven Months more of it, and then the ugly coil is all over; and thy part in it manfully done; manfully and fruitfully, to all Eternity! Peppery Scott's hot head can mount to Temple Bar, whither it is bound; and England, with immense expenditure of liquor and tarbarrels, can call-in its Nell-Gwyn Defender of the Faith, — and make out a very notable Two-hundred Years under his guidance; and, finding itself now nearly got to the Devil, may perhaps pause, and recoil, and remember: who knows? Nay who cares? may Oliver say. He is honourably quit of it, he for one; and the Supreme Powers will guide it farther according to their pleasure.]

— I shall be ready to stand and fall with you, in this seemingly promising Union* which God hath wrought

* The new Frame of Government.

among you, which I hope neither the pride nor envy of men shall be able to make void. I have taken my Oath [In Westminster Hall, Twenty-sixth of June last] to govern "according to the Laws" that are now made; and I trust I shall fully answer it. And know, I sought not this place. [Who would have "sought" it, that could have as nobly avoided it? Very scurvy creatures only. The "place" is no great things, I think; - with either Heaven or else Hell so close upon the rear of it, a man might do without the "place!" Know all men, Oliver Cromwell did not seek this place, but was sought to it, and led and driven to it, by the Necessities, the Divine Providences, the Eternal Laws.] I speak it before God, Angels, and Men: I DID NOT. You sought me for it, you brought me to it; and I took my Oath to be faithful to the Interest of these Nations, to be faithful to the Government. All those things were implied in my eye, in the Oath "to be faithful to this Government" upon which we have now met. And I trust, by the grace of God, as I have taken my Oath to serve this Commonwealth on such an account, I shall, - I must! - see it done, according to the Articles of Government. That every just Interest may be preserved; that a Godly Ministry may be upheld, and not affronted by seducing and seduced spirits; that all men may be preserved in their just rights, whether civil or spiritual. Upon this account did I take oath, and swear to this Government! — [And mean to continue administering it withal.] - And so having declared my heart and mind to you in this, I have nothing more to say, but to pray, God Almighty bless you. §

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SPEECH XVIII.

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His Highness, a few days after, on occasion of some Reply to a Message of his "concerning the state of the Public Moneys," — was formally requested by the Commons to furnish them with a Copy of this Speech: he answered that he did not remember four lines of it in a piece, and that he could not furnish a Copy. Some Copy would nevertheless have been got up, had the Parliament continued sitting. Rushworth, Smythe, and "I" (the Writer of Burton's Diary), we, so soon as the Speech was done, went to York House; Fairfax's Town-house, where Historical John, brooding over endless Paper-masses, and doing occasional Secretary work, still lodges: here at York House we sat together till late, "comparing Notes of his Highness's Speech;" could not finish the business that night, our Notes being a little cramp. It was grown quite dark before his Highness had done; so that we could hardly see our pencils go, at the time.**

The Copy given here is from the Pell Papers, and in part from an earlier Original; first printed by Burton's Editor; and now reproduced, with slight alterations of the pointing &c., such as were necessary here and there to bring out the sense, but not such as could change anything that had the least title

to remain unchanged.

SPEECII XVIII.

His Highness's last noble appeal, the words as of a strong great Captain addressed in the hour of imminent shipwreck, produced no adequate effect. The dreary Debate, supported chiefly by intemperate Haselrig, peppery Scott, and future-renegade Robinson, went on, trailing its slow length day after day; daily widening itself, too, into new dreariness, new questionability: a kind of pain to read even at this distance, and with view of the intemperate hot heads actually sluck on Temple Bar! For the man in "green oilskin hat with night-cap under it," the Duke of Ormond namely, who lodges at the Papist Chirurgeon's in Drury Lane, is very busy all this while.

I hursday 28th Jan. 1657-8 (Parliamentary History, xxi. 196; Burton, ii. 379).
 Burton, ii. 351.

And Fifth-Monarchy and other Petitions are getting concocted in the City, to a great length indeed; - and there are stirrings in the Army itself; - and, in brief, the English Hydra, cherished by the Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion, will shortly hiss sky-high again, if this continue!

As yet, however, there stands one strong Man between us and that issue. The strong Man gone, that issue, we may guess, will be inevitable; but he is not yet gone. For ten days more the dreary Debate has lasted. Various good Bills and Notices of Bills have been introduced: attempts on the part of well-affected Members to do some useful legislation here:* attempts which could not be accomplished. What could be accomplished was, to open the fountains of constitutional logic, and debate this question day after day. One or two intemperate persons, not excluded at the threshold, are of great moment in a Popular Assembly. The mind of which, if it have any mind, is one of the vaguest entities; capable, in a very singular degree, of being made to ferment, to freeze, to take fire, to develop itself in this shape or in that! The history of our Second Session, and indeed of these Oliverian Parliaments generally, is not exhibarating to the constitutional mind! -

But now on the tenth day of the Debate, with its noise growing ever noisier, on the 4th of February 1657-8, "about eleven in the morning," - while peppery Scott is just about to attempt velping out some new second speech, and there are cries of "Spoken! spoken!" which Sir Arthur struggles to argue down, - arrives the Black Rod. - "The Black Rod stays!" cry some, while Sir Arthur is arguing for Scott. -"What care I for the Black Rod?" snarls he: "The Gentleman" (peppery Scott) "ought to be heard." - Black Rod, however, is heard first; signifies that "Ilis Highness is in the Lords House, and desires to speak with you." Under way therefore! "Shall we take our Mace?" By all means, if you consider it likely to be useful for you! **

^{*} Parliamentary History, xxi. 203-4.
* Burton, ii. 462 ct seqq.; see also Tanner MSS. li. 1, for a more minute account.



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They take their Mace; range themselves in due mass, in the "Other House," Lords House, or whatever they call it; and his Highness, with a countenance of unusual earnestness, sorrow, resolution and severity, says:

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the meeting of this Parliament a blessing; and, the Lord be my witness, I desired the carrying-on the Affairs of the Nation to these ends! The blessing which I mean, and which we ever climbed at, was mercy, truth, righteousness and peace, which I desired might be improved.

That which brought me into the capacity I now stand in was the Petition and Advice given me by vou: who, in reference to the ancient Constitution ["Which had Two Houses and a King," - though we do not in words mention that!], did draw me to accept the place of Protector. ["I was a kind of Protector" already, I always understood; but let that pass. Certainly you invited me to become the Protector I now am, with Two Houses and other appendages, and there lies the gist of the matter at present."] There is not a man living can say I sought it; no, not a man nor woman treading upon English ground. But contemplating the sad condition of these Nations, relieved from an intestine War into a six or seven years Peace, I did think the Nation happy therein! ["I did think even my first Protectorate was a successful kind of thing!"] But to be petitioned thereunto, and advised by you to undertake such a Government, a burden too heavy for any creature; and this to be done by the House that then had the Legislative capacity: - certainly I did

look that the same men who made the Frame should make it good unto me! I can say in the presence of God, in comparison with whom we are but like poor creeping ants upon the earth, - I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep - [Yes, your Highness; it had been infinitely quieter, healthier, freer. But it is gone forever: no woodsides now, and peaceful nibbling sheep, and great still thoughts, and glimpses of God "in the cool of the evening walking among the trees:" nothing but toil and trouble, double, double, till one's discharge arrive, and the Eternal Portals open! Nay even there by your woodside, you had not been happy; not you, - with thoughts going down to the Death-kingdoms, and Heaven so near you on this hand, and Hell so near you on that. Nay who would grudge a little temporary Trouble, when he can do a large spell of eternal Work? Work that is true, and will last through all Eternity! Complain not, your Highness! -His Highness does not complain. "To have kept a flock of sheep," he says] - rather than undertaken such a Government as this. But undertaking it by the Advice and Petition of you, I did look that you who had offered it unto me should make it good.

I did tell you, at a Conference* concerning it, that I would not undertake it, unless there might be some other Persons to interpose between me and the House of Commons, who then had the power, and prevent tumultuary and popular spirits: and it was granted I should name another House. I named it of men who shall meet you wheresoever you go, and shake hands with you; and tell you it is not Titles, nor Lords, nor Parties that they value, but a Christian and an Eng-

^{*} One of the Kingship, Conferences of which there is no Report.

lish Interest! Men of your own rank and quality, who will not only be a balance unto you, but a new force added to you,* while you love England and Religion.

Having proceeded upon these terms;—and finding such a spirit as is too much predominant, everything being too high or too low; where virtue, honesty, piety and justice are omitted:—I thought I had been doing that which was my duty, and thought it would have satisfied you! But if everything must be too high or too low, you are not to be satisfied. [There is an innocency and childlike goodness in these poor sentences, which speaks to us in spite of rhetoric.]

Again, I would not have accepted of the Government, unless I knew there would be a just accord between the Governor and Governed; unless they would take an Oath to make good what the Parliament's Petition and Advice advised me unto! Upon that I took an Oath [On the Twenty-sixth of June last], and they On the Twentieth of January last, at their long Table in the Anteroom] took another Oath upon their part answerable to mine: - and did not every one know upon what condition he swore? God knows, I took it upon the conditions expressed in the 'Act of' Government! And I did think we had been upon a foundation, and upon a bottom; and thereupon I thought myself bound to take it, and to be "advised by the Two Houses of Parliament." And we standing unsettled till we arrived at that, the consequences would necessarily have been confusion, if that had not been settled. Yet there were not constituted "Hereditary Kings;" 'no,' the Power

^{* &}quot;but to themselves," however helplessly, must mean this; and a good reporter would have substituted this.

consisteth in the Two Houses and myself. — I do not say, that was the meaning of your Oath to you. That were to go against my own principles, to enter upon another man's conscience. God will judge between you and me! If there had been in you any intention of Settlement, you would have settled upon this basis, and have offered your judgment and opinion 'as to minor improvements.'

God is my witness; I speak it; it is evident to all the world and people living, That a new business hath been seeking in the Army against this actual Settlement made by your consent. I do not speak to these Gentlemen ["Pointing to his right hand," says the Report], or Lords, or whatsoever you will call them; I speak not this to them, but to you. — You advised me to come into this place, to be in a capacity* by your Advice. Yet instead of owning a thing, some must have I know not what; - and you have not only disjointed yourselves but the whole Nation, which is in likelihood of running into more confusion in these fifteen or sixteen days that you have sat, than it hath been from the rising of the last Session to this day. Through the intention of devising a Commonwealth again! That some people might be the men that might rule all! [Intemperate Haselrig, peppery Scott, and such like: very inadequate they to "rule;" inadequate to keep their own heads on their shoulders, if they were not RULED, they!] And they are endeavouring to engage the Army to carry that thing. - And hath that man been "true to this Nation," whosoever he be, especially that hath taken an Oath, thus to prevaricate? These designs have been made among the Army, to break and divide

^{* &}quot;of authority" is delicately understood, but not expressed.



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us. I speak this in the presence of some of the Army: That these things have not been according to God, nor according to truth, pretend what you will! [No, your Highness; they have not.] These things tend to nothing else but the playing of the King of Scots' game (if I may so call him); and I think myself bound before God to do what I can to prevent it. ["I, for my share:" Yea!]

That which I told you in the Banqueting-House 'ten days ago' was true, That there are preparations of force to invade us. God is my witness, it hath been confirmed to me since, not a day ago, That the King of Scots hath an Army at the water's side, ready to be shipped for England. I have it from those who have been eyewitnesses of it. And while it is doing, there are eudeavours from some who are not far from this place, to stir up the people of this Town into a tumulting, — [City Petitions are mounting very high, — as perhaps Sir Arthur and others know!] what if I said, Into a rebellion! And I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God assist me. [Noble scorn and indignation is gradually getting the better of every other feeling in his Highness and us.]

It hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the Army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the question about a "Commonwealth;" but some of you have been listing of persons, by commission of Charles Stuart, to join with any Insurrection that may be made. [What a cold qualm in some conscious heart that listens to this! Let him tremble, every joint of him; — or not visibly tremble; but cower home to his place, and repent; and remember in whose hand his beggarly existence in this world lies!] And what is

like to come upon this, the Enemy being ready to invade us, but even present blood and confusion? — [The next and final Sentence is partly on fire] — And if this be so, I do assign 'it' to this cause: Your not assenting to what you did invite me to by your Petition and Advice, as that which might prove the Settlement of the Nation. And if this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage, — [Sentence now all beautifully blazing], I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I do dissolve this Parliament! And let God be judge between you and me!§

Figure the looks of Haselrig, Scott and Company! "The "Mace was clapt under a cloak; the Speaker withdrew, and "exit Parliamentum," the Talking-Apparatus vanishes.* "God be judge between you and me!"—"Amen!" answered they, ** thought they, indignantly; and sank into eternal silence.

It was high time; for in truth the Hydra, on every side, is stirring its thousand heads. "Believe me," says Samuel Hartlib, Milton's friend, writing to an Official acquaintance next week, "believe me, it was of such necessity, that if their Session had "continued but two or three days longer all had been in blood "both in City and Country, upon Charles Stuart's account."***

His Highness before this Monday's sun sets, has begun to lodge the Anarchic Ringleaders, Royalist, Fifth-Monarchist, in the Tower; his Highness is bent once more with all his faculty, the Talking-Apparatus being gone, to front this Hydra, and trample it down once again. On Saturday he summons his Officers, his Acting-Apparatus, to Whitehall round him; explains to them "in a Speech two hours long" what kind of Hydra it is; asks, Shall it conquer us, involve us

[§] Burton, ii. 465-70.

** Ibid. ii. 464.

** Tradition in various modern Books (Parliamentary History, xxi. 203;
Note to Burton, ii. 470); not supported, that I can find, by any contemporary

^{***} Hartlib in London (11th Feb. 1657-8) to Moreland at Geneva; printed in Parliamentary History, xxi. 205.

† Appendix, No. 33.

in blood and confusion? They answer from their hearts, No, it shall not! "We will stand and fall with your Highness, we will live and die with you!"* — It is the last duel this Oliver has with any Hydra fomented into life by a Talking-Apparatus; and he again conquers it, invincibly compresses it, as he has heretofore done.

One day, in the early days of March next, his Highness said to Lord Broghil: An old friend of yours is in Town, the Duke of Ormond, now lodged in Drury Lane, at the Papist Surgeon's there: you had better tell him to be gone!**-Whereat his Lordship stared; found it a fact, however; and his Grace of Ormond did go with exemplary speed, and got again to Bruges and the Sacred Majesty, with report That Cromwell had many enemies, but that the rise of the Royalists was moonshine. And on the 12th of the month his Highness had the Mayor and Common Council with him in a body at Whitehall; and "in a Speech at large" explained to them that his Grace of Ormond was gone only "on Tuesday last;" that there were Spanish Invasions, Royalist Insurrections and Frantic-Anabaptist Insurrections rapidly ripening; — that it would well beseem the City of London to have its Militia in good order. To which the Mayor and Common Council, "being very sensible thereof," made zealous response *** by speech and by act. In a word, the Talking-Apparatus being gone, and an Oliver Protector now at the head of the Acting-Apparatus, no Insurrection, in the eyes of reasonable persons, had any chance. The leading Royalists shrank close into their privacies again, - considerable numbers of them had to shrink into durance in the Tower. Among which latter class, his Highness, justly incensed, and "considering," as Thurloe says, "that it was not fit there should be a Plot of this kind every winter," had determined that a High Court of Justice should take cognisance of some. High Court of Justice is

^{*} Hartlib's Letter, ubi supra.

** Godwin, iv. 508; Budgel's Lives of the Boyles, p. 49; &c.

*** Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 171.)

accordingly nominated * as the Act of Parliament prescribes: among the parties marked for trial by it are Sir Henry Slingsby. long since prisoner for Penruddock's business, and the Reverend Dr. Hewit, a man of much forwardness in Royalism. Sir Henry, prisoner in Hull and acquainted with the Chief Officers there, has been treating with them for betrayal of the place to his Majesty; has even, to that end, given one of them a Majesty's Commission; for whose Spanish Invasion such a Haven and Fortress would have been extremely convenient. Reverend Dr. Hewit, preaching by sufferance, according to the old ritual "in St. Gregory's Church near Paul's," to a select disaffected audience, has farther seen good to distinguish himself very much by secular zeal in this business of the Royalist Insurrection and Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion: - which has now come to nothing, and left poor Dr. Hewit in a most questionable position. Of these two, and of others, a High Court of Justice shall take cognisance.

The Insurrection having no chance in the eyes of reasonable Royalists, and they in consequence refusing to lead it, the large body of unreasonable Royalists now in London City or gathering thither decide, with indignation, That they will try it on their own score, and lead it themselves. Hands to work, then, ye unreasonable Royalists; pipe, All hands! Saturday the 15th of May, that is the night appointed: To rise that Saturday Night; beat drums for "Royalist Apprentices," "fire houses at the Tower," slay this man, slay that, and bring matters to a good issue. Alas, on the very edge of the appointed hour, as usual, we are all seized; the ringleaders of us are all seized, "at the Mermaid in Cheapside," - for Thurloe and his Highness have long known what we were upon! Barkstead Governor of the Tower "marches into the City with five drakes," at the rattle of which every Royalist Apprentice, and party implicated, shakes in his shoes: — and this also has gone to vapour, leaving only for result certain new individuals of the Civic class to give account of it to the High Court of Justice.

 ²⁷th April 1658. Act of Parliament, with List of the Names, is in Scobell, ii. 372-5: see also Commons Journals, vii. 427 (Sept. 1656).

Tuesday, 25th May 1658, the High Court of Justice sat; a formidable Sanhedrim of above a Hundred-and-thirty heads. consisting of "all the Judges," chief Law Officials, and others named in the Writ according to Act of Parliament: - sat "in

"Westminster Hall, at Nine in the morning, for the Trial of "Sir Henry Slingsby Knight, John Hewit Doctor of Divinity." and three others whom we may forget.* Sat day after day till all were judged. Poor Sir Henry, on the first day, was condemned; he pleaded what he could, poor gentleman, a very constant Royalist all along; but the Hull business was too palpable; he was condemned to die. Reverend Dr. Hewit, whose proceedings also had become very palpable, refused to plead at all; refused even "to take off his hat," says Carrion Heath, "till the officer was coming to do it for him; ""had a Paper of Demurrers prepared by the learned Mr. Prynne," who is now again doing business this way; - "conducted himself not very wisely," says Bulstrode. He likewise received sentence of death. The others, by narrow missing, escaped; by good luck, or the Protector's mercy, suffered nothing.

As to Slingsby and Hewit, the Protector was inexorable. Hewit has already taken a very high line: let him persevere in it! Slingsby was the Lord Fauconberg's Uncle, married to his Aunt Bellasis; but that could not stead him. — perhaps that was but a new monition to be strict with him. monwealth of England and its Peace are not nothing! These Royalist Plots every winter, deliveries of garrisons to Charles Stuart, and reckless "usherings of us into blood," shall end! Hewit and Slingsby suffered on Tower Hill, on Monday 8th June: amid the manifold rumour and emotion of men. Of the City Insurrectionists six were condemned: three of whom were executed, three pardoned. And so the High Court of Justice dissolved itself: and at this and not at more expense of blood. the huge Insurrectionary movement ended, and lay silent

within its caves again. Whether in any future year it would have tried another rising against such a Lord Protector, one does not know, -

^{*} Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 172).

one guesses rather in the negative. The Royalist Cause, after so many failures, after such a sort of enterprises "on the word of a Christian King," had naturally sunk very low. Some twelvemonth hence, with a Commonwealth not now under Cromwell, but only under the impulse of Cromwell, a Christian King hastening down to the Treaty of the Pyrenees, where France and Spain were making Peace, found one of the coldest receptions. Cardinal Mazarin "sent his coaches and guards "a day's journey to meet Lockhart the Commonwealth Am-"bassador;" but refused to meet the Christian King at all; would not even meet Ormond except as if by accident, "on the public road," to say that there was no hope. The Spanish Minister, Don Luis de Haro, was civiller in manner; but as to Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasions or the like, he also decisively shook his head.* The Royalist Cause was as good as desperate in England; a melancholy Reminiscence, fast fading away into the realm of shadows. Not till Puritanism sank of its own accord, could Royalism rise again. But Puritanism, the King of it once away, fell loose very naturally in every fibre, - fell into Kinglessness, what we call Anarchy; crumbled down, ever faster, for Sixteen Months, in mad suicide, and universal clashing and collision; proved, by trial after trial, that there lay not in it either Government or so much as Self-government any more: that a Government of England by it was henceforth an impossibility. Amid the general wreck of things, all Government threatening now to be impossible, the Reminiscence of Royalty rose again, "Let us take refuge in the Past, the Future is not possible!" - and Major-General Monk crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, with results which are well known.

Results which we will not quarrel with, very mournful as they have been! If it please Heaven, these Two-hundred Years of universal Cant in Speech, with so much of Cotton-spinning, Coal-boring, Commercing, and other valuable Sincerity of Work going-on the while, shall not be quite lost to us! Our Cant will vanish, our whole baleful cunningly-compacted Universe of Cant, as does a heavy Nightmare Dream.

^{*} Kennet, iii. 214. Clarendon, iii. 914.

We shall awaken; and find ourselves in a world greatly widened.

— Why Puritanism could not continue? My friend, Puritanism was not the Complete Theory of this immense Universe; no, only a part thereof! To me it seems, in my hours of hope, as if the Destinies meant something grander with England than even Oliver Protector did! We will not quarrel with the Destinies; we will work as we can towards fulfilment of them.

But in these same June days of the year 1658, while Hewit and Slingsby lay down their heads on Tower Hill, and the English Hydra finds that its Master is still here, there arrive the news of Dunkirk alluded-to above: Dunkirk gloriously taken, Spaniards gloriously beaten: victories and successes abroad; which are a new illumination to the Lord Protector in the eyes of England. Splendid Nephews of the Cardinal, Manzinis, Ducs de Crequi, come across the Channel to congratulate "the most invincible of Sovereigns;" young Louis Fourteenth himself would have come, had not the attack of small-pox prevented.* With whom the elegant Lord Fauconberg and others busy themselves: their pageantry and gilt coaches, much gazed-at by the idler multitudes, need not detain us here.

The Lord Protector, his Parliament having been dismissed with such brevity, is somewhat embarrassed in his finances. But otherwise his affairs stand well; visibly in an improved condition. Once more he has saved Puritan England; once more approved himself invincible abroad and at home. He looks with confidence towards summoning a new Parliament, of juster disposition towards Puritan England and him.**
With a Parliament, or if extremity of need arrive, without a Parliament and in spite of Parliaments, the Puritan Gospel Cause, sanctioned by a Higher than Parliaments, shall not sink while life remains in this Man. Not till Oliver Cromwell's head lie low, shall English Puritanism bend its head to any created thing. Erect, with its foot on the neck of Hydra Babylon, with its open Bible and drawn Sword, shall Puritanism

Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, pp. 172-3; 15th-21st June 1658.)
 Thurloe, vii. 84 99, 128, &c. (April, May 1658.)

stand, and with pious all-defiance victoriously front the world. That was Oliver Cromwell's appointed function in this piece of Sublunary Space, in this section of swift-flowing Time; that noble, perilous, painful function: and he has manfully done it, — and is now near ending it, and getting honourably relieved from it.

LETTER CCXXV.

The poor Protestants of Piedmont, it appears, are again in a state of grievance, in a state of peril. The Lord Protector, in the thickest press of domestic anarchies, finds time to think of these poor people and their case. Here is a Letter to Ambassador Lockhart, who is now at Dunkirk Siege, in the French King and Cardinal's neighbourhood: a generous pious Letter; dictated to Thurloe, partly perhaps of Thurloe's composition, but altogether of Oliver's mind and sense; — fit enough, since it so chances, to conclude our Series here.

Among the Lockhart Letters in Thurloe, which are full of Dunkirk in these weeks, I can find no trace of this new Piedmont business: but in Milton's Latin State-Letters, among the Literæ Oliverii Protectoris, there are Three, to the French King, to the Swiss Cantons, to the Cardinal, which all treat of it. The first of which, were it only as a sample of the Milton-Oliver Diplomacies, we will here copy, and translate that all may read it. An emphatic State-Letter; which Oliver Cromwell meant, and John Milton thought and wrote into words; not unworthy to be read. It goes by the same Express as the Letter to Lockhart himself; and is very specially referred to there:

[&]quot;Serenissimo potentissimoque Principi, Ludovico Galliarum Regi.

"Serenissime potentissimeque Rex, Amice ac Fæderate
"Augustissime,

[&]quot;Meminisse potest Majestas Vestra, quo tempore inter nos de "renovando Fædere agebatur (quod optimis auspiciis initum multa "utriusque Populi commoda, multa Hostium communium exinde "mala testantur), accidisse miseram illam Convallensium Occisio-

"nem; quorum causam undique desertam atque afflictam Vestræ "misericordice atque tutela, summo cum ardore animi ac misera-"tione, commendavimus. Nec defuisse per se arbitramur Maje-"statem Vestram officio tam pio, immo verò tam humano, pro ea "quâ apud Ducem Sabaudiæ valere debuit vel auctoritate vel "gratia: Nos certè alique multi Principes ac Civitates, legationi-

"bus, literis, precibus interpositis, non defuimus.

"Post cruentissimam utriusque sexûs omnis ætatis Trucidatio-"nem, Pax tandem data est; vel potiùs inductæ Pacis nomine "hostilitas quædam tectior. Conditiones Pacis vestro in oppido "Pinarolii sunt latæ: dura quidem illæ, sed quibus miseri atque "inopes, dira omnia atque immania perpessi, facile acquiescerent, "modò iis, duræ et iniquæ ut sint, staretur. Non statur; sed enim "earum quoque singularum falsa interpretatione variisque diver-"ticulis, fides eluditur ac violatur. Antiquis sedibus multi dejici-"untur, Religio Patria multis interdicitur; Tributa nova exigun-"tur; Arx nova cervicibus imponitur, unde milites crebrò erum-"pentes obvios quosque vel diripiunt vel trucidant. Ad hac nuper "novæ copiæ clanculum contra eos parantur; quique inter eos "Romanam Religionem colunt, migrare ad tempus jubentur: ut "omnia nunc rursus videantur ad illorum internecionem misero-"rum spectare, quos illa prior laniena reliquos fecit.

"Quod ergò per dextram tuam, Rex Christianissime, quæ Fædus "nobiscum et amicitiam percussit, obsecro atque obtestor, per illud "Christianissimi tituli decus sanctissimum, fieri ne siveris: nec tan-"tam sæviendi licentiam, non dico Principi cuiquam (neque enim "in ullum Principem, multò minus in ætatem illius Principis tene-"ram, aut in muliebrem Matris animum, tanta sævitia cadere pot-"est), sed sacerrimis illis Sicariis, ne permiseris. Qui cum Christi "Servatoris nostri servos atque imitatores sese profiteantur, qui "venit in hunc mundum ut peccatores servaret, Ejus mitissimi No-"mine atque Institutis ad innocentium crudelissimas cades abutun-"tur. Eripe qui potes, quique in tanto fastigio dignus es posse, tot "supplices tuos homicidarum ex manibus, qui cruore nuper ebrii "sanguinem rursus sitiunt, suaque invidiam crudelitatis in Prin-"cipes derivare consultissimum sibi ducunt. Tu verò nec Titulos "tuos aut Regni fines istà invidià, nec Evangelium Christi pacatis"simum istà crudelitate fædari, te regnante patiaris. Memineris "hos ipsos Avi tui Henrici Protestantibus amicissimi Dedititios "fuisse; cùm Diguierius per ea Loca, quà etiam commodissimus in "Italiam transitus est, Sabaudum trans Alpes cedentem victor est "insecutus. Deditionis illius Instrumentum in Actis Regni vestri "Publicis etiamnum extat: in quo exceptum atque cautum inter "alia est, ne cui posteà Convallenses traderentur, nisi üsdem conditionibus quibus eos Avus tuus invictissimus in fidem recepit. "Hanc fidem nunc implorant, avitam abs te Nepote supplices requirunt. Tui esse quam cujus nunc sunt, vel permutatione alique optârint: id si non licet, patro-"cinio saltem, miseratione atque perfugio.

"Sunt et rationes regni quæ hortari possint ut Convallenses ad "te confugientes ne rejicias: sed nolim te, Rex tantus cum sis, aliis "rationibus ad defensionem calamitosorum quàm fide à Majori-"bus datá, pietate, regiâque animi benignitate ac magnitudine per-"moveri. Ita pulcherrimi facti laus atque gloria illibatu aque "integra tua erit, et ipse Patrem Misericordiæ ejusque Filium "Christum Regem, cujus Nomen atque Doctrinam ab immanitate "nefarià vindicaveris, eò magis faventem tibi et propitium per "omnem vitam experieris.

"Dens Opt. Max. ad gloriam suam, tot innocentissimorum "hominum Christianorum tutandam salutem, Vestrumque verum "decus, Majestati Vestræ hanc mentem injiciat.

" Majestatis Vestra Studiosissimus

"" OLIVERIUS PROTECTOR REIP. ANGLLE,' &c. "Westmonasterio, Maii '26° die,' anno 1638."*

Of which here is a Version the most literal we can make:

"To the most serene and potent Prince, Louis, King of France.

"Most serene and potent King, most close Friend and Ally,

"Your Majesty may recollect that during the negotiation between us for the renewing of our League ** (which many advantages to both Nations, and much damage to their

** June, 1655: antea, vol. iii. p. 321.

[•] The Prose Works of John Milton (London, 1833), p. 815.

"common Eucmics, resulting therefrom, now testify to have been very wisely done), — there fell out that miserable "Slaughter of the People of the Valleys; whose cause, on all sides deserted and trodden down, we, with the utmost earnestness and pity, recommended to your mercy and protection. Nor do we think Your Majesty, for your own part, has been wanting in an office so pious and indeed so human, in so far as either by authority or favour you might have influence with the Duke of Savoy: we certainly, and many other Princes and States, by embassies, by letters, by entreaties directed thither, have not been wanting.

"After that most sanguinary Massacre, which spared no "age nor either sex, there was at last a Peace given; or rather, "under the specious name of Peace, a certain more disguised "hostility. The terms of the Peace were settled in your Town "of Pignerol: hard terms; but such as those poor People, "indigent and wretched, after suffering all manner of cruelties "and atrocities, might gladly acquiesce in; if only, hard and "unjust as the bargain is, it were adhered to. It is not adhered "to: those terms are broken; the purport of every one of them "is, by false interpretation and various subterfuges, eluded "and violated. Many of these People are ejected from their "Old Habitations; their Native Religion is prohibited to "many: new Taxes are exacted; a new Fortress has been "built over them, out of which soldiers frequently sallying "plunder or kill whomsoever they meet. Moreover, new "Forces have of late been privily got ready against them; "and such as follow the Romish Religion are directed to with-"draw from among them within a limited time: so that every-"thing seems now again to point towards the extermination of "all among those unhappy People, whom the former Massacre "had left.

"Which now, O Most Christian King, I beseech and obtest "thee, by thy right-hand which pledged a League and "Friendship with us, by the sacred honour of that Title of "Most Christian, — permit not to be done: nor let such license "of savagery, I do not say to any Prince (for indeed no cruelty

"like this could come into the mind of any Prince, much less "into the tender years of that young Prince, or into the "woman's heart of his Mother), but to those most accursed "Assassins, be given. Who while they profess themselves the "servants and imitators of Christ our Saviour, who came into "this world that He might save sinners, abuse His most merci-"ful Name and Commandments to the cruellest slaughterings. "Snatch, thou who art able, and who in such an elevation art "worthy to be able, those poor Suppliants of thine from the "hands of Murderers, who, lately drunk with blood, are again "athirst for it, and think convenient to turn the discredit of "their own cruelty upon their Prince's score. Suffer not either "thy Titles and the Environs of thy Kingdom to be soiled with "that discredit, or the peaceable Gospel of Christ by that "cruelty, in thy Reign. Remember that these very People "became Subjects of thy Ancestor, Henry, most friendly to "Protestants; when Lesdiguières victoriously pursued him of "Savoy across the Alps, through those same Valleys, " where "indeed the most commodious pass to Italy is. The Instru-"ment of that their Paction and Surrender is yet extant in the "Public Acts of your Kingdom: in which this among other "things is specified and provided against. That these People "of the Valleys should not thereafter be delivered over to any "one except on the same conditions under which thy invin-"cible Ancestor had received them into fealty. This promised "protection they now implore; promise of thy Ancestor they "now, from thee the Grandson, suppliantly demand. To be "thine rather than his whose they now are, if by any means of "exchange it could be done, they would wish and prefer: if "that may not be, thine at least by succour, by commiseration "and deliverance.

"There are likewise reasons of state which might give inducement not to reject these People of the Valleys flying for
shelter to thee: but I would not have thee, so great a King
as thou art, be moved to the defence of the unfortunate by
other reasons than the promise of thy Ancestors, and thy

In 1592: Hénault, Abrégé Chronologique (Paris, 1774), il. 597.

"own piety and royal benignity and greatness of mind. So "shall the praise and fame of this most worthy action be un"mixed and clear; and thyself shalt find the Father of Mercy, "and His Son Christ the King, whose Name and Doctrine "thou shalt have vindicated, the more favourable to thee, and "propitious through the course of life.

"May the Almighty, for His own glory, for the safety of "so many most innocent Christian men, and for your true

"honour, dispose Your Majesty to this determination.

"Your Majesty's most friendly
"Oliver Protector of the Commonwealth
of England.

"Westminster, 26th May 1658."

'To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador at the French Court: These.'

SIR. 'Whitehall,' 26th May 1658.

The continual troubles and vexations of the poor People of Piedmont professing the Reformed Religion, - and that after so many serious instances of yours in the Court of France in their behalf, and after such hearty recommendations of their most deplorable condition to his Majesty in our name, who also has been pleased upon all such occasions to profess very deep resentments of their miseries, and to give us no small hopes of interposing his power and interest with the Duke of Savoy for the accommodating of those affairs, and for the restoring those poor distressed creatures to their ancient privileges and habitations, - are matter of so much grief to us, and lie so near our heart, that, notwithstanding we are abundantly satisfied with those many signal marks you have always hitherto given of your truly Christian zeal and tenderness on their regard, yet the present conjuncture of their affairs, and the misery that is daily added to their affliction begetting in us fresh arguments of pity towards them, not only as men, but as the poor distressed Members of Christ, - do really move us at present to recommend their sad condition to your special care. Desiring you to redouble your instances with the King, in such pathetic and affectionate expressions as may be in some measure suitable to the greatness of their present sufferings and grievances. Which, the truth is, are almost inexpressible. For so restless and implacable is the malice and fury of their Popish Adversaries, that, - as though they esteemed it but a light matter to have formerly shed the innocent blood of so many hundreds of souls, to have burned their houses, to have rased their churches, to have plundered their goods, and to have driven out the Inhabitants beyond the River Pelice, out of those their ancient Possessions which they had quietly enjoyed for so many ages and generations together, - they are now resolved to fill their cup of affliction up to the brim, and to heat the furnace yet seven times hotter than before. Amongst other things:

First, — They forcibly prohibit all manner of Public Exercises* at San Giovanni, which, notwithstanding, the Inhabitants have enjoyed time out of mind: and in case they yield not ready obedience to such most unrighteous orders, they are immediately summoned before their Courts of Justice, and there proceeded against in a most severe and rigorous manner, and some threatened to be wholly destroyed and exterminated.

2. And forasmuch as, in the said Valleys, there are not found among the Natives men fitly qualified and

^{*} Means "Public Worship."

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of abilities for Ministerial Functions to supply so much as one half of their Churches, and upon this account they are necessitated to entertain some out of France and Geneva, which are the Duke of Savoy's friends and allies, — their Popish Enemies take hold of this advantage; and make use of this stratagem, namely, to banish and drive out the shepherds of the flocks, that so the wolves may the better come in and devour the sheep.

- 3. To this we add, their strict prohibition of all Physicians and Chirurgeons of the Reformed Religion to inhabit in the Valleys. And thus they attempt not only to starve their souls for want of spiritual food and nourishment, but to destroy their bodies likewise for want of those outward conveniences and helps which God hath allowed to all mankind.
- 4. And as a supplement to the former grievances, those of the Reformed Religion are prohibited all manner of Commerce and Trade with their Popish neighbours; that so they may not be able to subsist and maintain their families: and if they offend herein in the least, they are immediately apprehended as rebels.
- 5. Moreover, to give the world a clear testimony what their main design in all these oppressions is, they have issued out Orders whereby to force the poor Protestants To sell their Lands and Houses to their Popish neighbours: whereas the Papists are prohibited upon pain of excommunication to sell any immovable to the Protestants.
- 6. Besides, the Court of Savoy have rebuilt the Fort of La Torre; contrary to the formal and express promise made by them to the Ambassadors of the

Evangelical Cantons. Where they have also placed Commanders, who commit the Lord knows how many excesses and outrages in all the neighbouring parts; without being ever called to question, or compelled to make restitution for the same. If by chance any murder be committed in the Valleys (as is too-too often practised) whereof the authors are not discovered, the poor Protestants are immediately accused as guilty thereof, to render them odious to their neighbours.

7. There are sent lately into the said Valleys several Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot; which hath caused the poor People, out of fear of a massacre, with great expense and difficulty to send their wives and little ones, with all that were feeble and sick amongst them, into the Valley of Perosa, under the King of France his Dominions.

These are, in short, the grievances, and this is the present state and condition of those poor People even at this very day. Whereof you are to use your utmost endeavours to make his Majesty thoroughly sensible; and to persuade him to give speedy and effectual orders 'to' his Ambassador who resides in the Duke's Court, To act vigorously in their behalf. Our Letter,* which you shall present his Majesty for this end and purpose, contains several reasons in it which we hope will move his heart to the performance of this charitable and merciful work. And we desire you to second and animate the same with your most earnest solicitations; representing unto him how much his own interest and honour is concerned in the making good that Accord of Henry the Fourth, his royal predecessor,

[·] Milton's, given above.

with the Ambassadors of those very People, in the year 1592, by the Constable of Lesdiguières; which Accord is registered in the Parliament of Dauphiné; and whereof you have an authentic Copy in your own hands. Whereby the Kings of France oblige themselves and their Successors To maintain and preserve their ancient privileges and concessions. — Besides that the gaining to himself the hearts of that People, by so gracious and remarkable a protection and deliverance, might be of no little use another day, in relation to Pignerol and the other adjacent places under his Dominions.

One of the most effectual remedies, which we conceive the fittest to be applied at present is, That the King of France would be pleased to make an Exchange with the Duke of Savoy for those Valleys; resigning over to him some other part of his Dominions in lieu thereof, — as, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, the Marquisate of Saluces was exchanged with the Duke for La Bresse.* Which certainly could not but be of great advantage to his Majesty, as well for the safety of Pignerol, as for the opening of a Passage for his Forces into Italy, — which 'Passage,' if under the dominion, and in the hands of so powerful a Prince, joined with the natural strength of these places by reason of their situation, must needs be rendered impregnable.

By what we have already said, you see our intentions; and therefore we leave all other particulars to your special care and conduct; and rest,

'Your friend.'

OLIVER P. §

In 1601 (Hénault, ii. 612).
 Ayscough mss., no. 4107, f. 89.

Lockhart, both General and Ambassador in these months, is, as we hinted, infinitely busy with his share in the Siege of Dunkirk, now just in its agony; and before this Letter can well arrive, has done his famous feat of Fighting, which brings Turenne and him their victory, among the sandhills there. Much to the joy of Cardinal and King; who will not readily refuse him in any reasonable point at present. There came no new Massacre upon the poor People of the Valleys; their grievances were again "settled," scared away for a season, by negotiation.

DEATH OF THE PROTECTOR.

THERE remain no more Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell for us; the above is the last of them of either kind. As a Speaker to men, he takes his leave of the world, in these final words addressed to his Second Parliament, on the 4th of February 1657-8: "God be judge between you and me!" — So was it appointed by the Destinies and the Oblivions; these were his last public words.

Other Speeches, in that crisis of Oliver's affairs, we have already heard of; "Speech of two hours" to his Officers in Whitehall: Speech to the Lord Mayor and Common Council. in the same place, on the same subject: but they have not been reported, or the report of them has not come down to us. There were domestic Letters also, as we still find, written in those same tumultuous weeks; Letters to the Earl of Warwick, on occasion of the death of his Grandson, the Protector's Sonin-law. For poor young Mr. Rich, whom we saw wedded in November last, is dead. ** He died on the twelfth day after that Dissolution of the Parliament; while Oliver and the Commonwealth are wrestling against boundless Anarchies, Oliver's own Household has its visitations and dark days. Poor little Frances Cromwell, in the fourth month of her marriage, still only about seventeen, she finds herself suddenly a widow; and Hampton Court has become a house of mourning. Young Rich

Thursday, 3d June 1658 (Thurlee, vii. 155-6).

^{• 16}th Feb. 1657-8 (Newspapers in Cromwelliana, p. 170).

was much lamented. Oliver condoled with the Grandfather "in seasonable and sympathising Letters;" for which the brave old Earl rallies himself to make some gratefullest Reply: *-"Cannot enough confess my obligation, much less discharge "it, for your seasonable and sympathising Letters; which, "besides the value they derive from so worthy a hand, express "such faithful affections, and administer such Christian ad-"vices as renders them beyond measure dear to me." Blessings, and noble eulogies, the outpouring of a brave old heart, conclude this Letter of Warwick's. He himself died shortly after; ** a new grief to the Protector. - The Protector was delivering the Commonwealth from Hydras and fighting a world-wide battle, while he wrote those Letters on the death of young Rich. If by chance they still lie hidden in the archives of some kinsman of the Warwicks, they may yet be disimprisoned and made audible. Most probably they too are lost. And so we have now nothing more; — and Oliver has nothing more. His Speakings, and also his Actings, all his manifold Strugglings, more or less victorious, to utter the great God's-Message that was in him, - have here what we call ended. This Summer of 1658, likewise victorious after struggle, is his last in our World of Time. Thenceforth he enters the Eternities; and rests upon his arms there.

Oliver's look was yet strong; and young for his years, *** which were Fifty-nine last April. The "Three-score and ten years," the Psalmist's limit, which probably was often in Oliver's thoughts and in those of others there, might have been anticipated for him: Ten Years more of Life: - which. we may compute, would have given another History to all the Centuries of England. But it was not to be so, it was to be otherwise. Oliver's health, as we might observe, was but uncertain in late times; often "indisposed" the spring before

^{*} Earl of Warwick to the Lord Protector, date 11th March 1657-8; printed in Godwin, iv. 528.

19th April 1658 (Thurloe, vii. 85).

19th April 1658 (Thurloe, vii. 85).

last. His course of life had not been favourable to health! "A burden too heavy for man!" as he himself, with a sigh, would sometimes say. Incessant toil: inconceivable labour, of head and heart and hand; toil, peril, and sorrow manifold, continued for near Twenty years now, had done their part: those robust life-energies, it afterwards appeared. * had been gradually eaten out. Like a Tower strong to the eye, but with its foundations undermined; which has not long to stand; the fall of which, on any shock, may be sudden. -

The Manzinis and Ducs de Crequi, with their splendours, and congratulations about Dunkirk, interesting to the streetpopulations and general public, had not yet withdrawn, when at Hampton Court there had begun a private scene, of much deeper and quite opposite interest there. The Lady Claypole, Oliver's favourite Daughter, a favourite of all the world, had fallen sick we know not when: lay sick now. - to death, as it proved. Her disease was of internal female nature; the painfullest and most harassing to mind and sense, it is understood, that falls to the lot of a human creature. Hampton Court we can fancy once more, in those July days, a house of sorrow; pale Death knocking there, as at the door of the meanest hut. "She had great sufferings, great exercises of spirit." Yes: and in the depths of the old Centuries, we see a pale anxious Mother, anxious Husband, anxious weeping Sisters, a poor young Frances weeping anew in her weeds. 'For the last fourteen days' his Highness has been by her bedside at Hampton Court, unable to attend to any public business whatever. ** Be still, my Child; trust thou yet in God: in the waves of the Dark River, there too is He a God of help! -On the 6th day of August she lay dead; at rest forever. My young, my beautiful, my brave! She is taken from me; I am left bereaved of her. The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away: blessed be the Name of the Lord! -

"His Highness," says Harvey, *** "being at Hampton Court,

^{*} Doctor Bates, on examination post mortem.

** Thurloc, vil. 295 (27th July 1658).

*** A Collection of several Passages concerning his late Highness Oliver Cromwell, in the Time of his Sickness; wherein is related many of

"sickened a little before the Lady Elizabeth died. Her decease " was on Friday 6th August 1658; she having lain long under "great extremity of bodily pain, which, with frequent and "violent convulsion-fits, brought her end. But as to his "Highness, it was observed that his sense of her outward "misery, in the pains she endured, took deep impression upon "him; who indeed was ever a most indulgent and tender "Father; - his affections" too "being regulated and bounded "by such Christian wisdom and prudence, as did eminently "shine in filling-up not only that relation of a Father, but "also all other relations; wherein he was a most rare and "singular example. And no doubt but the sympathy of his "spirit with his sorely afflicted and dying Daughter" did break him down at this time; "considering also,"—innumerable other considerations of sufferings and toils, "which made "me often wonder he was able to hold-up so long; except" indeed "that he was borne up by a Supernatural Power at a "more than ordinary rate. As a mercy to the truly Christian "World, and to us of these Nations, had we been worthy of "him!" _

The same authority, who unhappily is not chronological, adds elsewhere this little picture, which we must take with us: "At Hampton Court, a few days after the death of the Lady "Elizabeth, which touched him nearly, — being then himself "under bodily distempers, forerunners of that Sickness which "was to death, and in his bedchamber, — he called for his "Bible, and desired an honourable and godly person there, "with others, present, To read unto him that passage in "Philippians Fourth; 'Not that I speak in respect of want: for I "have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. "I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound. Every-"where, and by all things, I am instructed; both to be full and to "be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things,

his Expressions upon his Deathbed, together with his Prayer within two or three Days before his Death. Written by one that was then Groom of his Bedchamber. (King's Pamphlets, sm. 4to, no. 792, art. 22; London, 9th June 1659.)

"through Christ which strengtheneth me.'* Which read, - said "he, to use his own words as near as I can remember them: "This Scripture did once save my life; when my eldest Son" poor Robert ** "'died; which went as a dagger to my heart. "indeed it did.' And then repeating the words of the text "himself, and reading the tenth and eleventh verses, of Paul's "contentation, and submission to the will of God in all con-"ditions, - said he: 'It's true, Paul, you have learned this, "and attained to this measure of grace: but what shall I do? "Ah poor creature, it is a hard lesson for me to take out! "I find it so!" But reading on to the thirteenth verse, where "Paul saith, 'I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth "me,' - then faith began to work, and his heart to find support "and comfort, and he said thus to himself, 'He that was "Paul's Christ is my Christ too!' And so drew waters out of "the well of Salvation."

In the same dark days, occurred George Fox's third and last interview with Oliver. Their first interview we have seen. The second, which had fallen out some two years ago, did not prosper quite so well. George, riding into Town "one evening," with some "Edward Pyot" or other broadbrimmed man, espied the Protector "at Hyde Park Corner among his Guards," and made up to his carriage-window, in spite of opposition; and was altogether cordially welcomed there. But on the following day, at Whitehall, the Protector "spake lightly;" he sat down loosely "on a table," and "spake light things to me," - in fact, rather quizzed me; finding my enormous sacred Self-confidence none of the least of my attainments! *** Such had been our second interview: here now is the third and last - George dates nothing; and his facts everywhere lie round him like the leather-parings of his old shop: but we judge it may have been about the time when the Manzinis and Ducs de Crequi were parading in their gilt coaches. That George and two Friends "going out of Town."

<sup>Philippians, iv. 11, 12, 13.
A blank in the Pamphlet here: not "Oliver" as hitherto supposed (see vol. i. p. 188), but "Robert" (ibid. p. 47): see vol. i. pp. 124, 188.
Fox's Journal, 1. 381, 2.</sup>

on a summer day, "two of Hacker's men" had met them, — taken them, brought them to the Mews. "Prisoners there a while:" — but the Lord's power was over Hacker's men; they had to let us go. Whereupon:

"The same day, taking boat I went down" (up) "to King-"ston, and from thence to Hampton Court, to speak with the "Protector about the Sufferings of Friends. I met him riding "into Hampton-Court Park; and before I came to him, as he "rode at the head of his Lifeguard, I saw and felt a waft" (whiff) "of death go forth against him." — — Or in favour of him, George? His life, if thou knew it, has not been a merry thing for this man, now or heretofore! I fancy he has been looking, this long while, to give it up, whenever the Commander-in-chief required. To quit his laborious sentry-post; honourably lay-up his arms, and be gone to his rest: - all Eternity to rest in, O George! Was thy own life merry, for example, in the hollow of the tree; clad permanently in leather? And does kingly purple, and governing refractory worlds instead of stitching coarse shoes, make it merrier? The waft of death is not against him, I think, - perhaps against thee, and me, and others, O George, when the Nell-Gwyn Defender and Two Centuries of all-victorious Cant have come in upon us! My unfortunate George — — "a waft of death go "forth against him; and when I came to him, he looked like a "dead man. After I had laid the Sufferings of Friends before "him, and had warned him according as I was moved to speak "to him, he bade me come to his house. So I returned to "Kingston; and, the next day, went up to Hampton Court to "speak farther with him. But when I came, Harvey, who was "one that waited on him, told me the Doctors were not willing "that I should speak with him. So I passed away, and never "saw him more." *

Friday, the 20th of August 1658, this was probably the day on which George Fox saw Oliver riding into Hampton Park with his Guards, for the last time. That Friday, as we find, his Highness seemed much better: but on the morrow a sad

^{*} Fox's Journal, pp. 485, 6.

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change had taken place; feverish symptoms, for which the Doctors rigorously prescribed quiet. Saturday to Tuesday the symptoms continued ever worsening: a kind of tertian ague, "bastard tertian" as the old Doctors name it; for which it was ordered that his Highness should return to Whitehall, as to a more favourable air in that complaint. On Tuesday accordingly he quitted Hampton Court; — never to see it more.

"His time was come." says Harvey; "and neither prayers "nor tears could prevail with God to lengthen out his life and "continue him longer to us. Prayers abundantly and inces-"santly poured out on his behalf, both publicly and privately, "as was observed, in a more than ordinary way. Besides "many a secret sigh. — secret and unheard by men, yet like "the cry of Moses, more loud, and strongly laying hold on "God, than many spoken supplications. All which, — the "hearts of God's People being thus mightily stirred up, — did "seem to beget confidence in some, and hopes in all; yea "some thoughts in himself, that God would restore him."

"Prayers public and private!" they are worth imagining to ourselves. Meetings of Preachers, Chaplains, and Godly Persons; "Owen, Goodwin, Sterry, with a company of others, in an adjoining room;" in Whitehall, and elsewhere over religious London and England, fervent outpourings of many a loyal heart. For there were hearts to whom the nobleness of this man was known; and his worth to the Puritan Cause was evident. Prayers, - strange enough to us; in a dialect fallen obsolete, forgotten now. Authentic wrestlings of ancient Human Souls. - who were alive then, with their affections. awe-struck pieties; with their Human Wishes, risen to be transcendent, hoping to prevail with the Inexorable. All swallowed now in the depths of dark Time; which is full of such. since the beginning! — Truly it is a great scene of World-History, this in old Whitehall: Oliver Cromwell drawing nigh to his end. The exit of Oliver Cromwell and of English Puritanism; a great Light, one of our few authentic Solar Luminaries, going down now amid the clouds of Death. Like the setting of a great victorious Summer Sun; its course now finished. "So stirbt ein Held," says Schiller, "So dies a Hero! Sight worthy to be worshipped!" — He died, this Hero Oliver, in Resignation to God; as the Brave have all done. "We could not be more desirous he should abide," says the pious Harvey, "than he was content and willing to be gone." The struggle lasted, amid hope and fear, for ten days. — Some small miscellaneous traits, and confused gleanings of lastwords; and then our noor History ends.

Oliver, we find, spoke much of "the Covenants;" which indeed are the grand axis of all, in that Puritan Universe of his. Two Covenants: one of Works, with fearful Judgment for our short-comings therein; one of Grace and unspeakable mercy; - gracious Engagements, "Covenants," which the Eternal God has vouchsafed to make with His feeble creature Man. Two; and by Christ's Death they have become One: there for Oliver is the divine solution of this our Mystery of Life.* "They were Two," he was heard ejaculating: "Two, "but put into One before the Foundation of the World!" And again: "It is holy and true, it is holy and true, it is holy and "true! - Who made it holy and true? The Mediator of the "Covenant!" And again: "The Covenant is but One. Faith "in the Covenant is my only support. And if I believe not, "He abides faithful!" When his Children and Wife stood weeping round him, he said: "Love not this world. I say "unto you, it is not good that you should love this world!" "Children, live like Christians: - I leave you the Cove-"nant to feed upon!" Yea, my brave one; even so! The Covenant, and eternal Soul of Covenants, remains sure to all the faithful: deeper than the Foundations of this World; earlier than they, and more lasting than they! -

Look also at the following; dark hues and bright; immortal light beams struggling amid the black vapours of Death. Look; and conceive a great sacred scene, the sacred-

Much intricate intense reasoning to this effect, on this subject, in Owen's Works, among others.

est this world sees; — and think of it, do not speak of it, in these mean days which have no sacred word. "Is there none that says, Who will deliver me from the peril?" moaned he once. Many hearts are praying, O wearied one! "Man can do nothing," rejoins he; "God can do what He will."— Another time, again thinking of the Covenant, "Is there none that will come and praise God." whose mercies endure for ever!—

Here also are ejaculations caught up at intervals, undated, in those final days: "Lord, Thou knowest, if I do desire to live, it is to show forth Thy praise and declare Thy works!" - Once he was heard saying, "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God!"* "This was spoken three times." says Harvey; "his repetitions usually being very weighty, and with great vehemency of spirit." Thrice over he said this; looking into the Eternal Kingdoms: "A fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God!" - But again: "All the Promises of God are in Him: yes, and in Him "Amen; to the glory of God by us, - by us in Jesus Christ." —— "The Lord hath filled me with as much assurance of His "pardon, and His love, as my soul can hold." — "I think I am "the poorest wretch that lives: but I love God; or rather, am "beloved of God." - "I am a conqueror, and more than a "conqueror, through Christ that strengtheneth me!" **

So pass, in the sickroom, in the sickbed, these last heavy uncertain days. "The Godly Persons had great assurances of a return to their Prayers:" transcendent Human Wishes find in their own echo a kind of answer! They gave his Highness also some assurance that his life would be lengthened. Hope was strong in many to the very end.

On Monday, August 30th, there roared and howled all day a mighty storm of wind. Ludlow, coming up to Town from Essex, could not start in the morning for wind; tried it in the afternoon; still could not get along, in his coach, for headwind; had to stop at Epping.*** On the morrow, Fleetwood came to him in the Protector's name, to ask, What he wanted

^{*} Hebrews, x. 31.

^{**} From Harvey; scattered over his Pamphlet.
*** Ludlow, ii. 610, 12.

here? — Nothing of public concernment, only to see my Mother-in-law! answered the solid man. For indeed he did not know that Oliver was dying; that the glorious hour of Disenthralment, and immortal "Liberty" to plunge over precipices with one's self and one's Cause was so nigh! — It came; and he took the precipices, like a strongboned resolute blind gin-horse rejoicing in the breakage of its halter, in a very gallant constitutional manner. Adieu, my solid friend; if I go to Vevay, I will read thy Monument there, perhaps not without emotion, after all! — —

It was on this stormy Monday, while rocking winds, heard in the sickroom and everywhere, were piping aloud, that Thurloe and an Official person entered to inquire. Who, in case of the worst, was to be his Highness Successor? The Successor is named in a sealed Paper already drawn-up, above a year ago, at Hampton Court; now lying in such and such a place. The Paper was sent for, searched for: it could never be found. Richard's is the name understood to have been written in that Paper: not a good name: but in fact one does not know. In ten years' time, had ten years more been granted, Richard might have become a fitter man: might have been cancelled, if palpably unfit. Or perhaps it was Fleetwood's name, - and the Paper, by certain parties, was stolen? None knows. On the Thursday night following, "and not till then," his Highness is understood to have formally named "Richard;" - or perhaps it might only be some heavy-laden "Yes, yes!" spoken, out of the thick death-slumbers, in answer to Thurloe's question "Richard?" The thing is a little uncertain.* It was, once more, a matter of much moment; giving colour probably to all the subsequent Centuries of England, this answer! -

On or near the night of the same stormy Monday, "two or three days before he died," we are to place that Prayer his Highness was heard uttering; which, as taken down by his attendants, exists in many old Notebooks. In the tumult of the winds, the dying Oliver was heard uttering this

^{*} Authorities in Godwin, iv. 572-3. But see also Thurloe, vii. 375; Fauconberg's second Letter there.

PRAYER.

Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in Covenant with Thee through grace. And I may, I will, come to Thee, for Thy People. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and Thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death; Lord, however Thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation; and make the Name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on Thy instruments, to depend more upon Thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy People too. And pardon the folly of this short Prayer: - Even for Jesus Christ's sake. And give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure. Amen.

"Some variation there is," says Harvey, "of this Prayer "as to the account divers give of it; and something is here "omitted. But so much is certain, that these were his requests. Wherein his heart was so carried out for God and "His People, — yea indeed for some who had added no little "sorrow to him," the Anabaptist Republicans, and others, — "that at this time he seems to forget his own Family and "nearest relations." Which indeed is to be remarked.

Thursday night the Writer of our old Pamphlet was himself in attendance on his Highness; and has preserved a trait or two; with which let us hasten to conclude. Tomorrow is September Third, always kept as a Thanksgiving day, since "the Victories of Dunbar and Worcester. The wearied one "that very night before the Lord took him to his everlasting rest," was heard thus, with oppressed voice, speaking:

"Truly God is good; indeed He is; He will not" — Then his speech failed him, but as I apprehended, it was, 'He will

"not leave me.' This saying, 'God is good, he frequently used "all along; and would speak it with much cheerfulness, and "fervour of spirit, in the midst of his pains. — Again he said: "'I would be willing to live to be farther serviceable to God "and His People: but my work is done. Yet God will be with "His People."

"He was very restless most part of the night, speaking often to himself. And there being something to drink offered "him, he was desired To take the same, and endeavour to "sleep. — Unto which he answered: 'It is not my design to "drink or sleep; my design is, to make what haste I can to be

"gone.' -

"Afterwards, towards morning, he used divers holy ex-"pressions, implying much inward consolation and peace; "among the rest he spake some exceeding self-debasing words, "annihilating and judging himself. And truly it was observed, "that a public spirit to God's Cause did breathe in him, — as

"in his lifetime, so now to his very last."

When the morrow's sun rose, Oliver was speechless; between three and four in the afternoon, he lay dead. Friday, 3d September 1658. "The consternation and astonishment of all people," writes Fauconberg, * "are inexpressible; their "hearts seem as if sunk within them. My poor Wife, - I know onot what on earth to do with her. When seemingly quieted, "she bursts out again into a passion that tears her very heart "in pieces." - Husht, poor weeping Mary! Here is a Lifebattle right nobly done. Seest thou not,

"The storm is changed into a calm, At His command and will; So that the waves which raged before Now quiet are and still;

Then are they glad, - because at rest And quiet now they be: So to the haven He them brings Which they desired to see."

"Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord;" blessed are the valiant that have lived in the Lord. "Amen, saith the Spirit," - Amen. "They do rest from their labours, and their works follow them."

"Their works follow them." As, I think, this Oliver Crom-

* To Henry Cromwell, 7th September 1658 (Thurloe, vii. 375).

Carlule, Cromwell, 1V.

well's works have done and are still doing! We have had our "Revolutions of Eighty-eight," officially called "glorious;" and other Revolutions not yet called glorious; and somewhat has been gained for poor Mankind. Men's ears are not now slit-off by rash Officiality; Officiality will, for long henceforth, be more cautious about men's ears. The tyrannous Starchambers, branding-irons, chimerical Kings and Surplices at All-hallowtide, they are gone, or with immense velocity going. Oliver's works do follow him! — The works of a man, bury them under what guano-mountains and obscene owl-droppings you will, do not perish, cannot perish. What of Heroism, what of Eternal Light was in a Man and his Life, is with very great exactness added to the Eternities; remains forever a new divine portion of the Sum of Things; and no owl's voice, this way or that, in the least avails in the matter.—

But we have to end here. Oliver is gone; and with him England's Puritanism, laboriously built together by this man, and made a thing far-shining miraculous to its own Century, and memorable to all the Centuries, soon goes. Puritanism, without its King, is kingless, anarchic; falls into dislocation, self-collision; staggers, plunges into ever deeper anarchy; King, Defender of the Puritan Faith there can now none be found; - and nothing is left but to recall the old disowned Defender with the remnants of his Four Surplices, and Two Centuries of Hypocrisis (or Play-acting not so called), and put-up with all that, the best The Genius of England no longer soars Sunward, world-defiant, like an Eagle through the storms, "mewing her mighty youth," as John Milton saw her do: the Genius of England, much liker a greedy Ostrich intent on provender and a whole skin mainly, stands with its other extremity Sunward; with its Ostrich-head stuck into the readiest bush, of old Church-tippets, King-cloaks, or what other "sheltering Fallacy" there may be, and so awaits the issue. The issue has been slow; but it is now seen to have been inevitable. No Ostrich, intent on gross terrene provender, and sticking its head into Fallacies, but will be awakened one day, — in a terrible à-posteriori manner, if not otherwise! — — Awake before it come to that; gods and men bid us awake! The Voices of our Fathers, with thousandfold stern monition to one and all, bid us awake.



APPENDIX A.

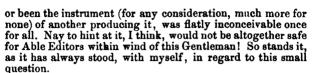
SQUIRE PAPERS.

(FROM FRASER'S MAGAZINE.)

THE following Article in Fraser's Magazine had not the effect intended for it, — of securing in printer's types a certain poor defaced scantling of Cromwell Letters, which had fallen to my charge under circumstances already sorrowful enough; and then of being, after some slight peaceable satisfaction to such as took interest in it, forgotten by the public; I also being left to forget it, and be free of it. On the contrary, the peaceable satisfaction to persons interested was but temporary; and the public, instead of neglecting and forgetting, took to unquiet guessing, as if there lay some deeper mystery in the thing, perhaps foul play in it: private guessing, which in a week or two broke out into the Newspapers, in the shape of scepticism, of learned doubt too acute to be imposed upon, grounding itself on antiquarian philologies (internal evidence of anachronisms), 'cravat,' 'stand no nonsense,' and I know The unwonted circumstances of the case, and the unsatisfactory though unavoidable reticences in detailing it, threw a certain enigmatic chiaroscuro over the transaction, which, as it were, challenged the idle mind. Since the public had not neglected and forgotten, the public could do no other than guess. The idle public, obstinately resolute to see into millstones, could of course see nothing but opacity and its wide realms; got into ever deeper doubt, which is bottomless, "a sphere with infinite radius," and very easily arrived at; could get into no certainty, which is a sphere's centre, and difficult to arrive at; continued fencing with spectres, arguing from antiquarian philologies, &c. in the Newspapers; — whereby, echo answering echo, and no transparency in millstones being attainable, the poor public rose rapidly to a height of

anxiety on this unexpected matter, and raised a noise round itself which, considering the importance of the subject, might be called surprising. In regard to all which, what could an unfortunate Editor of Cromwell Letters do, except perhaps carefully hold his peace? The ancient housekeeper, in some innocent first-floor, in the still night-time, throws a potsherd which is in her way into the street of the village: a most small transaction, laudable in its kind; but near by, starts the observant street-dog, who will see farther into it: "Whaf-thaf? Bow-wow!" - and so awakens, in what enormous geometrical progression is well known, all the dogs in the village, perhaps all the dogs in the parish, and gradually, even in the county and in the kingdom, to universal vigilant observant "Bowwow, Whaf-thaf?" in the hope of seeing farther into it. Under which distressing circumstances, the ancient housekeeper understands that her one course is patience and silence; that the less she says or does, the sooner it will end! - This Squire Controversy did not quite terminate by nature, I think; but rather was suddenly quenched by that outburst of the European revolutions in the end of the February then passing. which led the public intellect into fruitfuller departments.

This is not a state of matters one would wish to reawaken! Scepticism, learned doubt, in regard to these Squire Papers, I understand is still the prevailing sentiment; and also that silence, and the reflection how small an interest, if any whatever, is involved in the matter, are the only means of removing doubt, and of leading us to the least miraculous explanation, whatever that may be. To myself, I confess, the phenomenon is, what it has always been, entirely inexplicable, a miracle equal to any in Bollandus or Capgravius, unless these Squire Letters are substantially genuine: and if their history on that hypothesis is very dim and strange, — on the other hypothesis they refuse, for me at least, to have any conceivable history at all. Antiquarian philologies, &c. such as appeared in the late universal "What-that?" or grand "Squire Controversy" never to be revived, had naturally no effect in changing one's opinion, and could have none. I have since had a visit, two visits, from the Gentleman himself; have conversed with him twice, at large, upon the Letters, the burnt Journal, and all manner of adjacent topics: and certainly, whatever other notion I might form of him, the notion that he either would or could have himself produced a Forgery of Cromwell Letters,



At the same time, I am well enough aware, the Gentleman's account of proceedings in the business has an amazing look; which only the personal knowledge of him could perhaps render less amazing. Doubt, to strangers, is very permissible; nay to all, these Letters, by the very hypothesis, are involved everywhere in liability to incorrectness; irrecoverably stript of their complete historical authenticity, - and not to be admitted, but to be rigorously excluded, except on that footing, in any History of Cromwell; — and, on the whole, are in the state of an absurd entanglement, connected with a most provoking coil of such. Out of which there is only this good door of egress: That they are intrinsically of no importance in the History of Cromwell; that they alter nothing of his Life's character, add nothing, deduct nothing; can be believed or disbelieved, without, to him or to us, any perceptible result whatever; — and ought, in fine, to be dismissed and sent upon their destinies, by all persons who have serious truth to seek for, and no time for idle guesses and riddle-ma-rees of the Scriblerus and Nugatory-Antiquarian sort.

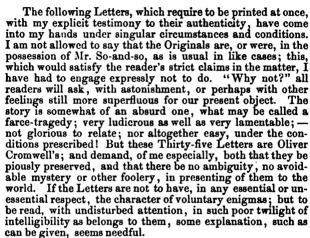
Accordingly I had decided, as to these Squire Papers, which can or could in no case have been incorporated into any documentary Life of Cromwell, not to introduce them at all into this Book, which has far other objects than they or their questions of antiquarian philology can much further! But, on the other hand, it was urged by friends who believe, like myself, in the fundamental authenticity of Squire, that hereby would arise a tacit admission of Squire's spuriousness, injustice done by me to Squire and to the antiquarian philologers; that many readers, disbelievers or not, would have a certain wish to see the Squire Papers; — that, in fine, under the head of the semi-romantic or Doubtful Documents of Oliver's History, and at all events as an accidental quite undoubtful Document in the history of Oliver's History, they would have a certain To all which arguments, not without some slight weight, the Printer now accidentally adds another. That he has room for these Squire Papers, and even need of them to

preserve his symmetries; that he can maintain an impassable wall between them and the Book, can insert them at the end of Volume First and yet not in the Volume, with ease and with advantage. Here accordingly these astonishing Squire Papers are: concerning which I have only one hope to express, That the public, thinking of them (in silence, if I might advise) exactly what it finds most thinkable, will please to excuse me from further function in the matter; my duty in respect of them being now, to the last fraction of it, done; my knowledge of them being wholly communicated; and my care about them remaining, what it always was, close neighbour to nothing. The Reprint is exact from Fraser's Magazine, except needful correction of misprints, and insertion of two little Notes, which have hung wafered on the margin this long while, and are duly indicated where they occur.

7th May 1849.

FRASER'S MAGAZINE FOR DECEMBER 1847: ARTICLE I.
THIRTY-FIVE UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

On the first publication of Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, new contributions of Cromwell matter, of some value, of no value, and even of less than none, were, as the general reader knows, diligently forwarded to me from all quarters; and turned to account, in the Second Edition of that work, as the laws of the case seemed to allow. The process, which seemed then to all practical intents completed, and is in fact very languid and intermittent ever since, has nevertheless not yet entirely ceased; and indeed one knows not when, if ever, it will entirely cease; for at longer and longer intervals new documents and notices still arrive; though, except in the single instance now before us, I may describe these latter as of the last degree of insignificance; hardly even worth "inserting in an Appendix," which was my bargain in respect of them. Whence it does, at last, seem reasonable to infer that our English Archives are now pretty well exhausted, in this particular; and that nothing more, of importance, concerning Oliver Cromwell's utterances of himself in this world will be gathered henceforth. — Here, however, is a kind of exception, in regard to which, on more accounts than one, it has become necessary for me to adopt an exceptional course; and if not to edit, in the sense of elucidating, the contribution sent me, at least to print it straightway, before accident befal it or me.

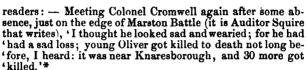


Let me hasten to say, then, explicitly once more, that these Letters are of indubitable authenticity: further, that the Originals, all or nearly all in Autograph, which existed in June last, in the possession of a private Gentleman whose name I am on no account to mention, have now irrecoverably perished; — and, in brief, that the history of them, so far as it can

be related under these conditions, is as follows:

Some eight or ten months ago, there reached me, as many had already done on the like subject, a letter from an unknown Correspondent in the distance; setting forth, in simple, rugged and trustworthy, though rather peculiar dialect, that he, my Unknown Correspondent, — who seemed to have been a little astonished to find that Oliver Cromwell was actually not a miscreant, hypocrite &c. as heretofore represented, — had in his hands a stock of strange old Papers relating to Oliver: much consumed by damp, and other injury of time; in particular, much "eaten into by a vermin" (as my Correspondent phrased it), — some moth, or body of moths, who had boarded there in past years. The Papers, he said, describing them rather vaguely, contained some things of Cromwell's own, but

appeared to have been mostly written by one SAMUEL SQUIRE. a subaltern in the famed Regiment of Ironsides, who belonged to "the Stilton Troop," and had served with Oliver "from the first mount" of that indomitable Corps, as Cornet, and then as "Auditor," - of which latter office my Correspondent could not, nor could I when questioned, quite specificate the meaning, but guessed that it might be something like that of Adjutant in modern regiments. This Auditor Squire had kept some "Journal," or Diary of proceedings, from "the first mount" or earlier, from about 1642 till the latter end of 1645, as I could dimly gather; but again it was spoken of as "Journals," as "Old Papers," "Manuscripts," in the plural number, and one knew not definitely what to expect: moth-eaten, dusty, dreary old brown Papers; bewildered and bewildering; dreadfully difficult to decipher, as appeared, and indeed almost a pain to the eye, - and too probably to the mind. Poring in which, nevertheless, my Unknown Correspondent professed to have discovered various things. Strange unknown aspects of affairs, moving accidents, adventures, such as the fortune of war in the obscure Eastern Association (of Lincoln, Norfolk &c.), in the early obscure part of Oliver's career, hitherto entirely vacant and dark in all Histories, had disclosed themselves to my Unknown Correspondent, painfully spelling in the rear of that destructive vermin: onslaughts, seizures, surprises; endless activity, audacity, rapidity on the part of Oliver; strict general integrity too, nay, rhadamanthine justice, and traits of implacable severity connected therewith, which had rather shocked the otherwise strong but modern nerves of my Unknown Correspondent. Interspersed, as I could dimly gather, were certain Letters, from Oliver and others (known or hitherto unknown, was not said); kept, presumably, by Auditor Squire, the Ironside Subaltern, as narrative documents, or out of private fondness. As proof what curious and to me interesting matter lay in those old Papers, Journals or Journal, as my Unknown Correspondent indiscriminately named them, he gave me the following small Excerpt; illuminating completely a point on which I had otherwise sought light in vain. See, in Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, Letter of 5th July 1644; which gives account of Marston-Moor Battle, and contains an allusion to Oliver's own late loss, "Sir, you know my own trials this way, - touching allusion, as it now proves; dark hitherto for all



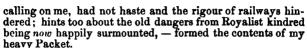
Interesting Papers beyond doubt, my Unknown Correspondent thought. On one most essential point, however, he professed himself at a painful pause: How far, or whether at all, these Papers ought to be communicated to the Public, or even to myself? Part of my Correspondent's old kindred had been Roundheads, part had been Royalists; of both which sorts plentiful representatives yet remained, at present all united in kindly oblivion of those old sorrows and animosities; but capable yet, as my Correspondent feared, of blazing up into one knew not what fierce contradictions, should the question be renewed. That was his persuasion, that was his amiable fear. I could perceive, indeed, that my Correspondent, evidently a simple and honourable man, felt obscurely as if, in his own new conviction about Oliver's character, he possessed a dangerous secret, which ought in nowise to be lightly divulged. Should he once inconsiderately blab it, this heterodox almost criminal secret, like a fire-spark among tinder and dry flax; - how much more if, by publishing those private Papers, confirmatory of the same, he deliberately shot it forth as mere flame! Explosion without limit, in the family and still wider circles, might ensue. - On the whole, he would consider of it; was heartily disposed to do for me, and for the interests of truth (with what peril soever) all in his power; - hoped, for the rest, to be in London soon, where, it appeared, the Papers were then lying in some repository of his; would there see me, and do as good will guided by wise caution might direct.

To all which I could only answer with thanks for the small valuable hint concerning young Oliver's death; with a desire to know more about those old Papers; with astonishment at my Correspondent's apprehension as to publishing them, which I professed was inconceivable, and likely to fly away as a nightdream if he spoke of it in intelligent circles;—and finally with an eager wish for new light of any authentic kind on Oliver Cromwell and his acts or sayings, and an engage-

^{*} But see vol. i. p. 47, n. (Note of 1857.)

ment that whatever of that sort my Correspondent did please to favour me with, should be thankfully turned to use, under such conditions as he might see good to prescribe. And here, after a second or perhaps even a third letter and answer (for several of these missives, judged at first to be without importance, are now lost), which produced no new information to me, nor any change in my Correspondent's resolutions, the matter had to rest. To an intelligent Friend, partly acquainted in my Correspondent's country, I transmitted his letters; with request that he would visit this remarkable possessor of old Manuscripts; ascertain for me, more precisely, what he was, and what they were; and, if possible, persuade him that it would be safe, for himself and for the universe, to let me have some brief perusal of them! This Friend unfortunately did not visit those my Correspondent's localities at the time intended: so, hearing nothing more of the affair, I had to wait patiently its ulterior developments: the arrival. namely, of my Correspondent in Town, and the opening of his mysterious repositories there. Not without surmises that perhaps, after all, there might be little, or even nothing of available, in them: for me nothing, but new dreary labour, ending in new disappointment and disgust; tragic experience being already long and frequent, of astonishingly curious old Papers on Oliver, vouchsafed me, with an effort and from favour, by ardent patriotic correspondents, - which, after painful examination, proved only to be astonishing old bundles of inanity, dusty desolation and extinct stupidity, worthy of oblivion and combustion: surmises tending naturally to moderate very much my eagerness, and render patience

So had some months passed, and the affair been pretty well forgotten, when, one afternoon in June last, a heavy Packet came by Post: recognisable even on the exterior as my Unknown Correspondent's: and hereby, sooner than anticipation, and little as I could at first discern it, had the catastrophe arrived. For within there lay only, in the meanwhile, copied accurately in my Correspondent's hand, those Five-and-thirty Letters of Oliver Cromwell which the Public are now to read: this, with here and there some diligent though rather indistinct annotation by my Correspondent, where needful; and, in a Note from himself, some vague hint of his having been in Town that very day, and even on the point of



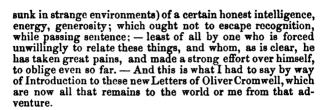
The reading of these old Cromwell Letters, by far the most curious that had ever come to me from such a source, produced an immediate earnest, almost passionate request to have sight of that old "Journal by Samuel Squire," under any terms, on any guarantee I could offer. Why should my respectable obliging Correspondent still hesitate? These Letters, I assured him, if he but sold the Originals as Autographs, were worth hundreds of pounds; the old Journal of an Ironside, since such it really seemed to be, for he had named it definitely in the singular, not "Journals" and "Papers" as heretofore, - I prized as probably the most curious document in the Archives of England, a piece not to be estimated in tens of thousands. It had become possible, it seemed probable and almost certain, that by diligent study of those old Papers, by examination of them as with microscopes, in all varieties of lights, the veritable figure of Cromwell's Ironsides might be called into day, to be seen by men once more, face to face, in the lineaments of very life! A journey in chase of this unknown Correspondent and his hidden Papers; any journey, or effort,

seemed easy for such a prize. Alas, alas, by return of post, there arrived a Letter beginning with these words: "What you ask is impossible, if you offered me the Bank of England for security: the Journal is ashes," — all was ashes! My wonderful Unknown Correspondent had at last, it would appear, having screwed his courage to the sticking place, rushed up to Town by rail; proceeded straight to his hidden repositories here; sat down, with closed lips, with concentered faculty, and copied me exactly the Cromwell Letters, all words of Cromwell's own (these he had generously considered mine by a kind of right); - which once done he, still with closed lips, with sacrificial eyes, and terrible hand and mood, had gathered all his old Puritan Papers great and small, Ironside "Journal," Cromwell Autographs, and whatever else there might be, and sternly consumed them with fire. Let Royalist quarrels, in the family or wider circles, arise now if they could; — "much evil," said he mildly to me, "hereby lies buried." The element of "resolution," one may well add, "is strong in our family;"

unchangeable by men, scarcely by the very gods! — And so all was ashes; and a strange speaking Apparition of the Past, and of a Past more precious than any other is or can be, had sunk again into the dead depths of Night. Irrecoverable; all the royal exchequer could not buy it back! That, once for all, was the fact; of which I, and mankind in general, might now make whatsoever we pleased.

With my Unknown Correspondent I have not yet personally met; nor can I yet sufficiently explain to myself this strange procedure of his, which naturally excites curiosity, amid one's other graver feelings. The Friend above alluded to, who has now paid that visit, alas too late, describes him to me as a Gentleman of honourable, frank aspect and manners; still in his best years, and of robust manful qualities; - by no means, in any way, the feeble, chimerical or distracted Entity, dug up from the Seventeenth Century and set to live in this Nineteenth, which some of my readers might fancy him. Well acquainted with that old Journal "which went to 200 folio pages;" and which he had carefully, though not with much other knowledge, read and again read. It is suggested to me, as some abatement of wonder: "He has lived, he and his, for 300 years, under the shadow of a Cathedral City: you know not what kind of Sleepy Hollow that is, and how Oliver Cromwell is related to it, in the minds of all men and nightbirds who inhabit there! This Gentleman had felt that, one way or other, you would inevitably in the end get this MS. from him, and make it public; which, what could it amount to but a new Guy-Faux Cellar, and Infernal Machine, to explode his Cathedral City and all its coteries, and almost dissolve Nature for the time being? Hence he resolved to burn his Papers, and avoid catastrophes."

But what chiefly, or indeed exclusively, concerns us here, is that, from the first, and by all subsequent evidence, I have seen this Gentleman to be a person of perfect veracity, and even of scrupulous exactitude in details; so that not only can his Copies of the Cromwell Letters be taken as correct, or the correctest he could give, but any remark or statement of his concerning them is also to be entirely relied on. Let me add, for my own sake and his, that, with all my regrets and condemnations, I cannot but dimly construe him as a man of much real worth; and even (though strangely inarticulate, and

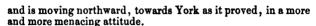


With regard to the Letters themselves, they may now be read without farther preface. As will be seen, they relate wholly to the early part of Oliver's career; to that obscure period, hitherto vacant or nearly so in all Histories, while "Colonel Cromwell" still fought and struggled in the Eastern Association, under Lord Grey of Groby, under the Earl of Manchester, or much left to his own shifts: and was not vet distinguished by the public from a hundred other Colonels. They present to us the same old Oliver whom we knew, but in still more distinct lineaments and physiognomy; the features deeply, even coarsely marked, - or, as it were, enlarged to the gigantic by unexpected nearness. It is Oliver left to himself; stript bare of all conventional draperies; toiling, wrestling as for life and death, in his obscure element; none looking over him but Heaven only. He "can stand no nonsenses;" he is terribly in earnest; will have his work done, will have God's Justice done too, and the Everlasting Laws observed, which shall help, not hinder, all manner of work! The Almighty God's commandments, these, of which this work is one, are great and awful to him; all else is rather small, and not awful. He has pity, - pity as of a woman, of a mother, we have known in Oliver; and rage also as of a wild lion, where need is. He rushes direct to his point: "If resistance is made, pistol him;" "Wear them (these uniforms), or go home;" "Hang him out of hand; he wantonly killed the poor widow's boy: God and man will be well pleased to see him punished!" The attentive reader will catch not only curious minute features of the old Civil War, in these rude Letters; but more clearly than elsewhere significant glimpses of Oliver's character and ways: and if any reader's nerves, like my Correspondent's, be too modern, — all effeminated in this universal, very dreary, very portentous babble of "abolishing Capital Punishments" &c. &c., and of sending Judas Iscariot, Courvoisier, Praslin, Tawell, and Nature's own Scoundrels, teachable by no hellebore, "to the schoolmaster," instead of to the langman, or to the cesspool, or somewhere swiftly out of the way (said "schoolmaster" not having yet overtaken all his other hopefuller work, by any manner of means!) — perhaps the sight of a great natural Human Soul once more, in whom the stamp of Divinity is not quite abolished by Ages of Cant, and hollow Wiggery of every kind, ending now in an age of "Abolition Principles," may do such reader some good! I understand, one of my Correspondent's more minute reasons for burning the Ironside Journal was, that it showed Cromwell uncommonly impatient of scoundrels, from time to time; and might have shocked some people!—

I print these Letters according to their date, so far as the date is given; or as the unwritten date can be ascertained or inferred, — which of course is not always possible; more especially since the accompanying "Journal" was destroyed. With some hesitation, I decide to print with modern spelling and punctuation, there being no evidence that the partially ill-spelt Copies furnished me are exact to Oliver's ill-spelling; which at all events is insignificant, the sense having nowhere been at all doubtful. Commentary, except what Auditor Squire and his Transcriber have afforded, I cannot undertake to give; nor perhaps will much be needed. Supplementary words added by myself are marked by single commas, as was the former wont; annotations, if inserted in the body of the Letter, are in Italics within brackets. — And now to business, with all brevity.

Nos. I.-VI.

The first Six Letters are of dates prior to the actual breaking out of the Civil War, but while its rapid approach was too evident; and bring to view, in strange lugubrious chiaroscuro, Committees of "Association for mutual Defence" (or however they phrased it), and zealous Individuals, SAMUEL SQUIRE among others, tremulously sitting in various localities,—tremulous under the shadow of High Treason on the one hand, and of Irish Massacre on the other;—to whom of course the honourable Member's communications, in such a season, were of breathless interest. The King has quitted his Parliament:



I. The address, if there ever was any except a verbal one by the Bearer, is entirely gone, and the date also; but may be supplied by probable conjecture:

'To the Committee of Association at Huntingdon.'

DEAR FRIENDS, 'London, March 1641.'

It is not improbable that the King may go through Huntingdon on his way to Stamford. Pray keep all steady, and let no peace be broken. Beg of all to be silent; or it may mar our peaceable settling this sad business. Such as are on the County Array bid go; all of you protect, at cost of life, the King from harm, or foul usage by word or deed, — as you love the Cause. — From Your faithful — [word lost?]

OLIVER CROMWELL.

The Transcriber, my Unknown Correspondent, adds from the burnt Journal this Note: "Journal mentioned a sad riot at Peterborough on the King's going to Stamford, between the Townsmen and the Array." March 1641, as is known, means 1642 according to the modern style: Newyears-day is 25th March.

II. The date exists, though wrong written, from haste; but the address must be supplied:

To the Committee of Association at Stilton.'
[Ely, April 11th day, 1641 [for 1642; miswritten,
Newyears-day being stilt recent].

DEAR FRIENDS, Newyears-day being still recent].

The Lord has hardened his [the King's] heart more and more: 'he has' refused to hear reason, or to care for our

Cause or Religion or Peace.

Let our Friends have notice of the sad news. I will be with you at Oundle, if possible, early next week; say Monday, as I return now to London this day. Things go on as we all said they would. We are all on the point of now openly declaring ourselves: now may the Lord prosper us in the good Cause!

Commend me in brotherly love to our chosen Friends and vessels of the Lord: I name no one, to all the same. I write myself

Your Friend in the Lord's Cause,

O.

- P. S. Be sure and put up with no affronts. Be as a bundle of sticks; let the offence to one be as to all. The Parliament will back us.
 - III. To Mr. Samuel Squire [subsequently Cornet and Auditor Squire].

 Dear Friend, London, 3d May 1642.

I heard from our good Friend W. [Wildman?] how zealous in the good Cause you were. We are all alive here, and sweating hard to beat those Papists: may the Lord send to us His holy aid to overcome them, and the Devils who seek to do evil.

Say to your Friends that we have made up our Demands to the control of the Navy, and Trainbands of the Counties' Militia, also all Forts and Castles: and, with God's aid, we will have them if he [the King] likes or dislikes. For he is more shifty every day. We must do more also, unless he does that which is right in the sight of God and man to his People.

I shall come to Oundle, in my way down, this time; as I learn you live there a great time now. So may you prosper in all your undertakings, and may the Lord God protect and watch over you. Let them all know our mind.—

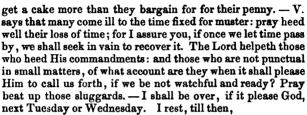
From Your Friend, O. C.

IV. To the Committee of Association 'at Cambridge.'
GENTLEMEN, London, 'June 1642.'

I have sent you, by Hobbes's Wain, those you know of. You must get lead as you may:—the Churches have enough and to spare on them! We shall see the Lord will supply us. Heed well your motions [learn well your drill-exercise]: and laugh not at Rose's Dutch tongue; he is a zealous servant, and we may go further and get worse man to our hand than he is.

I learn from R. you get offences from the Bullards at Stamford.* Let them heed well what they are about, or [ere] they

[•] Note to the Reprint. "Bullards," printed in Fraser with a mark of interrogation, has attracted the notice of a helpful Correspondent, or of more than one. "Bullards," equivalent to Bullawards, I now find, is an old name or nickname for the Stamford being famous for bull-baiting, and gifted with hequests to promote that branch of enterprise: "for which legacy," says one Mr. Lowe of those parts, "every Bullard, in gratitude, ought to drink the joint memory of"—two heroes named by Mr. Lowe: see Hone's Every-Day Book, 1, 1482.



Your Friend and Wellwisher,

O.C.

My Correspondent, who rather guesses this Letter to have gone to Huntingdon, subjoins in reference to it, the following very curious Note gathered from his recollections of the burnt Journal: — "Huntingdon regiment of Horse. Each armed and horsed himself; except Mr. Oir Cromwell's Troop of Slepe Dragoons, of some 30 to 40 men, mostly poor men or very small freeholders: these the Journal mentioned often; I mean the Slepe Troop of hard-handed fellows, who did as he told them, and asked no questions. The others, despite all that has been said and written, armed themselves and horsed also. I mean the celebrated Tawnies or Ironsides. They wore brown coats, — as did most Farmers, and little country Freeholders; and so do now, as you or me may see any day. — Oliver had some 200 foot also armed by him, who did great service."

V. No date, no address now left. Probably addressed to the Committee at Cambridge, or whichever was the central Committee of those Associations; and, to judge by the glorious ripeness to which matters have come, dated about the beginning of July. A very curious Letter. We have prospered to miracle; the Eastern Fen regions are all up or rising, and Royalism quite put down there, impossible as that once seemed. Miraculous success; — and greater is yet coming, if we knew it!

'To - -.'

DEAR FRIENDS, 'London, July 1642.'

Your Letters gave me great joy at reading your great progress in behalf of our great Cause.

Verily I do think the Lord is with me! I do undertake Carlyle, Cromwell. IV.

strange things, yet do I go through with them, to great profit and gladness, and furtherance of the Lord's great Work. I do feel myself lifted on by a strange force, I cannot tell why. By night and by day I am urged forward on the great Work. As sure as God appeared to Joseph in a dream, also to Jacob, He also has directed — [some words eaten out by moths] — — Therefore I shall not fear what man can do unto me. I feel He giveth me the light to see the great darkness that surrounds us at noonday. — to my — ht — ly [five words gone, by moths], I have been a stray sheep from the Fold; but I feel I am born again; I have cast off — [moths again; nearly three lines lost] — —

'I have' sent you 300 more Carbines, and 600 Snaphances; also 300 Lances, which when complete I shall send down by

the Wain with 16 barrels Powder.

We [of the Parliament] declare ourselves now, and raise an Army forthwith: Essex and Bedford are our men. Throw off fear, as I shall be with you. I get a Troop ready to begin; and they will show the others. Truly I feel I am Siloam of the Lord; my soul is with you in the Cause. I sought the Lord; and found this written in the First Chapter of Zephaniah, the 3d verse: "See, I will consume, &c. [Here is the rest of the passage: 'Consume] man and beast; I will consume the fowls of 'heaven, and the fishes of the sea, and the stumblingblocks 'with the wicked; and I will cut off man from off the land, 'saith the Lord.'

Surely it is a sign for us. So I read it. For I seek daily,

and do nothing without first so seeking the Lord.

I have much to say to you all, when I do see you. Till I so do, the Lord be with you; may His grace abound in all your houses. Peace be among you, loving Friends: so do I pray daily for your souls' health. I pray also, as I know you also 'do,' for His mercy to soften the heart of the King. —— [mothruins to the end; the signature itself half-eaten: indistinctly guessable to have been:]

I 'shall be at' Godmanchester, 'if it please the Lord, on'

Monday.

OLIVER CROMWELL.



SQUIRE PAPERS.

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VI. No date; presumably, August 1642, at Ely or somewhere in that region; where Parliament musters or "surveys" are going on, and brabbles with recusant Royalists are rife,—in one of which the excellent Mr. Sprigg has got a stroke. My Correspondent, the Transcriber, thinks "house at Peterborough" must mean merely quarters in a house there, the house or home of Squire appearing in a late Letter to be at Oundle.

To Mr. Squire, at his House, Peterborough.

Sir [No date.]

I regret much to hear your sad news. I regret much that

worthy vessel of the Lord, Sprigg, came to hurt.

I hope the voice of the Lord will soften the Malignant's heart even yet at the eleventh hour: we rejoice at the "hope" much; — but do keep it quiet, and not to take air.

We had a rare survey about us; and did much good. I expect to see you all at Stilton on Tuesday. To prevent hindrance, bring your swords and + [hieroglyph for muskets?]. — From

Your Friend,

O.C.

Nos. VII. - XXIV.

VII. Keinton or Edgehill Battle, the first clear bursting into flame of all these long-smouldering elements, was fought on Sunday 23d October 1642. The following Eighteen Letters, dated or approximately dateable all but some two or three, bring us on, in a glimmering fitful manner, along the as yet quite obscure and subterranean course of Colonel Cromwell, to within sight of the Skirmish at Gainsborough, where he dared to beat and even to slay the Hon. Charles Cavendish, and first began to appear in the world.

'To Auditor Squire.'

Dear Friend, Wisbeach, this day, 11th November 1642.

Let the Saddler see to the Horse-gear. I learn, from one, many are ill-served. If a man has not good weapons, horse and harness, he is as naught. I pray you order this:— and tell Rainsborough I shall see to that matter 'of his;' but do not wrong the fool.— From

Your Friend,

O.C.

VIII. The following is dated the same day, apparently at a subsequent hour, and to the same person.

'To Auditor Squire.'

November 11th day, 1642.

Take Three Troops, and go to Downham; I care not which they be.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

IX. "Stanground" is in the Peterborough region; "Alister your Music" means "Alister your Trumpeter," of whom there will be other mention. Oliver finds himself at a terrible pinch for money;—there are curious glimpses into that old House by Ely Cathedral too, and the "Mother" and the "Dame" there!—

To Mr. Samuel Squire, at his Quarters at Stanground.

DEAR FRIEND, 29th November 1642.

I have not at this moment Five Pieces by me; loan I can get none; and without money a man is as naught. Pray now open thy pocket, and lend me 150 Pieces until my rent-day, when I will repay, — or say 100 Pieces until then. Pray send me them by Alister your Music; he is a cautious man.

Tell W. I will not have his men cut folk's grass without proper compensation. If you pass mine, say to my Dame I have gone into Essex: my house is open to you; make no scruple; do as at your house at Oundle, or I shall be cross. — If you please ride over to Chatteris, and order the quartering of those [that] Suffolk Troop, — I hear they have been very bad; — and let no more such doings be. Bid R. horse* any who offend; say it is my order, and show him this.

Pray do not forget the 100 Pieces; and bid Alister ride haste. I shall be at Biggleswade at H. Send me the accounts of the week, if possible by the Trumpet; if not, send them on by one of the Troopers. It were well he rode to Bury, and wait [waited] my coming.

I hope you have forwarded my Mother the silks you got for me in London; also those else for my Dame. If not, pray do not fail.—From Your Friend.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

[•] That is, wooden-horse (used as a verb.) — "Do military men of these "times understand the wooden horse? He is a mere triangular ridge or

"W." I suppose means Wildman, "R." Rainsborough. My Correspondent annotates here: "The Journal often mentioned trouble they" (the officers generally) "got into from the men taking, without leave, hay and corn from Malignants, whom Oliver never allowed to be robbed, — but paid for all justly to friend and foe."

X. To Cornet Squire, at his Quarters, Tansor: These.

Sir, Huntingdon, 22d January 1642.

News has come in, and I want you. Tell my Son to ride over his men to me, as I want to see him. Tell White and Wildman also I want them. Be sure you come too: do not delay.

I have ill news of the men under my Son: tell him from me I must not have it. Bring me over those Papers you know of. Desborow has come in with good spoil,—some 3,000l. Ireckon.

Your Friend, O. ["C." rotted off.]

Dated on the morrow after this, is the celebrated Letter to Robert Barnard, Esquire, now in the possession of Lord Gosford: "subtlety may deceive you, integrity never will!"—

XI. Refers to the Lowestoff exploit; ** and must bear date 12th March 1642-3, — apparently from Swaffham, Downham, or some such place on the western side of Norfolk.

For Captain Berry, at his Quarters, Oundle. Haste.

DEAR FRIEND, [Date gone by moths] - '12th March 1642.'

We have secret and sure hints that a meeting of the Malignants takes place at Lowestoff on Tuesday. Now I want your aid; so come with all speed on getting this, with your Troop; and tell no one your route, but let me see you ere sundown. — From Your Friend and Commandant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Auditor Squire had written in his Journal, now burnt: "He" (Oliver) "got his first information of this business from the man

[&]quot;roof of wood, set on four sticks, with absurd head and tail superadded; "and you ride him bare-backed, in face of the world, frequently with "muskets tied to your feet, — in a very uneasy manner!" — Cromwell's Letters and Speeches (this present edition), ii. 126.

Letters and Speeches, antea, vol.i.p. 125. * Ibid. antea, vol.i.p. 133.

that sold fish to the Colleges" (at Cambridge), "who being searched, a Letter was found on him to the King, and he getting rough usage told all he knew."

XII. Date and address have vanished: eaten by moths: but can in part be restored. Of the date, it would appear, there remains dimly "the last figure, which looks like a 5:" that will probably mean "March 15," which otherwise one finds to be about the time. The scene is still the Fen-country; much harassed by Malignants, necessitating searches for arms, spyjourneys, and other still stronger measures! "Montague," we can dimly gather, is the future Earl of Sandwich; at present "Captain of the St. Neot's Troop," a zealous young Gentleman of eighteen; who, some six months hence, gets a commission to raise a regiment of his own; of whom there is other mention by and by.

'To Cornet Squire.'

DEAR FRIEND, - 15th March 1642.'

I have no great mind to take Montague's word about that Farm. I learn, behind the oven is the place they hide them [the arms; so watch well, and take what the man leaves; - and hang the fellow out of hand [out-a-hand], and I am your warrant. For he shot a boy at Pilton-bee by the Spinney, the Widow's son, her only support: so God and man must rejoice at his punishment.

I want you to go over to Stamford: they do not well know you; ride through, and learn all; and go round by Spalding, and so home by Wisbee [Wisbeach]. See 15, 8, 92; and bring me word. — Wildman is gone by way of Lincoln: you may

meet; but do not know him; he will not you.

I would you could get into Lynn; for I hear they are building a nest there we must rifle, I sadly fear. - You will hear of me at Downham: if not, seek me at Ely; my Son will say my Quarters to you. — From Your Friend,

XIII. No date, no address; the Letter itself a ruined frag-ment "in Oliver's hand." For the rest see Letters and Speeches, antea, p. 137. "Russell," I suppose, is Russell of Chippenham, the same whose daughter Henry Cromwell subsequently married.



Sir [No date] 'Cambridge, (23d?) March 1642.'

Send me by Alister a list of the Troop, and the condition of men and horses; also condition of the arms. Ride over to St. Neot's, and see Montague his Troop, and my Son's Troop; and call on your way back at Huntingdon, and see to Russell's (I hear his men are ill provided in boots); and bid them heed a sudden call: I expect a long ride.

I shall want 200 Pieces: bring me them, or else send them by a sure hand. — You mentioned to my Wife of certain velvets you had in London, come over in your Father's ship from Italy: now, as far as Twenty Pieces go, buy th——[torn off, signature and all]. 'OLIVER CROMWELL.'

XIV. To Mr. Squire, at his Quarters, Godmanchester.

Cambridge, 26th March 1642 [miswritten for 1643;
Sir Newyears-day was yesterday].

Since we came back, I learn no men have got the money I ordered. Let me hear no more of this; but pay as I direct,—as we are about hard work, I think.

Yours to mind,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

The "hard work" of this Letter, and "long ride" of last refer to the same matter; which did not take effect after all, much as Colonel Hampden urged it.

XV. "Direction gone; Letter generally much wasted." Refers, seemingly, to those "Plunderers" or "Camdeners" from the Stamford side, concerning whom, about the beginning of this April, there is much talk and terror, and one other Letter by Cromwell, already printed.* "Berry" is the future Major-General; once "Clerk in the Ironworks," Richard Baxter's friend; of whom there was already mention in the Lowestoff affair.

'To Cornet Squire.'
Ely, this 30th day [rest rotted off], 'March 1643.'

— — hope you to bring me that I want in due time, — we shall, if it please God, be at Swaffham; — and hear of me at 11 [name in cipher], who will say to you all needful.

* Letters and Speeches, antea, vol. i. p. 139.

Mind and come on in strength, as they are out to mischief, and some —— [guess at their number, illegible] —— Troops, but ill-armed. Tell Berry to ride in, also Montague; and cut home, as no mercy ought to be shown those rovers, who are only robbers and not honourable soldiers. — Call at Cosey: I learn he has got a case of arms down; fetch them off; also his harness, — it lies in the wall by his bedhead: fetch it off; but move not his old weapons of his Father's, or his family trophies. Be tender of this, as you respect my wishes of one Gentleman to another.

Bring me two pair Boothose, from the Fleming's who lives in London Lane; also a new Cravat: — I shall be much thankful. I rest Your Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

"London Lane," I understand, is in Norwich. Let us hope "the Fleming" has a good fleecy-hosiery article there, and can furnish one's Cornet; for the weather is still cold!—

From Norwich and the Fleming, by faint reflex, we perceive further that "Cosey" must be Costessey, vernacularly "Cossy," Park; seat of the old Roman-Catholic Jerninghams (now Lords Stafford), who are much concerned in these broils, to their heavier cost in time coming. Cossy is some four miles east of Norwich; will lie quite handy for Squire and his Troop as they ride hitherward, being on the very road to Swaffham.*

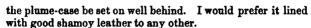
XVI. Mr. Samuel Squire, at his Quarters, Peterborough, in Bridge-street there: llaste.

DEAR SIR, St. Neot's, 3d April 1643.

I am required by the Speaker to send up those Prisoners we got in Suffolk [at Lowestoff & c.]; pray send me the Date we got them, also their Names in full, and quality. I expect I may have to go up to Town also. I send them up by Whalley's Troop and the Slepe Troop; my Son goes with them. You had best go also, to answer any questions needed.

I shall require a new Pot [kind of Helmet]; mine is ill set. Buy me one in Tower Street; a Fleming sells them, I think his name is Vandeleur: get one fluted, and good barrets; and let

^{*} This Paragraph is due to a Correspondent (Jan. 1818), after Fraser, where "Cosey" was printed with a quiere, "Cosey (?)" — (Note to the Reprint, 1850.)



I have wished them return [the two Troops to return] by way of Suffolk home; so remind them. Do see after the 3 [undecipherable cipher]. 81 is playing fox: I hold a letter of his he sent to certain ones, which I got of one who carried it. If you light on him, pray take care of him, and bring him on to me. I cannot let such escape; life and property is lost by such villains. If resistance is given, pistol him. No nonsense can be held with such: he is as dangerous as a mad bull, and must be quieted by some means. This villain got our men into a strife near Fakenham, some three weeks since; and two got shot down, and nine wounded; and the others lost some twenty or thirty on their side; and all for his mischief.

Let me see you as soon as needs will allow. Mind Henry come to no ill in London; I look to you to heed him. — From

Your Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Squire endorses: "We went up with the Treasure; and got sadly mauled coming back, but beat the ruffians [ruffinns] at Chipping, but lost near all our baggage."

XVII. These plundering "Ca'ndishers," called lately "Camdeners," from Noel Viscount Camden their principal adherent in these Southern parts, are outskirts or appendages of the Marquis of Newcastle's Northern or "Papist" Army, and have for Commander the Hon. Charles Cavendish, Cousin of the Marquis; whence their name. They are fast flowing Southward at present, in spite of the Fairfaxes, — to the terror of men. Our first distinct notice of them by Oliver; the last will follow by and by.

To Mr. Squire, at his Quarters, Oundle: These. Post haste, hante. Sir, Stilton, 12th April this day, '1648.'

Pray show this to Berry, and advise [signify to] him to ride in, and join me, by four days time; as these Ca'ndishers, I hear, are over, tearing and robbing all, poor and rich. —— [moths] —— Many poor souls slain, and cattle moved off. Stamford is taken, and Lord Noel [Nole] has put some 300 to garrison i*

Send on word to Biggleswade, to hasten those slow fellows. We are upon no child's-play; and must have all help as we [they] may.— At same time, I will buy your Spanish Headpiece you showed me; I will give you Five Pieces for it, and my Scots one: at all rates, I will fain have it. So rest,

Your Friend,

O.C.

The East Foot [from Suffolk &c.] are come in, to some 600 men, I learn. Say so to those Biggleswade dormice.

Squire has jotted on this Letter: "writ 12th April 1642" (meaning 1643) "as we were upon our Lincoln riding."

XVIII. To Mr. Squire, at his Quarters, Oundle: These. Haste. Sir., Ely, this 13th day April 1642 [for 1643].

I got your Letter and the Headpiece [See Nos. 16, 17]. I find we want much ere we march. Our Smiths are hard 'on' work at shoes. Press me Four more Smiths as you come on: I must have them, yea or nay; say I will pay them fee, and let go after shoeing, — home, and no hindrances.

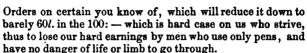
I am glad Berry is of our mind; and in so good discipline of his men, — next to good arms, sure victory, under God. — I am Your Friend.

O.C.

XIX. To Mr. Squire, at his Quarters, Oundle: These. Haste, Sir, Ely, this day, Monday '--- 1643.'

The Pay of the three Troops is come down; therefore come over by Twelve tomorrow, and see to it. I can hear nothing of the man that was sent me out of Suffolk and Essex. I fear he is gone off with the money. If so, our means are straitened beyond my power to redeem; — so must beg of you to lend me 200 Pieces more, to pay them; and I will give you the order on my Farm at Slepe, as security, if Parliament fail payment, which I much doubt of.

I got the money out of Norfolk last Friday: it came, as usual, ill; and lies at my Son's quarters safely: also the Hertfordshire money also [sic], which lies at his quarters also. The money which was got from the man at Boston is all gone: I had to pay 20 per centum for the changing it, and then take



Bring me the Lists of the Foot now lying in Garrison. I fear those men from Suffolk are being tried sorely by money from certain parties, — whom I will hang, if I catch playing their tricks in my quarters; by law of arms I will serve them. Order Isham to keep the Bridge (it is needful), and shoot any one passing who has not a pass. The Service is one that we must not be nice upon, to gain our ends. So show him my words for it.

Tell Captain Russell my mind on his men's drinking the poor man's ale and not paying. I will not allow any plunder: so pay the man, and stop their pay to make it up. I will cashier officers and men, if such is done in future.

So let me see you by noon-time; as I leave, after dinner, for

Cambridge. Sir, I am

Your Friend, OLIVER CROMWELL.

"Isham," who is to keep the Bridge on this occasion, "left the regiment at the same time as Squire did" (the First War being ended), "and went to sea, as did many others: so said Journal." (Note by the Transcriber.)

XX. Address torn off, date eaten by moths; the former to be guessed at, the latter not.

'To Mr. Squire.'

DEAR FRIEND,
"I pray you"* send a Hundred Pounds to 81 at Ipswich; also a Hundred Pounds to 92 in Harwich; also Fifty-two Pounds to 151 at Aldborough; — and do not delay an hour. W. [Wildman?] is returned: they are all fit to burst at news come in; and, I much fear, will break out. So I am now going over to clip their wings. I shall be back in five days, if all be well.

Henry has borrowed of you Fifty Pieces, I learn. Do not

[•] Some such phrase, and the half of "Friend," have gone by moths.

let him have any more; he does not need it; and I hope better of you than go against my mind. — I rest,

Your Friend.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

XXI. To Mr. Squire, at his Quarters, Chatteris: Huste, haste.

Sir, Headquarters, Monday daybreak.

Wildman has seen one who says you have news. How is this I am not put in possession of it? Surely you are aware of our great need. Send or come to me by dinner. — I am

Your Friend.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

XXII. To Mr. Squire, at his Quarters, Downham.

DEAR FRIEND, [No date] '1643.'

I learn from Burton (112) that one landed at the Quay from Holland, who was let go, and is now gone on by way of Lynn. I hear he has a peaked beard, of a blue-black colour: of some twenty-five years old: I think from my letters, a Spaniard. See to him. He will needs cross the Wash; stop him, and bring him to me. I shall lie at Bury, if not at Newmarket: so be off quickly. — From

Your Friend,

O. CROMWELL.

Haste, - ride on spur.

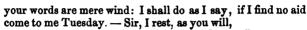
Squire has endorsed: "Got the man at Tilney, after a tussle, two troopers hit, and he sore cut, even to loss of life. Got all."

XXIII. Mr. Waters is some lukewarm Committee-man; whose lazy backwardness, not to say worse of it, this Colonel can endure no longer. Squire (by whatever chance the Letter came into Squire's hand) has endorsed as memorandum: "146 [and other cipher-marks] lives at his house," — which perhaps may explain the thing!

To Mr. Waters at the Cross Keys: These in all speed. Sir, Lincoln, 25th July 1643.

If no more be done than you and yours have done, it is well you give over such powers as you have to those who will. I say to you now my mind thereto: If I have not that aid which is my due, I say to you I will take it. And so heed me; for I find

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OLIVER CROMWELL.

XXIV. Here are the Ca'ndishers again; scouring the world, like hungry wolves: swift, mount, and after them!

To Captain Montague or Sam Squire: Haste, haste, on spur. SIR, Wisbeach, this day, — 'July 1643.'

One has just come in to say the Ca'ndishers have come as far as Thorney, and done a great mischief, and drove off some threescore fat beasts.

Pray call all in, and follow them; they cannot have got far. Give no quarter; as they shed blood at Bourne, and slew three poor men not in arms. So make haste. — From

Your Friend and Commander,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Here, too, is a Letter from Henry Cromwell, copied by my Correspondent from Squire's old Papers: which is evidently of contiguous or slightly prior date, and well worth saving.

"There is great news just come in, by one of our men who has been home on leave, The Ca'ndishers are coming on hot. "Some say 80 troops, others 50 troops. Be it as it may, we must go on. Vermuyden has sent his Son on to say, We had better push on three troops as scouts, as far as Stamford; and hold Peterborough at all costs, as it is the Key to the Fen, which if lost much ill may ensue. Our news says, Ca'ndish has sworn to sweep the Fens clear of us. How he handles his broom, we will see when we meet: he may find else than dirt to try his hand on, I think! Last night came in Letters from the Lord "General, also money, and ammunition a good store.

"Our men being ready, we shall ride in and join your Troop
"at dawn. Therefore send out scouts to see. Also good intel"ligencers on foot had better be seen after; they are best, I
"find, on all occasions. Hold the Town secure; none go in or
"out, on pain of law of arms and war. — Sharman is come in
"from Thrapstone: there was a Troop of the King's men driving,
"but got cut down to a man, — not far from Kettering, by the

"Bedford Horse, and no quarter given, I hear.

"Sir, this is all the news I have. My Father desires me to "say, Pray be careful! Sir, I rest,
"Your humble Servant,

"HENRY CROMWELL."

On the same sheet follow four lines of abstruse cipher, with a signature which I take to mean "Oliver Cromwell:" apparently some still more secret message from the Colonel himself.

On Friday, 28th July 1643, precisely ten days after this Letter, occurred the action at Gainsborough, where poor General Cavendish, "handling his broom" to best ability, was killed; and a good account, or good instalment of account to begin with, was given of these Ca'ndishers.*

Nos. XXV. -- XXXV.

Our last batch consists of Eleven Letters; all of which, except two only, bear date 1643; and all turn on the old topics. Squire's more intimate relation to Oliver naturally ceased as the sphere of action widened, — as the "valiant Colonel," having finished his Eastern-Association business, emerged as a valiant General into Marston Battle, into England at large. After 1643, there is only one Letter to Squire; and that on personal business, and dated 1645.

XXV. To Mr. Squire, at his Quarters, Wisbeach, at Mr. Thorne's House there: by my Son Henry.

Sir,
August 2d day, 1643.
My Lord Manchester has not the power to serve me as you

My Lord Manchester has not the power to serve me as you would [as you wish] for York: but I will see if I can do it for him, to serve you in my Kinsman's [Whalley's, Desborow's, Walton's?] troop.

I will give you all you ask for that Black you won last fight.—I remain, Yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

"Last Fight" is Gainsborough with the Ca'ndishers; which occurred a week ago, — and has yielded Squire a horse among other things.

^{*} Letters and Speeches, antea, vol. i. p. 151.



SQUIRE PAPERS.

XXVI. To Mr. S. Squire, at his Quarters, the Flag.
Sir, This day, 3d August 1643.

These are to require you to bring the Statements of the Troopers who were on the road, when they stopped the Wains containing the Arms going from [word illegible; my Correspondent writes "Skegness"] to Oxford: that they be paid their dues for the service.

I learn from Jackson that some of the Suffolk Troop requires Passes to return home to Harvest. Now, that is hardly to be given; seeing we are after Lynn Leaguer, and require all aid needful to surround them [the Lynn Malignants]: — Say I cannot grant their requesting. Have they not had great manifesting of God's bounty and grace, in so short a time? I am filled with surprise at this fresh requiring of these selfish men. Let them write home, and hire others to work. I will grant no fresh Passes: the Lord General is against it; and so am I, fixed in my mind.

Do you ride over to Swaffham, and buy Osts for 2000 horse: we shall require as many, to come on to Gaywood, by order, as needed. Also see to the Hay;— and let your servants see well that no imposition is practised. I must insist on due weight and measure for man and horse; or let the chapmen look to their backs and pouches! I stand no rogue's acts here, if they are tolerated in London. I will have my pennyworth for my penny.

Send on a Trooper to Norwich and Yarmouth for news. Bid them call at 112 and 68, and ask Mr. Parmenter after 32: he is fox, I hear. I fear Burton is double. — I am,

Your Friend,
OLIVER CRONWELL.

I sent a Pass to your Kinsman.

XXVII. 'To Mr. Squire.'

Bid three Troops go on to Downham, and come by way of Wisbeach. Tell Ireton my mind on his shooting that Spy without learning more. I like it not. His name is Nickols, I hear. It were well no news took air of it.

"From Col. Cromwell on his way to Siege of Lynn, 17th August 1643:" so Squire dockets; which enables us to date. Farther in regard to "Ireton's matter" (the well-known Ireton), there stood in the Journal, says my Correspondent: "This man was shot in Thorney Fen: he was a spy, and had done great injury. He had 500 Gold Pieces in his coat, and a Pass of Manchester's and one of the King's." To which my Correspondent adds in his own person: "Shooting spies, and hanging newsmongers, was very often done; and to me very horrible was the news I read often in the Journal of such doings."

XXVIII. The "great work on hand" — is a ride to Lincolnshire; which issued in Winceby Fight, or Horncastle Fight, on Wednesday next.

To 'Auditor Squire.'

DEAR FRIEND, Ely, this day [moths], October '1643.'

Hasten with all speed you may, and come on the spur to me at Ely: we have a great work on hand, and shall need us all to undertake it. May the Lord be with us. — Hasten your men. I must see you by tomorrow sunset, as we start next day. — From Yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

"Came by the Colonel's Music," so Squire endorses. — For Winceby Fight, which followed on Wednesday next, see *Letters and Speeches*, antea, vol. i. pp. 174-177.

XXIX. Home at Ely again; in want of various domestic requisites, — a drop of mild brandy, for one.

To Mr. S. Squire, at his Quarters, Dereham, or elsewhere: Haste, haste.
Sir, Ely, 15th November 1643.

With all speed, on getting this, see Cox; his Quarters are at the Fort on the South End. Tell him to send me two Culverins, also a small Mortar-piece, with match, powder and shot; also a Gunner and his mates, as I need them.

Buy of Mr. Teryer a case of Strong-waters for me; — and tell the Bailiff to order on such Volunteers as we can: we need all we can get. Also get a cask of cured Fish for me. — Do not fail sending on, with good speed, the Cannons; we stay for them.

In haste, yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL.



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XXX. To Mr. S. Squire, at his Quarters.

Sir, This day, Friday noon, '- November 1643.'

Your Letter is more in the Lord General's business than mine; but to serve you am well pleased at all times. I have writ to the Captain at Loughborough to mind what he is about: at the same time, if your Kinsmen are Papists, I do not know well how I dare go against the Law of Parliament to serve them. I have, to oblige you, done so far: Take a Pass, and go over and see to this matter, if you are inclined. But I think they, if prudent, will get no further ill.

I shall want the Blue Parcel of Papers you know of: send

them by your Music. Sir, I am

Your Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Squire endorses: "My Cousin would not leave the Nunnery, so left her." — But see next Letter, for a wiser course.

XXXI. To Mr. S. Squire, at his Quarters, Fotheringay.

DEAR FRIEND, Peterborough, this day, 2d Dec. 1643.

I think I have heard you say that you had a relation in the Nunnery at Loughborough. Pray, if you love her, remove her speedily; and I send you a Pass,—as we have orders to demolish it, and I must not dispute orders: [no!]—There is one of the Andrews' in it, take her away. Nay give them heed to go, if they value themselves. I had rather they did. I like no war on women. Pray prevail on all to go, if you can. I shall be with you at Oundle in time. From

Your Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Squire has written on the other side: "Got my Cousin Mary and Miss Andrews out, and left them at our house at Thrapstone, with my Aunt, same night; and the Troops rode over, and wrecked the Nunnery by order of Parliament."

XXXII. Some Cathedral or other Church duty come in course; at which young Montague, Captain of the St. Neot's Troop, would fain hesitate! Readers may remember Mr. Hitch of Ely, — about a fortnight after the date here.* "Monuments

of Superstition and Idolatry," they must go: the Act of Parliament, were there nothing more, is express!

'To Mr. Squire.'

IR, Christmas Eve, '1643.'

It is to no use any man's saying he will not do this or that. What is to be done is no choice of mine. Let it be sufficient, it is the Parliament's Orders, and we to obey them. I am surprised at Montague to say so. Show him this: if the men are not of a mind to obey this Order, I will cashier them, the whole Troop. I heed God's House as much as any man: but vanities and trumpery give no honour to God, nor idols serve Him; neither do painted windows make man more pious. Let them do as Parliament bid them, or else go home, — and then others will be less careful to do what we had done [might have done] with judgment.

I learn there is 4 Men down with the Sickness, in the St. Neot's Troop now at March. Let me hear: so ride over, and learn all of it. — Sir, I am

Your Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Squire has endorsed: "They obeyed the Order."

XXXIII. This Letter, in my Copy of it, is confidently dated "Stilton, 31st July 1643:" but, for two reasons, the date cannot be accepted. First, there is a Letter long since printed, which bears date Huntingdon, instead of Stilton, with precisely the same day and year, — the Letter concerning Gainsborough Fight, namely." Secondly, in the Letter now before us there is allusion to "Horncastle" or Winceby Fight, which had not happened in "July," nor till 11th October following. If for July we read Jany, January 1643-4, there is a better chance of being right.

'To Auditor Squire.'

Dear Sir, Stilton, 31st 'January' 1643.
Buy those Horses; but do not give more than 18 or 20
Pieces each for them: that is enough for Dragooners.

I will give you 60 Pieces for that Black you won at Horn-

* Letters and Speeches, antea, vol. i. p. 151.

castle (if you hold to a mind to sell him), for my Son who has a mind to him. — Dear Sir, I am

Your Friend,

OLIVER CROWWELL.

15 is come in.

XXXIV. Red coats for the first time! My Correspondent gives the following annotation: "I remember, in Journal, mention of all the East men" (Association men) "wearing red coats, horse and foot, to distinguish them from the King's men; and it being used after by the whole Army. And I think it was after Marston Battle; — but the Journal was full of the rowes of the men, and corporals' cabals."

To Mr. Russell, at his Quarters, Bromley by Bow.
Sir, [No date at all] '1644.'

I learn your Troop refuse the new Coats. Say this: Wear them, or go home. I stand no nonsense from any one. It is a needful thing we be as one in Colour; much ill having been from diversity of clothes, to slaying 'of friends by friends.' Sir, I pray you heed this.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

XXXV. Cornet or Auditor Squire, it would appear by my Correspondent's recollections of the lost Journal, was promoted to be Lieutenant for his conduct in Naseby Fight: "he afterwards got wounded in Wales or Cornwall; place named Turo, I think," — undoubtedly at Truro in Cornwall, in the ensuing Autumn. Here, next Spring, 1645-6, while the Service is like to be lighter, he decides on quitting the Army altogether.

To Licutenant Squire, at his Quarters, Tavistock: These.
Sir, 3d March 1645.

In reply to the Letter I got this morning from you, — I am sorry you 'so' resolve; for I had gotten you your Commission as Captain from the Lord General, and waited only your coming to give it you. Think twice of this. For I intended your good; as I hope you know my mind thatwise. But so if you will, — I will not hinder you. For, thanks be given to God, I trust now all will be well for this Nation; and an enduring Peace be, to God his glory and our prosperity.

1.4

Now there is between you and me some reckoning. Now I hope to be in London, say in three weeks, if God speed me in this matter. Call at the Speaker's, and I will pay you all your due. Pray send me a List of the Items, for guide to me [for me to guide]. Let me know what I owe your Brother for the Wines he got me out of Spain to my mind. — Sir, let me once more wish you 'would' think over your resolution, that I may serve you.

Your Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Squire, in his idle moments, has executed on this sheet a rude drawing of a Pen and Sword; very rude indeed; with these words: "Ten to one the Feather beats the Iron:" that is Squire's endorsement on this his last remaining Letter from Oliver; indicating a nascent purpose, on the part of Squire, to quit the Army after all.

With which nascent purpose, and last Letter, we should so gladly take our leave of him and his affairs; were it not that there still remain, from the burnt Journal, certain miscellaneous Scraps, transitory jottings of Lists and the like, copied by our Correspondent, — which, though generally of the character of mere opaque ashes, may contain here and there some fragment of a burnt bone, once a hero's; and claim to be included in this which may be called the Funeral Urn of the Ironsides, what is left to us of them after the fire. These Scraps too, let us hastily shoot them in, therefore; and so end.

Scrap 1.

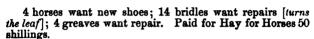
On a Slip of Paper in Squire's hand first, but ending with a line in Oliver's:

Ely, this 12th day of March 1643.

Sick:

M. Kearnes T. Allen

Wounded:
P. Jenkins
P. Frisby
Tab. Tomlins
Sh. Wales



The rest all well.

SAML. SQUIRE.

[Bottom of the Paper]. Sixth Troop to go to Downham.

O. C.

Scrap 2.

My Correspondent says: "These Names are written on a Sheet of Paper, folded and marked, Troops," — probably, as my Correspondent guesses elsewhere, the names of the original Ironside Captains; well worth preserving indeed!

Cromwell Flutter Stebbings Aires Dodsworth Berry Walton Richardson Wright Campin Russell White Evanson Deane Collins Buckell Rawlins Rainsforth Larance Sidne (Algernon?) Clarke Wauton Cromwell, H. Lawsell Walden Cromwell, O. (Junior) Freshwater Jones Ireton Woolward Whalley Rich Montague (Sandwich) Spriggs Cook Sheppherd Fountain Cults Fairside Norton (idle Dick) Chambers.

Weston Langley

Cox

Scrap 3.

Names written on a Paper marked "St. Neot's Troop." Wauton, V. (Valentine, young Speechley Walton, killed at Marston-(the Saddler? in Tebbutt Scrap 7) Moor?) Wright Russell, John Ellis Cromwell, Rd. (idle Richard ') Barnard Cromwell, Thos. Hunt **M**ontague Pickering Halles, Ambrose Dawson Andres Butler Spencer, junr.

Scrap 4.

On a Sheet in Squire's hand:

The Names of those who joined us at Siege of Lynn, and came riding in full armed, and went into our second regiment; and who left us, many of them, after Marston Fight, on fancies of conscience, and turned Quackers (Quakers); - and such like left us at Newmarket, and went home with the Eastmen's foot, to garrison Lynn and Yarmouth.

No. 1.

Allen, Robert Ames, Simeon Anger, Josua Kett, Reuben Beales, Constantine Beart, Hiram Bullard, Octavius Ball, Frank Buddery, Isaac S Breckenham, Edward Complin (or Camplin), Judah Mason, Alwyn Camon, Joseph Cornish, Caleb Dunton, Saml. Dormer, James Neave, Aram Downeing, Saml.
Daynes, Danyel
Eccles, Thomas (music) Elsegood, Zachary Ellis, John Fuller, Jacob Fydeman, John Fyncham, Saul Fenn, Aaron Goodwyn, Robert Gogney, Symon Greenwood, Japhet Rose, Selah Goss, Jacques Hutcherson, Levi Reeve, Manna Hewet, Jacob Hunt, Isaiah Howard, Timon Jeunes le, Jonathan

Kinge, Philip Kiddell, Mores Kett, Aminadab · Keckwicke, Josiah Lowger, Thos. Christian Munck, Wm. Myleham, Henry Matthewman, Thomas Mylum, Abraham Medcalf, Leonard Mayhew, Hezekiah Neale, Jacques Northen, Christian Osborn, Zatthu Price, Ahimelech Panke, Sheckaniah Pike, Henry Patterson, Paul Roe, Tobias C Ransom, Icheil (or Jeheil) Roe, Zechariah Rust, Christian Read, Price Stephen Soames, Aaron, Major Stangroom, Eleazer Sheringham, Walter Shepperd, Charles



SQUIRE PAPERS.

Sharpen, Jacobus Snell, Robert Starlin, Edward Sewell, Samuel Swann, Josua S Thurton, Wm. Valentine Todd, Stephen Tillet, Ishmael Taylor, Vilellius Tizack, Christopher Tuby, Zered Toll, Israel Vickers, John Vankamp, Hubert Ward, Willm. Waymour, Wm. Wharle, Nicholas

Weeds, Amphilius Woods, John C Waters, Bartolemew Waddelow, Philip Weasey, John Wilkerson, Wm. Willemons, Gabriel Wasey, Antoney Waynford, Antony Youngs, Francis Yewell, Gordon Ypres, Cornelius Yabbs, Peter Yewells, Christian Youngman, Gregory Yeames, Robert Yorkshire, Samuel.

["I suppose S and C means Sergeants and Corporals." — Correspondent.

No. 2.

Allwurd Promise Cladius Batson Gilead Barker Valentine Barker Henricus Clarke Alec Caulfield James Culling Sim Cross Zack Dulwick Alfred Damant Kesiah Dannell Joshua Flint Mathias Fox Will Gowan Paul Hales (or Halls) Pious Stone Septimus Lefranc Richard Lome

Peter A. Money Israel Meeks Will Martin John Mills Cristr. Mead Robert Mead Hall Markston Fred. Mallet Mark Nicholls Egbert Oaks Caleb Pede David Pascal John Pulfrey Amos Pull Walter Smidt Ludwig Smidt

Julius Stannard Danl. Staffort Natl. Steele James Thompson Jos. Watts Malec Wats Je'sophat Warnes Henry Willson Saul Wensun Oliver Weston Isachar Watts Thos. Zobell Adolff Zobell Shem Quarles John Yellows Alfred Love Simeon Waite.

"To these names nothing farther is written, beyond names of their Troops. I have written them alphabetically from my List, which is not so arranged." (Note by my Correspondent.)

Scrap 5.

"These are written on a Strip of Paper was enclosed in a Letter." (Correspondent.)

OC.	DC.	RC.	HC.	Ireton	Cole
HC.	JC.	VW.	D.	Rawlings	York
A.	В.	E.	J.	Rainsboro	Mewburn
		R.		Castle	Frisby
				White	Mossop
				Husbands	

"Copied as they stood in the original Paper. About the treasure going to London" (see antea, No. 16); "and I think, from the contents, took [had taken] College treasure." (Correspondent.)

Scrap 6.

"List of Names written on a Paper marked, Hearty. I have written them alphabetically for convenience, but they were not so in the Original." (Correspondent.)

	0 \	,
Alister	Chapman	Fischer
Barnard, J.	Cromwell, O. senr.	Garland
Butler	Cromwell, R.	Hodges
Boyle	Cromwell, Thos.	Halles
Bigl a nde	Cromwell, O. junr.	Hunt
Boucher	Cromwell, Richd.	Hobbard
Bussey	Cromwell, Henry	Holland
Berry	Desborow	Hewitson
Buckel	Desborow	Hawkins
Barnard, R.	Deane, H.	Henderson
Castles '	Deane, R.	Hunt
Chambers, J.	Dinch'	Hart
Compton '	Dodsworth	Handley
Carter	Dawson, T.	Isham
Claypol	Dawson, S.	Ingolsb y
Collins	Dawson, H.	Ireton, J.
Clarke	Everard, B.	Jones
Campin	Everard, R.	John
Cooke	Everson	Ingoldsby
Cutts	Ellis	Kincome
Chambers, W.	Freshwater	Knightley
Cox	Farside	Lemmen
Castel	Flutter	Lawsell
Cole	Frisby	Langley



SQUIRE PAPERS.

Moulle Rose Tebbutt Mewburn Rawlen Thornton Reede Warters Montague Walls Montague, H. Ricketts Marten Russell, J. Wauton, V. Masham Whally Ireton Whitston Russell, R. Larance Russell, F. Ayscouw Wright Montague Reynolds White Rainsforth Walden Norton Woolward Neale Richardson, J. Weston Neve Rawlinges Walton Nelson Rich Wauton, J. Ord Ayscogh Poulton Reachlous Walden Powell Steward Wright Pye Sprigges Warnes Pickerin : Stebbings White Pede Sidney Vanderay Ayres Speechley York Yewson. Richardson, R. Squire

"These several Lists are all that I copied; but I think the List 3" (Scrap 2 as given here) "contains names of the original Captains [and Subalterns] of Troops in the Ironsides; but I cannot say for certain. The large List" (Scrap 4) "was too far gone to touch, as it was perfectly red with damp, and rotten; so was burnt. These were in Letters and odd Papers. I have no others copied that I can find in my travelling Writingdesk; so suppose they are all I took." (Correspondent.)

Scrap 7. "Written on a Letter, and marked Settled." (Correspondent.) Settled. Corporals: Clerk: Collonel O. Crom- Cornelius Vanderay Saml. Squire [Self!] Zosimus Rose [the Saddeler: Drill - Corporal: J. Tebbutt Cn. [Captain] J. Des-Letter No. 4. Chirugeon: Leutenant V. Wau- Thomas Fischer Sl. Moule Trumpets: Farrier: Levi Allister [your Rd. Richardson. Cornet E. Whally Qr. Mr. R. Everard Music!

Thos. Kincome

Scrap 8.

"Memorandums on a Piece of Paper," in Squire's hand, copied by me verbatim." (Correspondent.)

Buried near the Vestrey:

Enoch Soames
John Purfis
Simeon Wildes
John Liffel
Benjamin Waster
Noah Richardson
Seth Richardson
Levi Richardson
Cornelius Van Œst
Caspar Dorflein

50 horses shot to the death.
 40 horses soreley wounded.
 30 men wounded soreley, yet can Ride.
 10 unabel to Ride.

Lent for the use of the Parlement to pay the Souldiers. Hay and Corn

8.

14 5 10

Shot to the death at Ganesborow.

Lent to

[turns the leaf]

£160 10 4}

Note for its due payt, secured by Col. O. C.

504 19 6 160 10 4 665 9 10

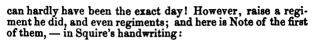
Hiram Dawson		10	
Capn. Desboro' Colenl. Cromwell	£ 10-	60	
A new Cravatt	æ10-	7	
A new Spurrs A feather for my Basnet		5	c
A feather for my Basnet			о —
	£ 14	4	6
A new Staffe for ye Coloures		1	4

Scrap 9.

Squire's Conspectus of the "St. Neot's Troop" is to be seen in Scrap 3. Captain Montague obtained Commission to raise a regiment of his own, "on the 20th August 1643," says Collins*—which I think, as "20th August" was a Sunday,

^{*} Peerage (1741), ii. 281.

T



Joined Montague's Lanciers.

Walter [his name Wm. Partrige Gabriel Womac Lemuel Gilbert illegible] Collins Collins John Palmer John Skipon Charles Hurst [or Saul Cobbham Harst Walter Reachlous Wm. Waters Martin Saul John Evanson Wolsey Clarke Wm. Ellis May 24, 1644. Stephen Willis Henry Johnson

Explicit Squirus noster; as all things do end! Some three other Notes, written in abstruse cipher, and two of them bearing what I take to be Oliver's occult signature, and plainly Squire's address, — these I keep back, as too abstruse for any printer or any reader. And herewith let us close the Funeral Urn of the Ironsides, with its burnt bones of heroes, and ashes of mere wood; and, with deathless regrets against my Unknown Correspondent, and for the present some real thankfulness to Heaven, wash our hands of this melancholy affair.

T. CARLYLE.

London, 2d Nov. 1847.

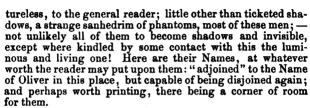
APPENDIX B.

LIST OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

In the old Parliamentary History, * and in other Books. is given, "compiled from the Chancery Records and Commons Journals," a List of the Long-Parliament Members, arranged according to their Counties and Boroughs; which is very welcome to the historical inquirer. But evidently, for every purpose of historical inquiry connected with this Period, there is needed farther, — if not some well-investigated brief "Biographical Dictionary of the Long-Parliament Members," such as the pious historical student is free to imagine for himself, but will not soon get, - at least and lowest, some Alphabetical List of their Names; the ready index and memento of a great many things to us. As no such List was anywhere discoverable, I had to construct one for my own behoof; a process by no means difficult in proportion to its usefulness, the facts being already all given in the extant List by Places. and only requiring to be rearranged for the new object of a List by Names. This latter List, after long doing duty in the manuscript state, is now, for the use of others, appended here in print, - there being accidentally a corner of room for it in this New Edition.

It is not vitally connected with Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches; yet neither is it quite without relation to the man. Here are the Names of some five or six hundred men, whom Oliver Cromwell sat in view of, and worked along with, through certain years of time in this world; their Names and Localities, if we have nothing more. More is attainable concerning several of them, and is very well worth attaining; but little more, to the general reader, is yet attained. Fea-

^{*} Parliamentary History (London, 1763), ix. 12-57.



What is a more questionable point, this List I am aware is not quite free from errors; one or two of which it has even fallen in my own way not only to surmise, but to prosecute to their source, and correct. Numerous I do not suppose them to be, nor important: but I cannot certify that there are none; nor help farther in removing what there may be. The List itself, once printed, offers to all studious persons the opportunity to help; which certainly it would be a beneficence of its sort if some strict antiquary, or series of antiquaries, would effectually do. The constituent elements of the "most remarkable Parliament that ever sat," - which indeed is definable as the Father of Parliaments, which first rendered Parliaments supreme, and has since set the whole world upon chase of Parliaments, a notable speculation very lively in most parts of Europe at this day, - deserve at least to have their names accurately given. They deserve, and perhaps they will one day get, much more; they deserve a History, constitutional, biographical, political, practical, picturesque, better than most Entities that yet have one among us; and, in all points of view, they will be found not imaginary but real, and well worth remembering and attending to. Meanwhile, in the absence of all History, constitutional or other, of the Long Parliament, let this imperfect foreshadow of the incipiency of one be welcome.

The asterisk *, prefixed to a Member's name, denotes that he was a "Recruiter" (see Letters and Speeches, vol. i. p. 247), not an original Member: "disab." means disabled, declared incapable of sitting henceforth, for some reason, generally for Royalism, for desertion to the King; the year when, is also indicated. "King's judge" is one nominated to that office, and only in part or not at all risking to perform it; "regicide"

is one who performed and completed it, who signed the Death-warrant: both titles, I find, are now and then, especially in the cases where nothing not already known was to be learned from them, omitted in this List. Other contractions will probably require no explanation.

A11 4 C	0 11/ 1
Abbot, George, Esq. (dead '45)	Guilford.
*Abbot, George, Esq.	Tamworth.
Acton, Sir Edward, Knight (disab. '44)	Bridgnorth.
Aldburgh, Richard, Esq. (disab. '42,	
Yorkshire petition)	Aldborough, Yorkshire.
*Aldworth. Richard, Esq	Bristol.
Alford, Sir Edward, Knight (disab.'44)	Arundel.
Alford, Sir Edward, Knight (void,	
though twice)	Tewkesbury.
Alford, John, Esq	Shoreham.
Allanson, Sir William, Knight (King's	
judge)	York.
*Allen, Francis, Esq. (King's judge)	Cockermouth.
*Allen, Matthew, Esq	Weymouth.
Allestre, William, Esq. (Recorder;	
disab.)	Derby.
Alured, John, Esq. (regicide)	Heydon, Yorkshire.
Anderson, Sir Henry, Knight (disab.	ireguois, rorkamie.
'44)	Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Andover, Charles, Viscount (e. s. of	ivewcusite-on-1 ghe.
F of Borkshine, made Poor '40 in	
E. of Berkshire; made Peer '40, in	Onford
his father's lifetime)	Oxford.
*Andrews, Robert, Esq	Weobly, Herefordshire.
*Anlaby, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Scarborough.
*Annesley, Arthur, Esq	Radnorshire.
*Apsley, Edward, Esq Armyn, Sir William, Baronet (King's	Steyning.
	~ .
judge)	Grantham.
*Armyn, William, Esq. (since '45) .	Cumberland.
*Arthington, Henry, Esq	Pontefract.
Arundel, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	(St. Michaels, but pre-
•	ferred) Bodmin.
*Arundel, John, Esq	West Looe.
Arundel, Richard, Esq. (disab. '44)	Lostwithiel.
Arundel, Thomas, Esq. (died)	West Looe.
*Arundel, Thomas, Esq	West Love.



*Ash, James, Esq	Bath.
Ashburnham, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	Hastings.
Ashburnham, William, Esq. (army-	•
plot'41, expelled)	Ludgershall, Wilts.
Ashe, Edward, Esq	Heytesbury, Wilts.
Ashe, John, Esq	Westbury Wilts.
Ashton, Ralph, Esq	Clithero.
Ashton, Sir Ralph, Baronet	Lancashire.
Ashurst, William, Esq	Newton, Lancashire.
*Atkins, Thomas, Esq. (King's judge)	Norwich.
Ayscough, Sir Edward, Knight	Lincolnshire.
*Ayscough, William, Esq	Thirsk.
*Bacon, Francis, Esq	Ipswich.
*Bacon, Nathaniel, Esq	Cambridge University.
*Bagot, Sir Harvey, Knight (disab.	,
'42')	Staffordshire.
Bagshaw, Edward, Esq. (disab. '44)	Southwark.
*Baker, John, Esq.	East Grinstead.
Baldwin, Charles, Esq. (disab. '44) .	Ludlow.
*Ball, John, Esq. (dead '48)	Abingdon.
Bampfield, Sir John, Baronet	Penryn.
Barker, Anthony, Esq. (void)	Wallingford.
Barker, John, Esq., Alderman	Coventry.
Barnardiston, Sir Nathaniel, Knight	Suffolk.
*Barnardiston, Sir Thomas, Knight	Bury St. Edmunds.
Barnham, Sir Francis, Knight (dead	_
'46) . '	Maidstone.
*Barrington, Sir John, Baronet	
(King's judge)	Newton, Hants.
Barrington, Sir Thomas, Bart. (dead	,
'44)	Colchester.
*Barrow, Morris, Esq	Eye, Suffolk.
Barwis, Richard, Esq. (died)	Carlisle.
Basset, William, Esq. (disab. '44)	Bath.
Baynton, Sir Edward, Knight (King's	
judge)	Chippenham.
Baynton, Sir Edward, Knight	Devizes.
Bedingfield, Sir Anthony, Knight .	Dunwich,
Bell, William, Esq	Westminster.
Bellasis, Henry, Esq. (disab. '42.	
Yorkshire petition)	Yorkshire.

Bellasis, John, Esq. (disab. '42, York-	
shire petition; made Lord '44) .	Thirsk.
Bellingham, Sir Henry, Bart. (disab.	
(45)	Westmoreland.
*Bellingham, James, Esq	Westmoreland.
Bence, Squire, Esq. *Bence, Alexander, Esq. (succeeded	Aldborough, Suffolk.
*Bence, Alexander, Esq. (succeeded	
Rainsborough)	Aldborough, Suffolk.
*Bendlowes, Sir Robert, Knight	Lancaster.
*Bennet, Thomas, Esq. (dead '44)	Hindon, Wilts.
*Bennet, Thomas, Esq. (dead '44) Benson, Henry, Esq. (expelled '41,	
for selling protections)	Knaresborough.
Berkeley, Sir Henry, Knight (void)	Ilchester.
*Biddulph, Michael, Esq	Lichfield.
*Bingham, John, Esq	Shaftesbury.
*Birch, John, Esq. (the Colonel;	
Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy,	
part ii. p. 34)".	Leominster.
*Birch, Thomas, Esq. (from Oct. '49)	Liverpool.
Bishop, Sir Edward, Knight (void) .	Bramber.
*Blackiston, John, Esq. (regicide) .	Newcastle-on-Tyne.
*Blagrave, Daniel, Esq. (regicide) .	Reading.
*Blake, Robert, Esq. (the Admiral).	
Bludworth, Sir Thomas, Knight	Reigate.
(disab.)	-0-1 D 11-14
	Anglesea.
Bond, Dennis, Esq. (King's judge) .	Dorchester.
*Bond, John, LL.D.	Melcomb Regis.
*Boone, Thomas, Esq. (King's judge)	Clifton, Dartmouth,
	Hardness (Devon-
	shire, united).
*Booth, George, Esq. (May '46)	Cheshire.
*Booth, John, Esq	Portsmouth.
*Borde, Herbert, Esq. (died)	Steyning.
Borlace, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	Corfe Castle.
Borlace, John, Esq. (void)	Marlow.
*Boscawen, Hugh, Esq.	Cornwall.
*Bosville, Godfrey, Esq. (King's	
judge)	Warwick.
*Boughton, Thomas, Esq	Warwickshire.
*Bourchier, Sir John, Knight (regi-	
cide)	Ripon.
	No. of Street, or other



Bowyer, Sir Thomas, Baronet (dis-	
ab. '42, for Chichester garrison).	Bramber.
Bowyer, Sir William (died '40)	Staffordshire.
*Bowyer, John, Esq	Staffordshire.
Boyle, Richard, Viscount Dungarvon	214/701 40141 01
(e. s. of E. of Cork, whom he suc-	
ceeded in '43; disab. '43)	Appleby.
*Boynton, Sir Matthew, Bart. (dead	
'47)	Scarborough.
'47) Boys, Sir Edward, Knight (dead '46)	Dover.
*Boys, John, Esq	Kent.
Brereton, Sir William, Bart. (King's	
judge)	Cheshire.
Brett, Henry, Esq. (disab.)	Gloucester.
*Brewster, Robert, Esq	Dunwich.
Bridgeman, Orlando, Esq. (Lawyer,	
see D'Ewes, 118; disab. for assist-	
ing Lord Strange '42)	Wigan.
*Briggs, Sir Humphrey, Knight	Great Wenlock.
Brooke, Sir John, Knight (disab. '43,	
for raising money in Lincolnshire)	Appleby.
*Brooke, Peter, Esq	Newton, Lancashire.
Brown, Sir Ambrose, Baronet	Surrey.
*Brown, Richard, Esq	Romney.
*Brown, Major-General Richard	
(disab. '49)	Wycombe.
Brown, Samuel, Esq	Clifton, Dartmouth,
4D 7.1 70 (FF. 1.1.1)	Hardness (united).
*Browne, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Dorsetshire.
Broxholme, John, Esq. (dead '47)	Lincoln.
Buckhurst, Lord Richard (e. s. of E.	g g 1.4
of Dorset, disab. '44)	Steyning, Sussex, but
	prefers) East Grin-
+D-11-1 T-1 D	stead.
*Bulkeley, John, Esq	Newton, Hants.
Buller, Francis, Esq	East Looe.
Buller, George, Esq. (died)	Saltash.
Buller, Sir Richard, Knight (dead' 46)	Fowey.
*Burgoyne, Sir John, Baronet	Warwickshire.
*Burgoyne, Sir Roger, Baronet	Bedfordshire.
Burrel, Abraham, Esq. (King's judge)	Huntingdon.
Button, John, Esq.	Lymington.
Carlyle, Cromwell. 17.	<i>18</i>

Ryshe Edward junior Esa	Bletchingley.
Byshe, Edward, junior, Esq Cage, William, Esq. (dead '44)	Ipswich.
Campbell, James, Esq	Grampound.
Campion, Henry, Esq	Lymington.
Capel, Arthur, Esq. (created Lord, '41)	Hertfordshire.
Carew, Sir Alexander (treachery of	2207 17 07 48345 01
Plymouth; beheaded '44)	Cornwall.
*Carew, John, Esq. (regicide)	Tregony, Cornwall.
*Carew, William, Esq	Milborn Port.
Carnaby, Sir William, Knight (disab.	muona 1 on.
'42)	Morpeth.
Catalyn, Richard, Esq. (disab. '44)	Norwich.
Cave, Sir Richard, Knight (disab. 42)	Lichfield.
Cawley, William, Esq. (regicide)	Midhurst, Sussex.
Capil Pohort For (2d a of F of	Midnursi, Sussex.
Cecil, Robert, Esq. (2d s. of E. of	Old Sarum.
Salisbury)	
*Celye, Thomas, Esq	Bridport, Dorsetshire.
*Chadwell, William, Esq. (disab. '44) *Challoner, James, Esq. (King's	St. Michaels, Cornwall.
indee)	Aldborough, Yorkshire.
judge)	Distanced Vantation
*Challoner, Thomas, Esq. (regicide)	Richmond, Yorkshire.
*Charlton, Robert, Esq	Bridgnorth.
Charles Sin Themas I wish	Midhurst, Sussex.
Cheeke, Sir Thomas, Knight	(Beeralston, Devon, but
*Chattle Francis Fran	preferred) Harwich.
*Chettle, Francis, Esq	Corfe Castle.
Chickel There William, Esq. (died)	Amersham.
Chichely, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '42) Chomley, Sir Henry, Knight	Cambridgeshire.
Challes Sir Henry, Knight	Northallerton.
Cholmley, Sir Hugh (disab. '43) . ;	Soarborough.
*Cholmley, Thomas, Esq	Carlisle.
*Clark, Samuel, Esq	Exeter.
*Clement, Gregory, Esq. (regicide.	0 16 1
disab. '52).	Camelford.
Clifton, Sir Gervase, Baronet (disab.)	East Retford.
Clinton, Lord Edward (e. s. of E. of	C. 16.1 . C
Lincoln)	St. Michaels, Cornwall.
*Clive, Robert, Esq	Bridgnorth.
Clotworthy, Sir John, Knight (disab.,	/D : 0 ::
one of the 11)	(Bossiney, Cornwall,
	but prefers) Malden,
	Essex.



Coke, Henry, Esq. (disab. '42) Coke, Sir John, Knight . Colepepper, Sir John, Knight (disab. '44; made Lord 21 Oct. '44) Combe, Edward, Esq. (void) Compton, Lord James (e. s. of E. of Northampton; disab.) Coningsby, Fitzwilliam, Esq. (disab. '41, monopolist). *Coningsby, Humphrey, Esq. (disab. **'46**) . *Constable, Sir William, Baronet (regicide; instead of Benson the obber, and in preference to Deerlove, '42) Constantine, William, Esq. (disab.'43) Cook, Sir Robert, Knight (died) . Cook, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44) . *Copley, Lionel, Esq. (disab. with the 11) . *Corbet, John, Esq. (King's judge) *Corbet, Sir John, Baronet Corbet, Miles, Esq. (regicide) . Cornwallis, Sir Frederick, Baronet (disab. '42, for sending officers from Holland) Coryton, William, Esq. (not duly). *Coventry, John, Esq. (2d s. of late Lord Keeper, disab. '42). Cowcher, John, Esq. . Cradock, Matthew, Esq. (died '40) . Cranbourne, Viscount Charles (e. s. of E. of Salisbury) . Crane, Sir Robert, Baronet (dead '44) Craven, John, Esq. (void; made Baron Craven 21 March '43) Creswell, Sergeant Richard Crew, John, Esq. Crispe, Sir Nicholas, Knight (expelled '41, for monopoly in copperas) . .

Dunwich. Derbyshire.

Kent. Warwickshire.

Warwickshire.

Herefordshire.

Herefordshire.

Knareshorough.
Poole.
Tewkesbury.
Leicester.

Bossiney. Bishop's Castle, Salop. Shropshire. Yarmouth.

Eye, Suffolk.
Launceston (alias Dunchevit).

Evesham. Worcester. London.

Hertford. Sudbury.

Tewkesbury. Evesham. Brackley.

Winchelsea.

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*Crompton, Thomas, Esq	Staffordshire.
Cromwell, Oliver, Esq	Cambridge.
*Cromwell, Richard, Esq	Portsmouth,
Crooke, Sir Robert, Knight (disab. '43)	Wendover, Bucks.
*Crowther, William, Esq	Weobly.
*Crynes, Elizeus, Esq	Tavistock.
Curwen, Sir Patricius, Baronet (disab.	Cumberland.
'44)	
Curzon, Sir John, Baronet	Derbyshire.
*Dacres, Sir Thomas, Knight (in-	J
stead of Capel)	Hertfordshire.
*Dacres, Thomas, Esq	Kellington.
Dalston, Sir George, Knight (disab.	J
'44)	Cumberland.
Dalston, Sir William, Baronet (disab.	
·44) · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Carlisle.
Danby, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab.	
'42, Yorkshire petition)	Richmond, Yorkshire.
*Danvers, Sir John, Knight (E. Dan-	
by's brother; regicide)	Malmsbury.
*Darley, Henry, Esq	Malton.
*Darley, Richard, Esq. (King's judge)	Northallerton.
Davies, Matthew, Esq. (disab. '43) .	Christchurch, Hants.
*Davies, William, Esq	Carmarthen.
Deering, Sir Edward, Baronet (disab.	
'42, for printing his speeches)	Kent.
*Deerlove, William, Esq. (void)	Knaresborough.
Denton, Sir Alexander, Knight (dis-	
ab. '44)	Buckingham.
*Devereux, George, Esq	Montgomery.
D'Ewes, Sir Simond, Baronet	Sudbury.
Digby, Lord George (e. s. of E. of	
Bristol; till 10 June '41, writ to	(34)3 - 30 - 1 -
House of Peers)	(Milborn Port, but pre-
TO: 1 T. T. (3: 1 140)	ferred) Dorsetshire.
Digby, John, Esq. (disab. '42)	Milborn Port.
Dives, Sir Lewis, Knight (disab.)	Bridport.
*Dixwell, John, Esq. (regicide)	Dover.
*Dobins, Daniel, Esq	Bewdley.
*Dodderidge, John, Esq	Barnstaple.
*Dormer, John, Esq. (in '46)	Buckingham.
*Dove, John, Esq. (King's judge) .	Salisbury.



*Downes, John, Esq. (regicide)	Arundel.
*Dowse, Edward, Esq. (dead '48) .	Portsmouth.
*Doyley, John, Esq	Oxford.
Drake, Sir William, Knight	Amersham, Bucks.
*Drake, Francis, Esq	Amersham.
*Drake, Sir Francis, Baronet	Beeralston.
Dryden, Sir John, Baronet	Northamptonshire.
Dunch, Edmund, Esq	Wallingford.
Dutton, John, Esq. (disab.)	Gloucestershire.
*Earle, Erasmus, Esq	Norwich.
Earle, Thomas, Esq	Wareham, Dorset.
Earle, Sir Walter, Knight	Weymouth.
Earle, Sir Walter, Knight Eden, Thomas, LL.D. (dead in '44)	Cambridge University.
Edgcombe, Piers, Esq. (disab. '44) .	Camelford.
Edgecumbe, Richard, Esq. (disab.) .	Newport, Cornwall.
*Edwards, Humphrey, Esq. (regicide)	Shropshire.
*Edwards, Richard, Esq. (Nov. '50)	Bedford.
*Edwards, Richard, Esq	Christchurch, Hants.
*Edwards William Esq.	Chester.
*Edwards, William, Esq	Ripon.
*Elford, John, Esq	Tiverton.
***** *******	Boston.
AT 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	Newcastle-on-Tyne.
*Ellison, Robert, Esq	
Erisy, Richard, Esq	St. Mawes, Cornwall.
Eure, Sergeant Samuel (disab. '44).	Leominster.
*Evelyn, George, Esq	Reigate.
Evelyn, Sir John, Knight	Bletchingley, Surrey.
Evelyn, Sir John, Knight	Ludgershall, Wilts.
Eversfield, Sir Thomas, Knight (dis-	TT .*
ab. '44)	Hastings.
Exton, Edward, Esq	Southampton.
*Fagg, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Rye.
Fairfax, Lord Ferdinando (died '47)	Yorkshire.
*Fairfax, Sir Thomas, Knight (from	
7 Feb. '49)	Cirencester.
Falkland, Lord (disab. '42, killed at	
Newbery, Sept. '43)	Newport, Wight.
Fanshaw, Sir Thomas, K.B. (disab.	
'43)	Hertford.
Fanshaw, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab.	,
'42)	Lancaster.
*Fell, Thomas, Esq. (after Fanshaw)	Lancaster.
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	

Fenwick, John, Esq. (disab. '44) *Fenwick, George, Esq. (King's	Morpeth.
judge)	Morpeth.
Fenwick, Sir John, Knight (disab. 44)	(Cockermouth, but pre- ferred) Northumber
*Formick William For	land. Northumberland.
*Fenwick, William, Esq Frnfold, Sir Thomas (dead '45)	
Former Richard Fra (disab).	Steyning.
Ferrers, Richard, Esq. (disab.) Fettiplace, John, Esq. (disab. 44) .	Barnstaple. Berkshire.
*Fielder John Fag	
*Fielder, John, Esq	St. Ives, Cornwall.
Figures, Hon. James (e. s. of "Old	Omfandalina
Subtlety," Say and Seale) *Fiennes, Hon. John (3d s. of	Oxfordshire.
Cubelotal	Manneth
Subtlety)	Morpeth.
Figures, Hon. Nathaniel (2d s. of	D 1
Subtlety)	Banbury.
Finch, Sir John, Knight (dead '44)	Winchelsea.
Fitzwilliam, Hon. William (e. s. of	Details
Lord Visc. Fitzwilliam; till Jan. '44)	Peterborough.
*Fleetwood, Charles, Esq	Marlborough.
*Fleetwood, George, Esq. (regicide;	D
succeeded Goodwin, '45)	Buckinghamshire.
Fleetwood, Sir Miles, Knight (died) Fountaine, Thomas, Esq. (in place of	Hindon, Wilts.
rountaine, I nomas, Esq. (in place of	TT7
Hampden; dead '46)	Wendover.
*Fowel, Edmund, Esq.	Tavistock.
Fowel, Sir Edmund, Knight	Ashburton.
*Foxwist, William, Esq	Carnarvon.
Franklyn, John, Esq. (dead '45).	Marlborough.
Franklyn, Sir John, Knight (dead	
in '48)	Middlesex.
*Frye, John, Esq. (King's judge;	
against the Trinity; disab. '51).	Shaftesbury.
Gallop, George, Esq	Southampton.
Gamul, Francis, Esq. (disab. '44; see	•
Rushworth, iv. 3)	Chester.
*Gardiner, Samuel, Esq	Evesham.
*Garland, Augustin, Esq. (regicide)	Queenborough.
Garton, Henry, Esq. (dead '41)	Arundel.
Gawdy, Framlingham, Esq	Thetford.



*Gawen, Thomas, Esq	Launceston, alias Dun- chevit.
*Gell, Thomas, Esq	Derby.
George, John, Esq. (disab.)	Cirencester.
Gerrard, Francis, Esq	Seaford (Cinque Ports).
Gerrard, Sir Gilbert, Baronet	Middlesex.
Glanville, Sergeant John (instead of	
Humphrey Hooke, monopolist) .	Bristol.
Glanville, William, Esq. (disab. 44)	Camelford.
Glynn, John, Esq. (Recorder; disab.,	•
one of the 11)	Westminster.
Godolphin, Francis, Esq. (disab.) .	St. Ives, Cornwall.
Godolphin, Francis, Esq. (disab. '44)	Helston, Cornwall.
Godolphin, Sidney, Esq. (killed at	
Saltash 42)	Helston.
*Gold, Nicholas, Esq. (died)	Fowey.
Goodwin, Arthur, Esq. (died May '45)	Buckinghamshire.
Goodwin, Ralph, Esq. (disab. '44;	
Secretary to Rupert)	Ludlow.
Goodwin, Robert, Esq	East Grinstead.
Goodwyn, John, Esq.	Haslemere, Surrey.
Gorges, Sir Theobald, Knight (disab.	.
(44)	Cirencester.
Goring, Colonel George (disab. '42,	D4
for surrendering Portsmouth)	Portsmouth.
*Got, Samuel, Esq	Winchelsea.
*Gourdon, Brampton, jun. Esq.	Sudbury.
Gourdon, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Ipswich.
Grantham, Thomas, Esq	Lincoln.
*Gratwick, Roger, Esq. (King's	Hastings.
judge)	Corfe Castle.
*Green, Giles, Esq Greenville, Sir Bevil (disab. '42;	Corre cusite.
killed at Lansdown, July '43)	Cornwall.
Grey, Henry de (commonly called	C077122000
Lord Ruthen; House of Peers, on	
father E. Kent's death, in '43)	Leicestershire.
Grey, Lord Thomas, of Groby (e. s.	
of E. of Stamford; regicide)	Leicester.
Griffith, Sir Edward, Knight (disab.	
'44)	Downton, Wilts.
Griffith, John, sen., Esq. (died '42) .	Beaumaris.

Griffith, John, jun., Esq. (disab. '42). Grimston, Harbottle, Esq. (after-	Carnarvonskire.
wards Sir)	Colchester.
Grimston, Sir Harbottle, Bart. (dead	Harwich.
*Grove, Thomas, Esq	Milborn Port.
Hales, Sir Edward, Baronet (disab.)	Queenborough, Kent.
Hallows, Nathaniel, Esq. (Alderman) Hampden, John, Esq. (slain June '43)	Derby. (Wendover, but prefer-
mampuen, voin, maq. (siam vuic 20)	red) Buckinghamshire.
Harding, Sir Richard, Knight (disab.	10m) = 10mmg/mm/mm/m
'44\	Bedwin, Wilts.
*Harley, Edward, Esq. (till '47; one	
of the 11)	Herefordshire.
Harley, Sir Robert, K.B.	Herefordskire.
*Harley, Robert, Esq	Radnor. Norwick.
Harman, Richard, Esq. (dead '46) . *Harrington, Sir James, Knight	IVOTWICA.
(King's judge)	Rutlandshire.
Harrington, John, Esq. (void)	Somersetshire.
*Harris, John, Esq	Launceston (alias Dun-
Howis John Fox (disch '44)	chevit\. Liskeard.
Harris, John, Esq. (disab. '44) Harrison, Sir John, Knight (disab.	Liskeura.
'43)	Lancaster.
*Harrison, Thomas, Esq. (Major-	
General, regicide)	Wendover.
Harrison, William, Esq. (disab. '43)	Queenborough.
Hartnoll, George, Esq. (disab.)	Tiverton.
*Harvey, Edmund, Esq. (instead of	D 1 * TT7'14.
Smith; King's judge)	Bedwin, Wilts.
*Harvey, Edward, Esq	Higham Ferrers. Hythe.
Haselrig, Sir Arthur, Baronet (King's	ngue.
_judge)	Leicestershire.
Hatcher, Thomas, Esq	Stamford.
Hatton, Sir Christopher (disab. '42,	•
array; made Baron '43)	(Castle Rising, but pre-
	`ferred) Higham Fer- rers.

 $^{^{\}circ}$ Sat afterwards for Castle Carey, as appears; and took some dim meagre Notes, which are still in existence among the Brit. Mus. Mss.





Hatton, Sir Robert (in place of Sir	
Christopher; disab. '42')	Castle Rising.
*Hay, Herbert, Esq	Arundel.
*Hay, William, Esq	Rye.
Hayman, Sir Henry, Baronet	Hythe.
Hayman, Sir Peter, Knight (dead '41)	Dover.
Heblethwaite, Thomas, Esq. (disab.	
'44)	Malton.
*Hele, Sir Thomas (disab.)	Plimpton, Devon.
Herbert, Edward, Esq. (till Jan. '41,	Old Sarum.
made Attorney-General)	
Herbert, Sir Henry, Knight (disab.	Bewdley.
'42, array)	
*Herbert, Henry, Esq	Monmouthshire.
*Herbert, John, Esq	Monmouthshire.
*Herbert, Hon. James (2d s. of E. of	
Pembroke)	Wiltshire.
Herbert, Ld. Phil. (e. s. of E. of Pem-	
broke)	Glamorganshire.
Herbert, Richard, Esq. (disab., '42,	
array)	Montgomery.
Herbert, William, Esq. (disab. killed	0 110
at Edgehill)	Cardiff.
Herbert, William, Esq. (disab. '44).	(Woodstock, but pre-
	ferred) Monmouth-
Haveningham William Fac (Vinela	shire.
Heveningham, William, Esq. (King's	Stuckhuides Houte
judge)	Stockbridge, Hants.
*Hill, Roger, Esq. (King's judge) .	Bridport.
Hippesley, Gabriel, Esq. (void)	Marlow. Cockermouth.
Hippesley, Sir John, Knight *Hobart, Sir John, Baronet (dead '47)	Norfolk.
Hobby, Peregrine, Esq. (in place of	Horjott.
Porlago)	Marlow.
*Hodges Luke Fea (died)	Bristol.
*Hodges, Luke, Esq. (died) Hodges, Thomas, Esq	Cricklade.
*Hodges Thomas Esq	
Holborn, Robert, Esq. (disab. '42)	Ilchester. St. Michaels.
Holborn, Robert, Esq. (disab. '42)	St. Michaels.
Holborn, Robert, Esq. (disab. '42)	
*Holtorn, Robert, Esq. (disab. 42). *Holcrofte, John, Esq	St. Michaels. Wigan.
Holborn, Robert, Esq. (disab. '42)	St. Michaels.

Holles, Denzil, Esq. (till '47; one of	
the 11)	Dorchester.
*Holles, Francis, Esq	Lostwithiel.
Holles, Gervase, Esq. (disab. '42) .	Great Grimsby.
Hooke, Humphrey, Esq. (monopo-	•
list, not duly: Evans's Bristol,	
n. 181)	Bristol.
Hopton, Sir Ralph, K.B. (disab. '42)	Wells.
*Horner, George, Esq. (void: Har-	
*Horner, George, Esq. (void; Har- rington's partner)	Somersetshire.
*Hoskins, Bennet, Esq	Hereford.
Hotham, John, Esq. (beheaded 1 Jan.	- 4
'44)	Scarborough.
Hotham, Sir John, Baronet (beheaded	3
	Beverley.
2 Jan. '44) *Houghton, Sir Richard, Bart. (from	•
	Lancashire.
*Howard, Lord Edward, of Escrick	
(in '49; disab. '51)	Carlisle.
Howard, Sir Robert, K.B. (disab. '42)	Bishop's Castle, Salop.
Howard, Thomas, Esq. (in place of	<i>,</i>
Barker; disab. '44; D'Ewes, 219) .	Wallingford.
Hoyle, Thomas, Esq. (Alderman) .	York.
*Hudson, Edmund, Esq. (disab. '47)	Lynn.
Hungerford, Anthony, Esq. (disab.)	Malmesbury.
Hungerford, Sir Edward, K.B	Chippenham.
*Hungerford, Henry, Esq	Bedwin, Wilts.
Hunt, Robert, Esq. (void, but re-	,
elected; disab. '44)	Ilchester.
*Hunt, Thomas, Esq	Shrewsbury.
*Hussey, Thomas, Esq. (after Jer-	3 .
voise died)	Whitchurch, Hants.
*Hutchinson, John, Esq. (the Colo-	, ,
nel: regicide)	Nottinghamshire.
Hutchinson, Sir Thomas, Knight	
(dead '44)	Nottinghamshire.
Hyde, Edward, Esq. (Clarendon;	J
disab. '42)	Saltash.
Hyde, Sergeant Robert (disab. '42)	Salisbury.
*Ingoldsby, Richard, Esq. (the	- ····· 3 ·
signer)	Wendover.
Ingram, Sir Arthur, Knight (died)	Kellington.
ou terment true (alea)	g.



Ingram, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab.	
42, for Yorkshire petition)	Thirsk.
Irby, Sir Anthony, Knight	Boston.
*Ireton, Henry, Esq	Appleby.
Jacob, Sir John, Knight (expelled	
'41, monopolist of tobacco)	Rye.
Jane, Joseph, Esq. (disab. '44)	Liskeard.
Jenner, Robert, Esq	Cricklade.
Jennings, Sir John, Knight (died '42)	St. Albans.
*Jennings, Richard, Esq. (succeeds	
Sir John)	St. Albans.
Jephson, William, Esq	Stockbridge, Hants.
Jermyn, Henry, Esq. (disab. '43;	
Lord Jermyn)	Bury St. Edmunds.
Jermyn, Sir Thomas, Knight (disab.	•
'44)	Bury St. Edmunds.
Jervoise, Richard, Esq. (dead '45) .	Whitchurch, Hants.
Jervoise, Sir Thomas, Knight	Whitchurch, Hants.
Jesson, William, Esq. (Alderman) .	Coventry.
Jones, Arthur, Lord Ranelagh	
(disab.)	We obly.
*Jones, John, Esq. (regicide)	Merionethshire.
*Jones, Colonel Philip (in Feb. '50) *Jones, William, Esq	Brecknockshire.
*Jones, William, Esq	Beaumaris.
*Kekewich, George, Esq	Liskeard.
*Kemp, John, Esq	Christchurch, Hants.
Killegrew, Henry, Esq. (disab. '44).	West Lone.
King, Richard, Esq. (disab. '43)	Melcomb Regis.
Kirkby, Roger, Esq. (disab. '42).	Lancashire.
*Kirkham, Roger, Esq. (dead '46) .	Old Sarum.
Kirle, Walter, Esq	Leominster.
Kirton, Edward, Esq. (disab. '42)	Milborn Port.
*Knatchbull, Sir Norton, Baronet .	Romney.
Knightley, Richard, Esq	Northampton.
Knowles, Sir Francis, sen., Knight	
(died '48)	Reading.
Knowles, Sir Francis, jun., Knight	
(dead '45)	Reading.
Lane, Thomas, Esq	Wycombe.
*Langton, William, Esq	Preston.
*Lascelles, Francis, Esq. (King's	
judge)	Thirsk.

*Lawrence, Henry, Esq	Westmoreland.
*Lechmere, Nicholas, Esq	Droitwich.
Lee, Richard, Esq	Rochester.
Lee, Sir Richard, Baronet (disab '42)	Shropshire.
*Leech, Nicholas, Esq. (dead '47)	
Lorda Thomas For (disab '49)	Newport, Cornwall.
Leeds, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '42).	Steyning.
Legh, Peter, Esq. (dead '41)	Newton, Lancashire.
Legrose, Sir Charles, Knight	Orford, Suffolk.
*Leigh, Edward, Esq	Stafford.
Leigh, Sir John, Knight	Yarmouth, Wight.
*Leman, William, Esq.	Hertford.
*Lenthall, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Gloucester.
Lenthall, William, Esq. (Speaker) .	Woodstock.
Leveson, Sir Richard, K. B. (disab.	
1460	Newcastle-under-Line.
*Lewis, Ludovicus, Esq.	Brecon.
Lewis, Sir William, Baronet (disab.,	
one of the 11, in '47)	Petersfield.
Lewkenor, Christopher, Esq. (disab.	
(42)	Chichester.
Lisle, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Winchester.
Lisle, Lord Philip (e. s. of Robert E.	,,
of Leicester; King's judge)	(St. Ives, Cornwall, but
or Bereester, ming s Juage,	preferred) Yarmouth,
	Wight.
Tistan Sin John Wnight (died)	Hull.
Lister, Sir John, Knight (died)	
*Lister, Thomas, Esq.(King's judge)	Lincoln.
*Lister, Sir William, Knight	East Retford.
Littleton, Sir Edward, Baronet (disab.	a. a. 111
(44)	Staffordshire.
Littleton, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44)	Great Wenlock.
Litton, Sir William, Knight	Hertfordshire.
*Livesey, Sir Michael, Baronet (regi-	
cide)	Queenborough.
Lloyd, Francis, Esq. (disab. '44)	Carmarthen.
*Lloyd, John, Esq	Carmarthenshire.
*Lloyd, John, Esq	Cardig anshi re.
*Long, Lislebone, Esq	Wells.
Long, Richard, Esq. (monopolist, not	
duly)	Bristol.
*Long, Walter, Esq. (instead of Ash-	
burnham; one of the 11, in '47).	Ludgershall, Wilts.



*Love, Nicholas, Esq. (King's judge)	Winchester.
Low, George, Esq. (disab. 44)	Calne.
Lower, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44) .	East Looe.
Lowry, John, Esq. (King's judge;	
see Harris, Appendix)	Cambridge.
Lucas, Henry, Esq.	Cambridge University.
*Luckyn, Capel, Esq.	Harwich.
*Lucy, Sir Richard, Baronet	Old Sarum.
Lucy, Sir Thomas, Knight (died '40)	Warwick.
*Ludlow, Edmund, Esq.	Hindon, Wilts.
Ludlow, Sir Henry, Knight (dead 44)	Wiltshire.
*Ludlow, LieutGeneral Edmund	
(regicide)	Wiltshire.
Luke, Sir Oliver, Knight	Bedfordshire.
Luke, Sir Samuel, Knight (died).	Bedford.
Lumley, Sir Martin, Baronet	Esse x .
Lutterel, Alexander, Esq. (dead '44)	Minehead.
Lyster, Sir Martin, Knight	Brackley, Northamp-
•	tonshire.
*Mackworth, Thomas, Esq	Ludlow.
Mallory, Sir John, Knight (disab. '43)	Ripon.
Mallory, William, Esq. (disab. '42,	-
Yorkshire petition)	Ripon.
Manaton, Ambrose, Esq. (disab. '44)	Launceston (alias Dun-
	chevit).
Mansfield, Charles Viscount (e.s. of	•
E. of Newcastle, disab. '44)	East Retford.
Marlot, William, Esq. (dead '46)	Shoreham.
Marten, Henry, Esq. (regicide)	Berkshire.
*Martin, Christopher, Esq	Plimpton.
*Martin, Sir Nicholas, Knight	Devonshire.
*Masham, Sir William, Baronet	
(King's judge)	Essex.
*Masham, William, Esq	Shrewsbury.
*Massey, Edward, Esq. (the soldier;	
disab., one of the 11)	Wootton Basset.
Masters, Sir Edward, Knight (dead	_
(48)	Canterbury.
*Matthews, Roger, Esq. (disab. '44)	Clifton, Dartmouth,
	Hardness (united).
Mauleverer, Sir Thomas, Baronet	
(regicide)	Boroughbridge.

rian; disab. '42)	May, Thomas, Esq. (not May, histo-	3417
one of the 11) Lostwithiel. Maynard, John, Esq. (refusing Newport, Cornwall, whereupon Prynne) *Mayne, Simon, Esq. (regicide)	rian; disab. 42).	Midhurst.
Maynard, John, Esq. (refusing Newport, Cornwall, whereupon Prynne) *Mayne, Simon, Esq. (regicide) Aylesbury. Melton, Sir John, Knight Newcastle-under-Line. Meux, Sir John, Knight (disab. '44) Middleton, Sir Thomas, Knight Penbighshire. *Middleton, Thomas, Esq Horsham. Middleton, Thomas, Esq Flint. Middleton, Thomas, Esq Horsham. Mildmay, Sir Henry, Knight (King's judge) Malden. *Millington, Gilbt. Esq. (regicide; D'Ewes, 211, 13 Dec. '41) Nottingham. Monson, William, Viscount Monson in Ireland (King's judge) Montague, Sir Sidney, Knight (disab. '42) Huntingdonshire. *Montague, Edward, Esq. (Colonel, E. of Sandwich; — after his father Sir Sidney) Huntingdonshire. *Montague, Edward, Esq. (succeeds Lord M. of Boughton, in '44; till then)* Huntingdon. *Moody, Miles, Esq. (dead '46) Ripon. *Moor, Thomas, Esq Bishop's Castle. Heytesbury. *Moore, John, Esq. (regicide) Liverpool. More, Sir Poynings, Baronet (dead '49) Morley, Herbert, Esq. (dead '49) Haslemere. Morley, Sir William, Esq. (dead '49)		
*Mayne, Simon, Esq. (regicide) Aylesbury. Melton, Sir John, Knight Newcastle-under-Line. Meux, Sir John, Knight (disab. '44) Middleton, Sir Thomas, Knight Newton, Hants. Middleton, Thomas, Esq Flint. Middleton, Thomas, Esq Middleton, Thomas, Esq Mildmay, Sir Henry, Knight (King's judge) Malden. *Millington, Gilbt. Esq. (regicide; D'Ewes, 211, 13 Dec. '41) Nottingham. Monson, William, Viscount Monson in Ireland (King's judge) Montague, Sir Sidney, Knight (disab. '42) Huntingdonshire. *Montague, Edward, Esq. (Colonel, E. of Sandwich; — after his father Sir Sidney) Huntingdonshire. *Mootague, Edward, Esq. (succeeds Lord M. of Boughton, in '44; till then)* Huntingdon. *Mooor, Thomas, Esq Bishop's Castle. Heytesbury. *Moore, John, Esq. (regicide) Liverpool. More, Sir Poynings, Baronet (dead '49)		Losticituel.
*Mayne, Simon, Esq. (regicide) Aylesbury. Melton, Sir John (died '40) Newcastle-on-Tyne. Merrick, Sir John, Knight Newcastle-under-Line. Meux, Sir John, Knight (disab. '44) Middleton, Sir Thomas, Knight Penbighshire. *Middleton, Thomas, Esq Horsham. Mildmay, Sir Henry, Knight (King's judge) Malden. *Millington, Gilbt. Esq. (regicide; I'Ewes, 211, 13 Dec. '41) Monson, William, Viscount Monson in Ireland (King's judge) Montague, Sir Sidney, Knight (disab. '42) Huntingdonshire. *Montague, Edward, Esq. (Colonel, E. of Sandwich; — after his father Sir Sidney) Huntingdonshire. *Montague, Edward, Esq. (colonel, E. of Sandwich; — after his father Sir Sidney) Huntingdonshire. *Montague, Edward, Esq. (succeeds Lord M. of Boughton, in '44; till then)* Huntingdon. *Moor, Thomas, Esq Bishop's Castle. Moor, Thomas, Esq Heytesbury. *Moor, Thomas, Esq Ludlow. Moore, John, Esq. (regicide) Liverpool. More, Sir Poynings, Baronet (dead '49) Lewes. (Morley, Herbert, Esq. (King's judge) Morley, Sir William, Knight (disab.		-
Melton, Sir John (died '40) Newcastle-on-Tyne. Merrick, Sir John, Knight Newton, Hants. Meux, Sir John, Knight (disab. '44) Middleton, Sir Thomas, Knight Newton, Hants. Middleton, Thomas, Esq Horsham. Middleton, Thomas, Esq Middleton, Thomas, Esq Malden. Middleton, Thomas, Esq Malden. Millington, Gilbt. Esq. (regicide; D'Ewes, 211, 13 Dec. '41) Malden. Monson, William, Viscount Monson in Ireland (King's judge) Montague, Sir Sidney, Knight (disab. '42)	port, Cornwall, whereupon Prynne)	
Merrick, Sir John, Knight		
Meux, Sir John, Knight (disab. '44) Middleton, Sir Thomas, Knight Middleton, Thomas, Esq Mildmay, Sir Henry, Knight (King's judge) Millington, Gilbt. Esq. (regicide; D'Ewes, 211, 13 Dec. '41) Monson, William, Viscount Monson in Ireland (King's judge) Montague, Sir Sidney, Knight (disab. '42) Montague, Edward, Esq. (Colonel, E. of Sandwich; — after his father Sir Sidney) Montague, Edward, Eq. (succeeds Lord M. of Boughton, in '44; till then)* *Moody, Miles, Esq. (dead '46) Moor, Richard, Esq. (dead '44) Moor, Thomas, Esq Moor, John, Esq. (regicide) Moore, Sir Poynings, Baronet (dead '49) Morley, Herbert, Esq. (dead '49) Morley, Herbert, Esq. (King's judge) Morley, Sir William, Knight (disab.		
Middleton, Sir Thomas, Knight *Middleton, Thomas, Esq		
*Middleton, Thomas, Esq		
*Millington, Gilbt. Esq. (regicide; D'Ewes, 211, 13 Dec. '41) Monson, William, Viscount Monson in Ireland (King's judge) Montague, Sir Sidney, Knight (disab. '42) *Montague, Edward, Esq. (Colonel, E. of Sandwich; — after his father Sir Sidney) Montague, Edward, Esq. (succeeds Lord M. of Boughton, in '44; till then)* *Moody, Miles, Esq. (dead '46) Moor, Richard, Esq. (dead '44) Moor, Thomas, Esq. Moor, Thomas, Esq. Moor, John, Esq. (regicide) More, Sir Poynings, Baronet (dead '49) Morgan, William, Esq. (dead '49) Morley, Herbert, Esq. (King's judge) Morley, Sir William, Knight (disab.	Middleton, Sir Thomas, Knight	
*Millington, Gilbt. Esq. (regicide; D'Ewes, 211, 13 Dec. '41) Monson, William, Viscount Monson in Ireland (King's judge) Montague, Sir Sidney, Knight (disab. '42) *Montague, Edward, Esq. (Colonel, E. of Sandwich; — after his father Sir Sidney) Montague, Edward, Esq. (succeeds Lord M. of Boughton, in '44; till then)* *Moody, Miles, Esq. (dead '46) *Moor, Richard, Esq. (dead '44) Bishop's Castle. Moor, Thomas, Esq Moore, John, Esq. (regicide) Moore, Sir Poynings, Baronet (dead '49) Morgan, William, Esq. (dead '49) Morley, Herbert, Esq. (King's judge) Morley, Sir William, Knight (disab.	*Middleton, Thomas, Esq	
*Millington, Gilbt. Esq. (regicide; D'Ewes, 211, 13 Dec. '41) Monson, William, Viscount Monson in Ireland (King's judge) Montague, Sir Sidney, Knight (disab. '42) *Montague, Edward, Esq. (Colonel, E. of Sandwich; — after his father Sir Sidney) Montague, Edward, Esq. (succeeds Lord M. of Boughton, in '44; till then)* *Moody, Miles, Esq. (dead '46) *Moor, Richard, Esq. (dead '44) Bishop's Castle. Moor, Thomas, Esq Moore, John, Esq. (regicide) Moore, Sir Poynings, Baronet (dead '49) Morgan, William, Esq. (dead '49) Morley, Herbert, Esq. (King's judge) Morley, Sir William, Knight (disab.	Middleton, Thomas, Esq	Horsham.
*Millington, Gilbt. Esq. (regicide; D'Ewes, 211, 13 Dec. '41) Monson, William, Viscount Monson in Ireland (King's judge) Montague, Sir Sidney, Knight (disab. '42) *Montague, Edward, Esq. (Colonel, E. of Sandwich; — after his father Sir Sidney) Montague, Edward, Esq. (succeeds Lord M. of Boughton, in '44; till then)* *Moody, Miles, Esq. (dead '46) *Moor, Richard, Esq. (dead '44) Bishop's Castle. Moor, Thomas, Esq Moore, John, Esq. (regicide) Moore, Sir Poynings, Baronet (dead '49) Morgan, William, Esq. (dead '49) Morley, Herbert, Esq. (King's judge) Morley, Sir William, Knight (disab.	Mildmay, Sir Henry, Knight (King's	
Monson, William, Viscount Monson in Ireland (King's judge)	judge)	Malden.
Monson, William, Viscount Monson in Ireland (King's judge)	*Millington, Gilbt. Esq. (regicide;	
Monson, William, Viscount Monson in Ireland (King's judge)	D'Ewes, 211, 13 Dec. 41)	Nottingham.
in Ireland (King's judge) Montague, Sir Sidney, Knight (disab. '42) *Montague, Edward, Esq. (Colonel, E. of Sandwich; — after his father Sir Sidney) Montague, Edward, Esq. (succeeds Lord M. of Boughton, in '44; till then)* *Moody, Miles, Esq. (dead '46) Moor, Richard, Esq. (dead '44) Moor, Thomas, Esq. Moor, Thomas, Esq. Moor, John, Esq. (regicide) More, Sir Poynings, Baronet (dead '49) Morgan, William, Esq. (dead '49) Morley, Herbert, Esq. (King's judge) Morley, Sir William, Knight (disab.	Monson, William, Viscount Monson	•
Montague, Sir Sidney, Knight (disab. '42) *Montague, Edward, Esq. (Colonel, E. of Sandwich; — after his father Sir Sidney) Montague, Edward, Esq. (succeeds Lord M. of Boughton, in '44; till then)* *Moody, Miles, Esq. (dead '46) Moor, Richard, Esq. (dead '44) Moor, Thomas, Esq. *Moor, Thomas, Esq. *Moor, Thomas, Esq. *Moore, John, Esq. (regicide) More, Sir Poynings, Baronet (dead '49) Morley, Herbert, Esq. (dead '49) Morley, Herbert, Esq. (King's judge) Morley, Sir William, Knight (disab.	in Ireland (King's judge)	Reigate.
*Montague, Edward, Esq. (Colonel, E. of Sandwich; — after his father Sir Sidney)		J
*Montague, Edward, Esq. (Colonel, E. of Sandwich; — after his father Sir Sidney)		Huntinadonshire.
E. of Sandwich; — after his father Sir Sidney)	*Montague, Edward, Esq. (Colonel.	3
Sir Sidney)	E. of Sandwich: — after his father	
Montague, Edward, Esq. (succeeds Lord M. of Boughton, in '44; till then)*	Sir Sidney)	Huntingdonshire.
Lord M. of Boughton, in '44; till then)* *Moody, Miles, Esq. (dead '46)		,
then)* *Moody, Miles, Esq. (dead '46)		
*Moody, Miles, Esq. (dead '46)		Huntingdon
Moor, Richard, Esq. (dead '44)	*Moody Miles Esq (dead '46)	
Moor, Thomas, Esq	Moor Richard Esq (dead '44)	
*Moor, Thomas, Esq Ludlow. Moore, John, Esq. (regicide) Liverpool. More, Sir Poynings, Baronet (dead '49)	Moor Thomas Esq. (doud 11)	
'49)	*Moor Thomas Esa	
'49)	Moore John Esa (regicide)	
'49)	Mora Sir Povninge Raronet (doed	The poor.
Morgan, William, Esq. (dead '49) Brecknockshire. Morley, Herbert, Esq. (King's judge) Morley, Sir William, Knight (disab.	'AO'	Uaulamana
Morley, Herbert, Esq. (King's judge) Lewes., Morley, Sir William, Knight (disab.	Margan William Fag (doed '49)	
Morley, Sir William, Knight (disab.	Morlan Horbort For (King's judge)	_
	Morley, Herbert, Esq. (King 8 Judge)	Lewes.
'49 for garriagn though Chicharter		Chiahautan
'42, for garrison there) Chichester.		
Mostyn, John, Esq. (disab. '44) Flintshire.	mostyn, John, Esq. (disab. 44)	F UIUSIUTE.

 $^{^{\}rm q}$ A "George Montague" is also indisputably a member (Commons Journals, iv. 60), 1 know not for what place.



Mountford, Sir Edward, Knight (dead	Nonfalle
'44)	Norfolk.
*Moyle, John, Esq	East Looe.
Moyle, John, jun. Esq. (dead '46). Musgrave, Sir Philip, Baronet (disab.	St. Germains.
'43, array)	Westmoreland.
'44)	Melcomb Regis.
Napier, Sir Robert, Baronet	Peterborough.
Nash, John, Esq	Worcester.
*Needham, Sir Robert, Knight	Haverford West.
*Nelthorp, James, Esq. (King's judge)	Beverley.
*Nolthorn John Fee	Beverley.
*Nelthorp, John, Esq	
*Nevil, -, Esq. (from '49)	East Retford.
*Neville, Henry, Esq. (from '50)	Berkshire.
Newport, Francis, Esq. (disab. '44). Newport, Sir Richard, Knight (disab.;	Shrewsbury.
made Lord '42)	Shropshire.
Nicholas, Edward, Esq. (Secretary	•
after Falkland; disab.)	Newton, Hants.
Nichols, Anthony, Esq. (disab., one	•
of the 11)	Bodmin.
Nichols, Sergeant Robert (King's	
judge)	Devizes.
*Nixon, John, Esq. (Alderman)	Oxford.
Noble, Michael, Esq	Lichfield.
Noel, Hon. Baptist (e. s. of Viscount	,,
Camden; disab.)	Rutlandshire.
North, Sir Dudley, Baronet	Cambridgeshire.
North, Sir Roger, Knight (disab.?).	Eye, Suffolk.
Northcote, Sir John, Baronet	Ashburton.
*Norton, Sir Gregory, Baronet (regi-	M :314
cide)	Midhurst.
*Norton, Richard, Esq. (Colonel)	Hampshire.
Nutt, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Canterbury.
Ogle, Sir William, Knight (disab. '43)	Winchester.
Oldsworth, Michael, Esq	(Plimpton, Devon, but preferred) Salisbury.
Onslow, Arthur, Esq. (void, but re-	
elected)	Bramber.
Onslow, Sir Richard, Knight	Surrey.
Osborne, Sir Edward, Knight (void)	Berwick.

*O . A 41 TO	D 1 1 11
*Owen, Arthur, Esq	Pembrokeshire.
Owen, Sir Hugh, Knight	Pembroke.
Owfield, SirSamuel, Knight (dead '44)	Gatton.
*Owfield, William, Esq	Gatton.
Owner, Edward, Esq	Yarmouth.
*Oxenden, Henry, Esq	Winchelsea.
*Packer, Robert, Esq	Wallingford.
Packington, Sir John, Baronet (disab.	•
'42; array)	Aylesbury.
*Palgrave, Sir John, Baronet	Norfolk.
Palmer, Geoffrey, Esq. (disab. '42) .	Stamford.
*Palmer, John, M. D.	Bridgwater.
*Palmer, Sir Roger, Knight (suc-	g
ceeded Legh in '42; disab. '44) .	Newton, Lancashire.
Palmes, Sir Guy, Knight (disab. '43)	Rutlandshire.
Parker, Sir Philip, Knight	Suffolk.
Parker, Sir Thomas, Knight	Seaford (Cinque Ports).
Parkhurst, Sir Robert, Knight (died)	Guildford.
Parry, George, LL. D. (disab. '44) .	St. Mawes.
Parteriche, Sir Edward, Baronet	Sandwich.
Paulet, Sir John, Knight (disab. '42)	Somersetshire.
Paged George Fag (died)	Barnstaple.
Peard, George, Esq. (died)	Chichester.
*Peck, Henry, Esq	Chichester.
Pelham, Henry, Esq. (speaker in	Comultan
tumults of 11)	Grantham.
*Pelham, John, Esq.	Hastings.
*Pelham, Peregrine, Esq. (regicide;	77 .11
Heath, p. 364)	Hull.
Pelham, Sir Thomas, Baronet	Sussex.
*Pembroke, Philip, Earl of (in Pile's	
place, '49, House of Lords being	
abolished; died '50)	Berkshire.
Pennington, Isaac, Esq. (King's	_
judge)	London.
judge)	
'42)	Richmond, Yorkshire.
*Penrose, John, Esq	Helston.
Percival, John, Esq. (dead in '44)	Lynn.
*Percival, SirPhilip, Knight (dead '47)	Newport, Cor nwall.
Perfoy, William, Esq. (regicide)	Warwick.
Peyton, Sir Thomas, Baronet (disab.	
^{'44})	Sandwich.



Philips, Edward, Esq. (instead of	
Philips, Edward, Esq. (instead of Berkeley, '40; disab. '44)	Ilchester.
Pickering, Sir Gilbert, Baronet (Poet	
Dryden's; King's judge)	Northamptonshire.
Pickering, Robert, Esq. (void '46) .	East Grinstead.
Piercy, Henry, Esq. (Earl of North-	Dast Grindleau.
umborland's brother arrolled	
umberland's brother; expelled,	(D. d 1 back a section
Army-plot, '41; made Baron '43).	(Portsmouth, but prefer-
DI 1 D 1 D 101 AT 1	red) Northumberland.
Pierpoint, Francis, Esq. (3d s. of Earl	
of Kingston)	Nottingham.
Pierpoint, William, Esq. (2ds. of do.)	Great Wenlock, Salop.
*Pigot, Gervase, Esq	Nottinghamshire.
*Pile, Sir Francis, Baronet (died '49)	Berkshire.
Playters, Sir William, Baronet	Orford, Suffolk.
Pleydall, William, Esq. (disab. '44).	Wootton Basset.
Pole, Sir William, Knight (disab. 43)	Honiton.
Polewheel, John, Esq. (disab. '44) .	Tregony.
Pollard, Sir Hugh, Knight (expelled	
'41, for plot of bringing up army) .	Beeralston.
Poole, Edward, Esq	Wootton Basset.
Poole, Sir Nevil, Knight	Malmesbury.
	Merionethshire.
*Pope, Roger, Esq. (dead '47)	Bath.
Popham, Alexander, Esq	
*Popham, Edward, Esq. (from '45) .	Minehead. Minehead.
Popham, Sir Francis (dead '44)	
Porter, Endymion, Esq. (disab. '43).	Droitwich.
Portman, Sir William, Baronet (disab.	m .
<u>, '44)</u>	Taunton.
Potter, Hugh, Esq. (disab.)	Plimpton.
Potts, Sir John, Baronet (died)	Norfolk.
*Povey, Thomas, Esq	Liskeard.
Price, Charles, Esq. (disab.)	Radnorshire.
Price, Herbert, Esq. (disab.)	Brecon.
Price, Sir John, Baronet (disab. '45).	Montgomeryshire.
*Price, Sir Richard, Baronet	Cardiganshire.
Price, William, Esq. (disab. '44)	Merionethshire.
Prideaux, Edmund, Esq	$Lyme\ Regis.$
*Priestley, William, Esq	St. Mawes.
Prynne, William, Esq	Newport,* Cornwall.
	- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
"Newport, soon after the Parliament s he Parliamentary History gives it.	at; " not ".oristol in 45," as
Control Comments IV	10

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Carlyle, Cromwell. IV.

Pury, Alderman Thomas (took notes,	
see Burton's Diary, where the name	
is, by mistake, printed "Davy") .	Gloucester.
*Pury, Thomas, jun. Esq. (of Glou-	
cester)	Monmouth.
*Pye, Sir Robert, Knight	Woodstock.
*Pym, Charles, Esq	Beeralston.
Dam John Fox (died Dec '42)	Tavistock.
Pym, John, Esq. (died Dec. '43)	
Pyne, John, Esq	Poole.
*Radcliff, John, Esq.	Chester.
Rainsborough, Captain (died '41)	Aldborou gh, Suffolk.
*Rainsborough, Colonel Thomas	
(killed at Doncaster, 29 Oct. '48)	Droitwich.
Rainsford, Sir Henry, Knight (dead	
'41)	Andover.
*Rainsford, Henry, Esq.	St. Ives, Cornwall.
*Raleigh, Carew, Esq	Kellington, Cornwall
*Raleigh, Carew, Esq	,
fight '44')	Northallerton.
Rashleigh, Jonathan, Esq. (disab. '44)	Fowey.
Ravenscroft, Paul, Esq	Horsham.
Reynolds, Robert, Esq (King's judge)	Hindon, Wilts.
*Rich, Charles, Esq	Sandwich.
*Rich, Nathaniel, Esq. (from Feb. '49)	Cirencester.
Rich, Robert Lord (e. s. of Robert E.	e tremediator.
of Warwick; called to Peers, Jan.	
97 'A1 · Rushmonth in A)	Essex.
27, '41; Rushworth, iv. 4)	
Rigby, Alexander, Esq. (King's judge)	Wigan.
Rivers, —, Esq. (dead '41)	Lewes.
*Robinson, Luke, Esq.	Scarborough.
*Rochester, Charles Lord Viscount	44. 34. 3
(e. s. of E. of Somerset)	St. Michaels.
Rodney, Sir Edward (disab. '42)	Wells.
Roe, Sir Thomas, Knight (not duly)	New Windsor.
Roe, Sir Thomas, Knight (dead in '44)	Oxford University.
Rogers, Hugh, Esq	Calne.
Rogers, Richard, Esq. (disab. '42) .	Dorsetshire.
Rolle, John, Esa.	Truro.
*Rolle, Sir Samuel, Knight (died)	Devonshire.
Rose, Richard, Esq	Lyme Regis.
*Rossiter, Edward, Esq.	Great Grimsby.
Danna Francis E.s.	Truro.
Rouse, Francis, Esq	a v.

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LIST OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

Rudyard, Sir Benjamin, Knight	Wilton.
*Russel, Francis, Esq	Cambridgeshire.
Russel, Lord William, (e. s. of E. of	
Bedford; till '41)	Tavistock.
*Russel, John, Esq. (disab. '44)	Tavistock.
St. Hill, Peter, Esq. (disab. '44)	Tiverton.
St. John, Sir Beauchamp, Knight .	Bedford.
St. John, Oliver, Esq. (SolGen. in	
'40)	Toiness.
Salisbury, John, jun. Esq. (disab. '44)	Flint.
*Salisbury, William, Earl of (in'49).	Lynn.
Salway, Humphrey, Esq. (King's	_
judge)	Worcestershire.
*Salway, Richard, Esq. (King's judge)	Appleby.
Sanders, —, Esq. (not duly)	Gatton.
Sandys, Samuel, Esq. (disab. '42) .	Droitwich.
Sandys, Samuel, Esq. (disab. '42) . Sandys, Thomas, Esq	Gatton.
Sandys, William, Esq. (expelled '41,	
as monopolist)	Evesham.
*Saville, Sir William, Baronet (disab.	
'42, Yorkshire petition)	Old Sarum.
*Say, William, Esq. (regicide)	Camelford.
*Sayer, John, Esq	Colchester.
*Scawen, Robert, Esq	Berwick.
*Scot, Thomas, Esq. (dead '47)	Aldborough, Yorkshire.
*Scott, Thomas, Esq. (regicidé)	Aylesbury.
*Scudamore, James, Esq. (disab.) .	Hereford.
Seabourne, Richard, Esq. (disab. '46)	Hereford.
Searle, George, Esq	Taunton.
Selden, John, Esq	Oxford University.
Seymour, Edward, Esq. (disab. '44).	Devonshire.
Seymour, Sir Francis, Knight (made	
Lord, '41)	Marlborough.
*Seymour, Sir John, Knight	Gloucestershire.
*Shapcot, Robert, Esq	Tiverton.
*Shelley, Henry, Esq. (after Rivers) Shuckburgh, Richard, Esq. (disab.;	Lewes.
Shuckburgh, Richard, Esq. (disab.;	
instead of Combe)	Warwickshire.
Shuttleworth, Richard, Esq	Clithero.
Shuttleworth, Richard, Esq	Preston.
Siddenham, Sir Ralph (in place of	
Clotworthy; disab. '42)	Bossiney.
• • •	10.4

*Sidney, Algernon, Esq. (after Her-	
bert; King's judge)	Cardiff.
bert; King's judge) *Skeffington, Sir Richard, Knight	o. # 11:
(ueau 41)	Staffordshire.
*Skinner, Augustin, Esq. (King's	7
judge)	Kent.
*Skippon, Philip, Esq. (the soldier;	Danmatamla
King's judge)	Barnstaple. Poole.
Slanning, Sir Nicholas, Knight (disab.	1001.
'42; killed at Bristol)	(Plimpton, Devon, but
, amou ao 211001)	preferred) Penryn.
Slingsby, Sir Henry, Baronet (disab.	protocroup = o.m.g.m
'42, Yorkshire petition; beheaded	
'58)	Knaresborough.
*Smith, John, Esq. (succeeds Lord	· ·
Andover; soon disab.)	Oxford.
*Smith, Philip, Esq	Marlborough.
Smith, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44) .	Chester.
*Smith, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '42) .	Bridgwater.
Smith, Sir Walter, Knight (disab. '44)	Bedwin, Wilts.
*Smith, William, Esq. (disab.)	Winchelsea.
*Smyth, Henry, Esq. (regicide)	Leicestershire.
*Snelling, George, Esq	Southwark.
Sneyd, Ralph, jun. Esq. (disab. '43,	~ M 1
taken prisoner at Stafford)	Stafford.
Snow, Simon, Esq.	Exeter.
Soame, Sir Thomas, Knight	London.
*Spelman, John, Esq.	Castle Rising, Norfolk.
*Spring, Sir William, Baronet (after	n . g. Th
Jermyn)	Bury St. Edmunds.
*Springet, Herbert, Esq Spurstow, William, Esq., merchant	Shoreham.
Spurstow, William, Esq., merchant	Chaha
(dead '46)	Shrewsbury.
Stamford, Sir Thomas (not duly) .	Cockermouth. Preston.
Standish, Thomas, Esq. (dead '44)	Freston.
Stanhope, Ferdinando, Esq. (4th s. of	Tamworth.
E. of Chesterfield; disab. 43) Stanboro William Fag (disab)	
Stanhope, William, Esq. (disab.) *Stapleton, Bryan, Esq	Nottingham. Aldborough, Yorkshire .
Stapleton, Sir Philip, Knight (disab.,	madorough, Lorkstare.
one of the 11. died 47)	Boroughbridge.
one of the 11; alea 41)	Doi ougiwi uiye.



*Stapleton, Henry, Esq	
Stanly, Anthony, Esq. (regicide)	
*Starre, Colonel —— (dead '47) Stawell, Sir John, K. B. (disab. '42) . Stephens, Edward, Esq. (two elec-	
Stawell, Sir John, K. B. (disab. '42) .	
Stephens, Edward, Esq. (two elec-	
tions; not duly, then lost, at last	
duly; died)	
*Stephens, John, Esq	
Stephens, Nathaniel, Esq.	
Stephens, Nathaniel, Esq	
Stepney, Sir John, Baronet (disab.)	
*Stockdale, Thomas, Esq	
Stonehouse, Sir George, Baronet	
(disab. '44)	
*Stoughton, Nicholas, Esq. (dead'45)	
Strangways, Giles, Esq. (disab. '44)	
Strangways, Sir John, Knight (disab.	
Sept. '42)	
Strickland, Sir Robert, Knight (disab.	
'43)	
*Strickland, Walter, Esq. (from '45)	•
Strickland, Sir William, Knight	•
*Strode Sir Richard Knight	
*Strode, Sir Richard, Knight *Strode, William, Esq	•
Strode, William, Esq. (died '45)	7
buode, winiam, Esq. (dica 20)	,
Sutton, Robert, Esq. (disab.; made	
Baron Lexington, 21 Nov. '45)	
*Swymfon John Fog	
*Sydenham, William, jun. Esq.	•
Tate, Zouch, Esq. (Self-denying Or-	
dinance)	
Taylor, William, Esq. (instead of a	•
monopolist; disab. '45, Siege of	
Bristol	
Taylor, William, Esq. (in place of	-
Waller; expelled May '41, on Straf-	
ford's account)	į
*Temple, James, Esq. (regicide)	-
*Temple, Sir John, Knight	7
*Temple, Peter, Esq. (regicide)	
rembre, reser, mad. (refrestes)	4

Boroughbridge. Sussex. Shaftesbury. Somersetshire.

Tewkesbury.
Tewkesbury.
Gloucestershire.
Newport, Wight.
Haverford West.
Knaresborough.

Abingdon. Guildford. Bridport.

Weymouth.

Aldborough, Yorkshire.
Minehead.
Heydon, Yorkshire.
Plimpton.
Ilchester.
(Tamworth, but prefers)
Beeralston.

Nottinghamshire. Stafford. Melcomb Regis.

Northampton.

Bristol.

New Windsor. Bramber. Chichester. Leicester.

Temple, Sir Peter, Baronet (King's	
judge)	Buckingham.
*Temple, Thomas, Esq	Huntingdon.
*Terrick, Samuel, Esq	Newcastle-under-Line.
Theloall, Simon, jun. Esq	Denbigh.
*Thistlethwaite, Alexander, Esq	Downton, Wilts.
Thomas, Edward, Esq	Okehampton, Devon-
	shire.
*Thomas, Isaiah, Esq	Bishop's Castle.
*Thomas, John, Esq	Helston.
Thomas, William, Esq. (disab. '44).	Carnarvon.
*Thompson, George, Esq	Southwark.
*Thornhaugh, Francis, Esq. (dead	
'48)	East Retford.
*Thorpe, Sergeant Francis (King's	
judge)	Richmond, Yorkshire.
*Thynn, Thomas, Esq	Salt a sh.
Thynne, Sir James, Knight (disab.)	Wiltshire.
Toll, Thomas, Esq	Lynn.
*Tolson, Richard, Esq	Cumberland.
Tomkins, Thomas, Esq. (disab. '44)	Weobly.
*Trefusis, Nicholas, Esq	Cornwall.
Trenchard, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Wareham, Dor setshire.
*Trenchard, Sir Thomas, Knight .	Dorsetshire.
Trevanion, John, Esq. (disab.; killed	
at Bristol)	Lostwithiel.
Trevor, Sir John, Knight	Grampound.
*Trevor, John, Esq	Flintshire.
*Trevor, Sir Thomas, Knight	Tregony.
Trevor, Thomas, Esq. (till '44, then	
_ void)	Monmouth.
Tufton, Sir Humphrey, Knight	Maidstone.
Tulsey, Henry, Esq. (dead '44)	Christchurch, Hants.
Turner, Samuel, M.D. (disab. '44) .	Shaftesbury.
*Twisden, Thomas, Esq	Maidstone.
Upton, Arthur, Esq. (died '41)	Clifton, Dartmouth, Hardness (united).
*Upton, John, Esq	Fowey.
Uvedale, Sir William, Knight (disab.)	Petersfield.
*Vachel, Tanfield, Esq	Reading.
Valentine, Benjamin, Esq	St. Germains.
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Vane, George, Esq. (disab.) . . . Kellington. .

vane, George, Lsq. (disab.)	reungion.
Vane, Sir Henry, Knight	Wilton.
Vane, Sir Henry, jun. Knight	Hull.
Vassal, Samuel, Esq., merchant	London.
*Vaughan, Charles, Esq	Honiton.
*Vaughan, Edward, Esq	Montgomeryshire.
Vaughan, Sir Henry, Knight (disab.)	Carmarthenshire.
Vaughan, John, Esq. (disab. '45)	Cardigan.
Venables, Peter, Esq. (disab. '44)	Cheshire.
*Venn, John, Esq. (regicide)	London.
Verney, Sir Edmund, Knight Marshall	
(killed at Edgehill, Oct. '42, where	
he bore the King's standard)	Wycombe.
Verney, Sir Ralph, Knight (disab. '45)	Aylesbury.
Vernon, Henry, Esq. (not duly)	Andover.
Vivian, Sir Richard, Knight (disab.	
'44)	Tregony.
*Walker, Clement, Esq	Wells.
Walker, Robert, Esq. (disab. '43)	Exeter.
Waller, Edmund, Esq. (in place of	
Lord Lisle; disab. '43)	St. Ives, Cornwall.
*Waller, Thomas, Esq	Bodmin.
*Waller, Thomas, Esq. (not duly)	New Windsor.
Waller, Sir William, Knight (instead	
of Vernon; one of the 11)	Andover.
Wallop, Sir Henry, Knight (dead '44)	Hampslüre.
*Wallop, Robert, Esq. (King's judge)	Andover.
Walsingham, Sir Thomas, Knight .	Rochester.
Walton, Valentine, Esq. (regicide) .	Huntingdonshire.
*Warmouth, —, Esq. (void)	Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Warton, Michael, Esq. (disab. '44) .	Beverley.
Warwick, Philip, Esq. (disab. '44)	(Romney, but prefer-
	ted) Radnor.
Wastell, John, Esq	Malton.
Watkins William, Esq. (void in '44)	Monmouth.
*Wayte, Thomas, Esq. (regicide)	Rutlandshire.
*Weaver, John, Esq. (King's judge)	Stamford.
Weaver, Richard, Esq. (dead May '42)	Hereford.'
*Weaver, Edmund, Esq. (after 46)	Hereford.
Webb, Thomas, Esq. (expelled '42,	
monopolist)	Romney.
- ·	-

Wenman, Thomas, Lord Viscount,	
in Ireland	Oxfordshire.
Wentworth, Sir George of Wooley,	,
Knight (disab. '42, Yorkshire peti-	
tion)	Pontefract.
Wentworth, Sir George, Knight	2 0.0.0/. 20.0
(Strafford's brother, disab. '44)	Pontefract.
*Wentworth, Sir Peter, K.B. (King's	1 onte, race.
judge)	Tamworth.
Wentworth, Lord Thomas (Earl of	14/14/07/01.
Cleveland's eldest son; to House of	
Peers, 25 Nov. '40, by writ)	Bedfordshire.
*West, Edmund, Esq	(Wendover, but prefer-
West, Balland, Esq	red) Buckingham-
	shire.
*Weston, Benjamin, Esq. (King's	anure.
judge)	Dover.
Weston, Nicholas, Esq. (disab. 42,	Dover.
for Goring's business)	Portsmouth.
Weston, Richard, Esq. (disab.)	Stafford.
*Westrow, Thomas, Esq	Hythe (Cinque Ports).
Whaddon, John, Esq	Plymouth.
	Westbury, Wilts.
Wheeler, William, Esq	Oxford.
Whistler, John, Esq. (disab.) Whitacre, Lawrence, Esq. (Borough	Ozjora.
being restored to its rights)	Okehampton, Devon.
Whiteker William Fee (deed '46)	Shaftesbury.
Whitaker, William, Esq. (dead '46)	Southwark.
White, John, Esq. (died '45) White, John, Esq. (disab. '44) *White, William, Esq. (Secretary to	Rye.
*White William For (Socretow to	nye.
Sir T. Fairfax)	Pontefract.
Whitehead, Richard, Esq	Hampshire.
Whitlocke, Bulstrode, Esq. (in place	mpsiere.
of Hippesley)	Marlow.
Whitmore, Sir Thomas, Knight	muitow.
(disab. '44)	Bridgnorth.
Widdwington Sir Thomas Knight	magnorus.
Widdrington, Sir Thomas, Knight	Berwick.
(Rushworth, ii. 179) Widdrington, Sir William, Baronet (disab. 42; killed at Worcester)	Derwick.
(digab '49, billed at Warranter)	Northumberland.
*Willes Hoper Fac	
*Willes, Henry, Esq	Saltash.



Williams, Sir Charles (dead '41) . Monmouthshire. Wilmot, Henry, Esq. (expelled, Army-plot '41; made Baron '43) Tamworth. *Wilson, Rowland, Esq. (Alderman of London; King's judge) Calne. Windebank, Sir Francis, Knight (Secretary; fled '41) Corfe Castle. Wingate, Edward, Esq. St. Albans. *Winwood, Richard, Esq. New Windsor. Wise, -, Esq. (died before '41) Devonshire. Wogan, John, sen. Esq. (dead '44) Pembrokeshire. *Wogan, Thomas, Esq. (regicide) Cardigan. Woodhouse, Sir Thomas, Baronet Thetford. Worsley, Sir Henry, Baronet . Newport, Wight. Wray, Sir Christopher, Knight (dead Great Grimsby. **'4**5) Wray, Sir John, Baronet Lincolnshire. *Wray, William, Esq. Great Grimsby. Wroth, Sir Peter, Knight (dead '44) Bridgwater.*Wroth, Sir Thomas, Knight (King's Bridgwater. judge) *Wylde, Edmund, Esq. (King's judge) Droitwich. Wylde, Sergeant John Worcestershire. Wyndham, Edmund, Esq. (expelled '41, monopolist) Bridgwater. *Wynn, Sir Richard, Knight . Carnarvonshire. Wynn, Sir Richard, Baronet (dead **'49**) Liverpdol. Yelverton, Sir Christopher, Knight . Bossiney. Young, Sir John, Knight Plymouth. Young, Walter, Esq. Honiton.

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LISTS OF THE EASTERN-ASSOCIATION COMMITTEES.

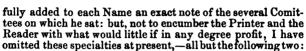
The Committee Lists of the Eastern Association are taken from Husband's second Collection, * where, in three successive general Acts, dated 1st April 1643, 7th May (and 1st June) 1643, and 3d August 1643, — followed by a few partial amendments and enlargements for specific places, at different dates, — the Committees of all Parliamentary or Anti-Royalist Counties and principal Boroughs, as settled at that stage of the contest, are named. Earlier and earliest Committees are in Husband's First Collection ** and elsewhere; but these, as transient and now abrogated combinations, do not concern us here.

The Committee of April is named for managing the Sequestration of Delinquents' Estates; those of May and August for raising money by other methods, chiefly by Weekly Assessments; and each has its specific Act and instructions: but as the essential business of all these Committees was to carry on the War by furnishing the sinews of war, and as, with trifling variations, the same persons sat on all, it may well be imagined their functions, even to the members themselves, became gradually much blended; and for us they have become inextricably blended, or not worth the huge labour of attempting to extricate and distinguish. Committees, all, essentially of Finance and general Administration; appointed, we may say, to care generally that the Parliamentary Cause suffer no damage by lack of money or otherwise, — against whom, and their despotic procedure, rise loud complaints and denunciations in the old Pamphlets of a royalist or neutral stamp. An assiduous hand, searching on my behalf through every corner of these Lists and Supplementary Lists, as they lie in bewildering disorder, scattered over the vast surface of Husband, - has pain-

Collection of all the Public Orders, Ordinances &c. of Parliament, from March 1642-3 to December 1646: Printed for Edward Husband (London folio 1646)

don, folio, 1646).

** An exact Collection of all Remonstrances, &c. &c. (London, small 4to, 1643): Printed for Edward Husbands (sic.) p. 891 &c.



Under date 10th August 1643 (with Supplementary or subsequent Acts, in some cases) is a particular settling and assorting of the Association Committees as a distinct body; with instructions and directions; directing, for one thing, how they are to choose the Central Committee which sits at Cambridge; - indicating to us who they now are, and most probably who they were hitherto, that showed themselves most and took the chief management: these, as in some sort peculiar, I have found good to note: all that sit on this Committee are distinguished by an asterisk (*); those that sit on this only, or are new men at the passing of the Act, have their names printed in italics. And observe here: Among those of the asterisk the "Deputy Lieutenants," appointed long before and with superior powers, of whom there is sometimes mention in Oliver's Letters and elsewhere, will be found; but not in a distinguishable state: their names as a body, though "read publicly" in 1642, and even ordered to be printed, * do not occur in Husband. This is the first specialty of indication attempted here. Then secondly, under date 15th Feb. 1644-5, on Fairfax's appointment to be Commander-in chief, there occurs a revision or new-model of Committees, in the Association as everywhere else, for raising assessments to support Fairfax: such men as were added for serving on this Committee, are designated by an (f_{\cdot}) . Farther distinctions, as threatening rather to confuse than illuminate the reader, are not given at present.

Our only change from those Lists of Husband's is the

Our only change from those Lists of Husband's is the arrangement, an important and indispensable one, in alphabetical order; and the correction of what mistakes were palpable,—the number and nature of which still testify how hurriedly that old Parliamentary operation, in all stages of it, was done. The spelling especially, with its incessant variations, has been an intricate business, not to be settled sometimes except partly by guess. Our "Esq.," "Gent.," and occasional omission of all Title, are correctly what we find in

the old Book.

^{*} Names "read before the House," 17th March 1641-2 (Commons Journals, ii. 483); ordered "to be printed," 6th Oct. following (ib. 797): not given in either case.

Under the given circumstances, Husband's Lists may be taken as substantially correct: but of course those Committees, even for specified objects, were liable, at all times, both to be supplemented and to be sifted down; which renders their exact composition a fluctuating object, dependent on date in some measure.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Cambridgeshire Committees (Husband, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 15th September), p. 16, p. 322; — 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 21 June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 169, p. 225, p. 6 Appendix, p. 329; Association specially, 10th August (and 4th September), p. 284, p. 308. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February, 1644-5, p. 603.

Those that sat exclusively on this Fairfax Committee have an (f.) appended; those of 10th August (among whom are the Deputy-Lieutenants) are marked with an asterisk (*), and such of them as were then new are in italics: (e.) means, For Ely

only; (t.), For Town and University only.

Aldmond, Edward. (t. f.) *Becket, Thomas, Esq. *Bendish, Thomas, Esq. Blackley, James, (t. f.) *Browne, -Browning, Edward, Esq. Butler, Henry, Esq. Butler, Nevill, Esq. *Castle, Robert, Esq. *Castle, Thomas, Esq. Chennery,* John, Esq. (f.) Clapthorn, George, Esq. Clark, Edward, Esq. *Clark, Robert, Esq. *Clench, Edward, Esq. Clopton, Walter, Esq. **Cooke, Thomas, Esq. *Cromwell, Oliver, Esq. *Cutts, Sir John, Kt. Bpelt also Chymery.

Dalton, Michael, jun. Esq. Dalton, Michael, sen. Esq. (f.) Desborow, Isaac. Diamond, Tristram, Gent. (e.f.) *Ducket, Thomas, Esq. Eden, Dr. (f.Fiennes, Ald. (t. f.) Fisher, William, Esq. *Foxton, Richard, Esq. French, Thomas. (t.) *Hobart, John, Esq. Hynde, Robert. Janes, William, Esq. (f.) Leeds, Edward, Esq. Lowry, John. (t.) Male, Edmund. *March, Humberston, Esq. *Marsh, William, Esq. *Martin, Sir Thomas, Kt. *Mayor for the time being. (1.)



EASTERN-ASSOCIATION COMMITTEES.

North, Sir Dudley, Kt. Parker, Thomas, Esq. Partridge, Sir Edward, Kt. *Spalding, Samuel. (t.) (e. f.) Pepys, Samuel, Esq. Pepys, Talbot, Recorder. (t.) *Pope, Dudley, Esq. Raven, John, Esq. (f.) Reynolds, James, Esq. (f.) Reynolds, Sir James. (f.) Robson, Robert. (t.) *Russel, Francis, Esq. Russel, Killiphet, Esq. (f.) *Sandys,* Sir Miles, Kt.

· Spelt also Sands, Sandes, Sandis,

Sherwood, John. (t.) Smith, Henry. Staughton, Robert. Story, Philip, Esq. Stone, Richard, M.D. (e. f.) Symonds, Thomas, Esq. *Thompson, James, Esq. Towers, John, Esq. Walker, Thomas. *Welbore, John, Esq. Welbore, William. (i.) Wendy, Francis, Esq. Wright, John.

ESSEX.

Essex Committees (Husband, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 1st June), p. 17, p. 194; — 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 1st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 170, p. 194, p. 7 Appendix, p. 328; — Association specially, 10th August, p. 284. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5, p. 603.

The (f.) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of 10th August, the then new ones of whom are in

italics; (c.) means, For Colchester.

Adams, Thomas, of Thaxted, Barrington, Sir Thomas, Bart.
Gent.
Berkhead, Edward, Esq. Allen, Isaac, of Haseley, Esq. Bourn, Robert, Esq. *Alliston,* John, Gent. *Atwood, John, Esq. *Atwood, William, Esq. Aylet, Jeremy, Esq. *Calthorp, Robert, Esq. Aylett, Thomas, of Kelldon, Cheeke, Sir Thomas, Kt. Gent. Bacon, Nathaniel, Esq. *Barnardiston, Arthur, Esq. Barrington, Henry, Gent. (c.) Barrington, Robert, Esq. (f.) Barrington, Sir John, Kt.

Brook, John, Esq. Burket, John, Esq. Buxton, Robert, Gent. (c.) Clapton, Thomas, Esq. Cletheroe, Captain. Collard, William, Esq. Cook, William, Ald. (c.) Cooke, Thomas, Esq. Cooke, Thomas, Gent. * Speltalso Aliston, Eliston &c. &c. Crane, Robert, Esq.

Eden, John, Esq. *Eldred, John, Esq. *Everard, Sir Richard, Bart. Farr, Henry, Esq. Fenning, John, Gent. Friborne, Samuel, Esq. Gambeil,* James, Esq. (f.) Goldingham, William, Esq. Grimston, Harbottle, Esq. (also Raymond, Oliver, Esq. c. Recorder.) Grimston, Sir Harbottle, Bart. *Rowe, Sir William, Kt. *Harlackenden, Richard, Esq. *Sayer, John, Esq. Harlackenden, William, Gent. Shaw, John, jun. Gent. (f.) Harrison, Ralph, Ald. (c.) Harvey, John, Esq. (f.) Hawkin, Richard, of Harwich, *Sorrell, ** John, Esq. Gent. Herne, James, Esq. Hicks, Sir William, Bart. *IIolcroft, Sir Henry, Kt. *Honywood, Sir Thomas, Kt. Jocelyn, John, Esq. (also c. Deputy Recorder.)
Johnson, Thomas. (c.) Kemp, Sir Robert, Kt. (f.) Langley, John, of Colchester, Esq. (also c.) Langton, John, Gent. (c.) Lumley, Sir Martin, Bart. Luther, Anthony, Esq. Maidstone, Robert, Gent. Martin, Sir William, Kt. Masham, Sir William, Bart. Masham, William, Esq. Matthews, Joachim, Esq. (f.) Mayor for the time being. (c.)Mead, John, Esq. *Middleton, Timothy, Esq. Mildmay, Cary, Esq.

· Spelt also Cambell.

Mildmay, Henry, of Graves, Esq. Mildmay, Sir Henry, of Wansted, Bart. Nicholson, Francis, Gent. *Palmer, Edward, Esq.Pike, John, Esq. Plume, * Samuel, Gent. *Reade, Dr. of Birchanger. Sheffield, Samson, Esq. (f.) Smith, Robert, Esq. Stonehard, Francis, Esq. Talcot, Robert, of Colchester, Gent. Talcot, Thomas, Gent. (f.) Thomas, Captain. Thorogood, George, Esq. Thorogood, John, of Walden, Gent. *Tindall, Deane, Esq. Topsfield, --, Esq. (f.)Turner, William, of Wimbish, Gent. *Umphrevill, *** William, Esq. Vesey, Robert, Gent. Wade, Thomas, Ald. (c. f.) Walton, George, Esq. \mathbf{Ward} , \mathbf{Ald} . (c.)Watkins, John, Esq. Whitcombe, Peter, Esq. Williamson, Francis, of Walden, Gent. Wincall, Isaac, Gent.

[.] Spelt also Plum, Plumme, Plain, Plaine, Plaque. Serrill and Correll. *** " Humfrevile, &c.



EASTERN-ASSOCIATION COMMITTEES.

Wright, John, Esq. Wiseman, Henry, Esq. Wiseman, Richard, Gent. *Young, John, Gent. Wiseman, Robert, of Mayland, Young, Robert, Esq. Esq. * Spelt also Weight.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

Hertfordshire Committees (Husband, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplements, 1st June, 21st June), p. 18, p. 194, p. 225;— 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 3d August, 20th September), p. 171, p. 8 Appendix, p. 329; — Association specially, 10th August, p. 284. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5, p. 604.

The (f.) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk

(*) those of 10th August; (a.) means, For St. Albans.

Atkins, Edward, Esq., Ser- Marsh, John, Gent. geant-at-law. *Barber, Gabriel, Esq. William, of Offley, Carter, Gent. Cecil, Robert, Esq. Combes, Toby, Esq. Cranbourne, Charles Lord Viscount. Dacres, Sir Thomas, Kt. Fairecloth, Litton, Esq. *Freeman, Ralph, Esq. *Garret,* Sir John, Bart. Harrison, Sir John. *Heydon, John, Esq. Humberston, John, sen. Gent. Jennings, Richard, Esq. *King, Dr. John, M.D. *Leman, ** William, Esq. Litton, Rowland, Esq. (f.) Litton, Sir William, Kt. Lucy, Sir Richard, Bart. (f.)

Mayor for the time being. (a.) Mayor of Hertford for the time being.
Meade, Thomas, Gent. *Mewtys, Henry, Esq. Norton, Gravely, Esq. Pemberton, John, Esq. *Pemberton, Ralph, Esq. (a.) *Porter, Richard, Esq *Priestley, William, Esq. Puller, Isaac, Gent. *Read, Sir John, Bart. *Robotham, John, Esq. (a.) Sadler, Thomas, Esq. *Scroggs, John, Esq. Tooke, John, Esq. *Tooke, Thomas, Esq. *Washington, Adam, Esq. *Wilde, Alexander, Esq. Wingate, Edward, Esq. *Witterong, * Sir John, Kt.

^{*} Spelt also Gerrat and Jerratt. " Leaman, Lemon, &c.

^{*} Spelt also Whitterong, Whitteronge, Wittewrong, Witewrong, Witterounge, and Witteroung.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

Huntingdonshire Committees (Husband, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 8th July), p. 18, p. 229; — 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 3d August, 20th September), p. 171, p. 8 Appendix, p. 329; — Association specially, 10th August, p. 284. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5, p. 604.

The (f.) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of 10th August, the then new ones of whom are in

italics.

Armyn, Sir William, Bart. (f.) Ingram, Robert, Gent. Bonner, John, Gent. (f.) Bulkley, John, Esq. *Burrell, Abraham, Esq. Castle, John, Esq. Cotton, Sir Thomas, Bart. *Cromwell, Oliver, Ésq. Desborow, Isaac, Gent. Drury, William. (f.) *Fullwood, Gervaise, Gent. *Harvey, Robert, Gent. Hewet, Sir John, Kt.

*Joceline, Terrill, Esq. King, William, Gent. *Montague, Edward, Esq. Montague, George, Esq. (f.) Offley, John, Gent. Petton, John, Gent. *Temple, Thomas, Esq. *Vintner, Robert, Gent. Walton, Valentine, Esq. (f.) *Winch, Onslow, Esq.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

Lincolnshire Committees (Husband, ii.), in 1643: 1st April, p. 18; - 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 1st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 171, p. 194, p. 9 Appendix, p. 329. 3d July 1644 (County now got; corresponds to 10th August 1643, for the other Counties), p.515. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5 (with Supplements, 3d April, 11th August), p. 604, p. 633, p. 707.

The (f.) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of 3d July 1644, the then new ones of whom are in

italics; (1.) means, For Lincoln.

Anderson, Edmund, Esq. Archer, John, Esq. Armyn, Sir William, Bart. *Ashton, Peter, Esq. f Askham , Thomas . Ayscough, Sir Edward, Kt. Ayscough, Edward, Esq. Bernard, John, Gent. Bowtal, Barnaby, Esq. Brassbridge, Ald. (f. l.) *Browne, John, Gent. Brownlow, Sir John, Bart.



EASTERN-ASSOCIATION COMMITTEES.

Brownlow, Sir William, Bart. Johnson, Martin, Gent. Broxholme, John, Esq. (also l.) King, Edward, Esq. Bryan, Richard, Esq. *Bury, * William, Esq. *Cave, Morris, Esq. Cawdron, Robert, Esq. *Cholmley, Montague, Esq. *Coppledike, Thomas, Esq. *Cornwallis, Thomas, Esq. *Cust, Samuel, Esq. Davison, William, Gent. (f.) Dawson, Stephen, Ald. (l.) *Disney, John, sen. Esq. *Disney, Mollineux, Esq. Disney, Thomas, Esq. (f.) *Disney, William, Esq. *Ellis, Edmund, Esq. Ellis, William, Esq. *Emmerson, Alexander, Esq. *Empson, Charles, Esq. Empson, Francis, Gent. (f.) *Erle, Sir Richard, Bart. Escote, Captain. Filkin, Richard, Gent. (f.) *Fines. Francis, Esq. Fisher, Francis, Esq. (f.) Grantham, Thomas Esq (also l.) *Godfrey, William, Esq. *Hall, Charles, Esq. Hall, -, of Kettlethorp, Esq. Hall, Thomas, Gent. Harrington, James, Esq. (f.) Harrington, John, Esq. Hatcher, Thomas, Esq. Hitchcott, Edmund, Esq. Hickman, Willoughby, Esq. Hobson, John, Gent. (f.) *Hobson, William, Esq. Hudson, Christopher, Esq. Irby, Sir Anthony, Knight. *Irby, Thomas, Esq.

* Spelt also Burg and Berry. Carlyle, Cromwell, IV.

*Knight, Isaac. Leigh, Samuel, Esq. Lister, Thomas, Esq. *Lister, William, Esq. *Luddington, William, Esq. Marshal, William, Mayor. (1.)
*Massinbeard, * Draynard, Esq. *Massinbeard,* Henry, Esq. Massingden, —, Esq. Mayor of Boston for the time being. Mayor of Lincoln for the time being. (l.)*Miscendyne, Francis, Esq. Moorcroft, Robert, Ald. (1.) Munckton, Michael, Gent. (f.) *Nelthorp, Edward, Esq. Nelthorp, John, Esq. (f. *Nethercote, Thomas, Gent. Owfield, Sir Samuel, Kt. Owfield, William, Esq. (f.) *Parkins, Wyat, Gent. *Pelham, Henry, Esq. *Pierpoint, Francis, Esq. Rawson, Nehemiah, Gent. *Rossiter, Edward, Esq. (the Colonel.) Rossiter, Thomas, Esq. (f.) Samuel, Arthur, Esq. (f.) Savile, Thomas, Esq. *Savile, William, Esq. Sheffield, John, Esq. Skipworth, Edward, Esq. Tharrald, Nathaniel, Gent. *Thompson, William, Gent. Tilson, Edmund, Esq.

* Spelt also Massingbeard, Massingberde, Massingburgh, Massinbred, and Massinberg.

*Trollop, James, Gent.
Trollop, Sir Thomas, Bart.
*Walcott, Humphrey, Esq.
Watson, William, Ald. (l.)
Welby, Thomas, Gent.
*Welcome, Thomas, Esq.
Whitchcot, Edward, Esq.
Whitchcot, Sir Hamond, Kt.
Whiting, John, Gent. (f.)
Willesby, John, Esq.
Williamson, Richard, Esq. (f.)

Williamson, Thomas, Esq. (f.)
Willoughby, Hickman, Esq.
Willoughby, Lord Francis, of
Parham.
Wincopp, * John, Gent.
*Woolley, William, Esq.
Wrath, John, Esq.
Wray, Sir Christopher, Kt.
Wray, Sir John, Bart.
Wray, John, Esq.
* Spelt also Wincock and Wincocks.

NORFOLK.

Norfolk Committees (*Husband*, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 18th April), p. 19, p. 38; — 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 1st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 171, p. 194, p. 9 Appendix, p. 328; — Association specially, 10th August, p. 283. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5, p. 605.

The (f.) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of 10th August, the then new ones of whom are in

italics; (n.) means, For Norwich.

*Ashley, Sir Edward, Kt.
*Ashley, Sir Isaac, Kt.
Bailiffs of Yarmouth.
Bainham, Robert, Esq. (f.)
Baker, Thomas, Esq. (n.)
Barkham, Sir Edward, Bart.
Barret, Christopher, Esq. (n.)
Barret, Thomas, Sheriff. (n.f.)
Beddingfield, Philip, Esq.
Berkham, John.
Berney, *Sir Richard, Bart.
Blofield, Jeremy, of Alby.
*Brewster, John, Esq.
Brewster, John, of Sparkes.
*Burnam, Edmund, Ald. (n.)
Buxton, John, Esq. (f.)

Calthorp, James, Esq.
Calthorp, Philip, Esq.
Chamberlain, Edward, Esq.
(f.)

Church, Bernard, Sheriff.

Clarke, of Gaywood.
Collier, John, Gent. (n. f.)
Collyns, of Blackborne Abbey.
Coney, William.
*Cooke, * John, Esq.
*Cooke, William, Esq.
Corbet, Miles, Esq.

Corbet, Miles, Esq.
Dagly, Robert, of Alsham.
Day, Sucklin.

Doylie, Sir William, Kt. (f.) Earl, Erasmus, Esq. (f.) Felsham, Robert, of Sculthrop.

* Spelt also Crook and Coke.

* Spelt also Berne, Bernay, and Barney.

Gasley, William, of Holcan. Gawdy, Edward, Esq. (f.) Gawdy, Framlingham, Esq. (f.)*Gawdy, Sir Thomas, Kt. *Gawsell,** Gregory, Esq. Gibbon, *** John, Esq. Gibbon, *** Sir Thomas, Kt. Gooch, Robert, of Elham. Gower, Robert, of Yarmouth. Gent. (f.) *Greenwood, John, Sheriff. (n.) Grey, James de, Esq. (f.)Grey, John, Gent. (n. f.) Harman, Richard, Esq. Harvye, Richard. Heveningham, William, Esq. Heyward, Edward, Esq. (f.) *Hobart, Sir John, Bart. *Hobart, Sir Miles, Kt. Holland, Sir John, Bart. Houghton, John, Esq. Houghton, Robert, Esq. (f. *Huggen, + Sir Thomas, Kt. Hunt, George, Esq. (f.) Jaye, John, of Ersham. *Jermy, Francis, Esq. Jermy, Robert, Esq. Johnson, Thomas, Gent. Ket, Robert, of Wicklewood. Kettle, Henry, of Thetford. (f.)King, Henry, Gent. Lincoln, Thomas, of Thetford, Esq. Ald. * Spelt also Frere, Friar, and Fryar. Causell, Gousall, and

Gausey.

,,

Guibon.

Hogan, Hovyan, Hoggin.

Fountain, Briggs, Esq. Fryer,* Tobias, Esq.

*Lindsey, Matthew, Ald (n.) Long, Robert, Esq. (f.) May, John, of Lynn, Ald. (f.) Mayor of Lynn for the time being. Mayor of Norwich for the time being. (n.)Money, Samuel, of Binnam. Mountford, Sir Edmund, Kt. Owner, Edward, Esq. (f.) *Palgrave, Sir John, Bart. Parkes,* Samuel, Gent. *Parmenter, Adrian, Esq. (n.) Paston, Sir William, Bart. (f.) *Peckoner, ** Matthew, Ald. (n,)Pell, Sir Valentine, Kt. Vicecomes. (f.) Percivall, John, Esq. of Lynn. Pots, Sir John, Bart. Raymes, *** John, Esq. of Oxtron. Rich, Robert, Esq. Rower, Robert, Gent. *Russell, Thomas, Esq. Salter, John, Gent. (n. f.) Scamler, Adam, Esq. (f.) Scamler, James, Esq. Scottow, Timothy, Gent. (n.f.) *Sedley, + Martin, Esq. Sheppard, Robert, Esq. Sheriffs of Norwich. Sherwood, Livewell, Ald. (n.) Shouldham, Francis, of Fulmerston. Skippon, Philip, Esq. (f.) *Smith, Samuel, Esq.

* Spelt also Parks, Parker, Packle. , , , Peckover and Peckford.

,,

,,

Reygnes, Keyves, Rei-

mes, and Regin.

Sidley and Redley.

*Sotherton, Thomas, Esq. *Spelman, John, Esq. Springall, Mary's. Steward, -, Esq. (n. f.)Swalter, John, of Southcreak. *Symonds, William, of Norwich, Ald. (n.) Taylor, Henry, Esq. (f.) *Thacker, John, Ald. (n.) Thorisby, Edmund, Esq. (f.) Tofts, John, Gent. (n. f.) Tofts, Thomas, Ald. (n. f.) Toll, Thomas, Esq. *Tooley, John, Esq. (n.) Townsend, Roger, Esq. (f.) Utber, Thomas. Vincent, John, of Crinisham.

Walpool, John, Esq. Walter, of Deram. Thomas, of St. Ward, Hamon, Esq. (f.) Warner, Richard, of Little Brand. Wasted, Thomas, Gent. (n. f.) *Watts, Henry, Ald. (n.) Web, John, Esq. (f.) Weld, Thomas, Esq. *Wilton,* Robert, Esq. Windham, Sir George, Kt. (f.) *Windham, Thomas, Esq. With, of Brodish. *Wood, Robert, Esq. Woodhouse, Sir Thomas, Bart, * Wright, ** Thomas, Esq. · Spelt also Wilson. ,, ,, Weight.

SUFFOLK.

Suffolk Committees (Husband, ii.), in 1643: 1st April (with Supplement, 29th September), p. 19, p. 321; - 7th May (with Supplements and Revisals, 1st June, 3d August, 20th September), p. 172, p. 193, p. 10 Appendix, p. 328; — Association specially, 10th August, p. 284. For support of Fairfax in 16 the end of the War: 15th February 1644-5, p. 605. For support of Fairfax in 1644-5, and to

The (f.) designates the exclusively Fairfax men; the asterisk (*) those of the 10th August; (i.) means, for Ipswich; (e.) Bury St. Edmunds; (a.) Aldborough.

munds (e.) Aldus, John, Gent. (i.) *Appleton, Isaac, Esq. Bacon, Sir Butts, Bart. *Bacon, Sir Edmund, Bart. *Bacon, Francis, Esq. *Bacon, Nathaniel, of Freeston, Esq. *Bacon, Nathaniel, of Ipswich, Basse, * John, Esq.

Aldermen of Bury St. Ed. Bacon, Thomas, Esq. (f.) Bailiffs of Aldborough. (a.) Bailiffs of Ipswich. (i.) *Baker, Thomas, Esq. Barnardiston, Sir Nathaniel. Kt. *Barnardiston, Sir Thomas,

*Barrow, Maurice, Esq.

Bacon, Nicholas, Esq.

* Spelt also Butes, Buse, and Bace.



EASTERN-ASSOCIATION COMMITTEES.

Bence, Alexander, Esq. (f.) Bence, Squire, Esq. Blosse, Thomas, Esq. (f.) *Bloyse, William, Esq. Bokenham, Wiseman, Esq. Brandling, John. (i.)
Brewster, Francis, Esq. *Brewster, * Robert, Esq. Bright, —, Gent. (e.) Brook, Sir Robert, Kt. Brooke, John, Esq. (f.) Cage, ** William, Esq. Chaplin, Thomas, Gent. (e.) Chapman, Thomas, Esq. (e.) Cheney, Henry. (a.f.) Clinch, John, sen. Esq. Clinch, John, of Culpho, Esq. *Cole, Thomas, Esq. Duke, Sir Edward, Kt. Duncombe, *** Robert, Gent. Fisher, Peter. (i.) Gale, Jacob, Gent. (i.) Gibbs, Thomas, Ald. (e.) Gurdon, Brampton, Esq. Gurdon, Brampton, jun. Esq.

* Spelt also Brechoster. Gage. ,,

Gurdon, John, Esq.

*Harvey, Edmund, Esq. Heveningham, William, Esq. *Hobart, James, Esq. Hodges, John, Esq. (f.) Johnson,* Thomas, Gent. (a.) *Lawrence, William, Esq. *Lucas, Gibson, Esq. Moody, Samuel. (e.) North, Henry, sen. Esq. North, Henry, jun. Esq. North, Sir Roger, Kt. Parker, Sir Philip, Kt. Parker, Sir William, Kt. Pemberton, Joseph, Gent. (i.) Pepys, Richard, Esq. Playters, Sir William, Bart. Puplet,** Richard, Gent. (i.) Read, Edward, Esq. Cotton, John, Esq. (f.) Reynolds, Robert, Esq. D'Ewes, Sir Simond, Bart. (f.) River,*** William, of Bilson, Esq. Rous, Sir John, Kt. Sicklemer, John, Gent. (i.) *Soame, Sir William, Kt. *Spring, Sir William, Bart. *Terrell, † Thomas, Esq. *Vaughan, T Beccles, Esq. Theophilus, of Wentworth, Sir John, Kt.

Duncam and Duncon.

[·] Speltalso Jackson .. Pupler, Purplet, Pulpit. ,, ,, Rivet and Ruvet. Tirrill. ,,

APPENDIX C.

No. 1.

LETTER TO DOWNHALL.

[Vol. i. p. 53]

The stolen Letter of the Ashmole Museum has been found printed, and even reprinted. It is of the last degree of insignificance: a mere Note of Invitation to Downhall to stand "Godfather unto my Child." Man-child now ten days old, * who, as we may see, is christened "on Thursday next" by the name of RICHARD, — and had strange ups and downs as a Man when it came to that!

To my approved good Friend Mr. Henry Downhall, at his Chambers in St. John's College, Cambridge: These.

John's College, Cambridge: These.

LOVING SIR, Huntingdon, 14th October 1626.

Make me so much your servant as to be ** Godfather unto my Child. I would myself have come over to have made a formal invitation; but my occasions would not permit me: and therefore hold me in that excused. The Day of your trouble is Thursday next. Let me entreat your company on Wednesday.

By this time it appears, I am more apt to encroach upon you for new favours than to show my thankfulness for the love I have already found. But I know your patience and your goodness cannot be exhausted by

Your friend and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. &

Of this Downhall, sometimes written Downhault, and even
Downett and Downtell; who grounds his claim, such as it is, to
human remembrance on the above small Note from Oliver,—a

Vol. i. p. 68.
 Hearne's Liber Niger Scaccarii (London, 1771), i. 261 m.

1638.]

AT ELY.

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helpful hand has, with unsubduable research, discovered various particulars, which might amount almost to an outline of a history of Downhall, were such needed. He was of Northamptonshire, come of gentlefolks in that County. Admitted Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 12th April 1614; - had known Oliver, and apparently been helpful and instructive to him, two years after that. More interesting still, he this same Downhall was Vicar of St. Ives when Oliver came thither in 1635; still Vicar when Oliver left it, though with far other tendencies than Oliver's now; and had, alas, to be "ejected with his Curate, in 1642," as an Anti-Puritan Malignant: * — Oliver's course and his having altogether parted now! Nay farther, the same Downhall, surviving the Restoration, became "Archdeacon of Huntingdon" in 1667: fifty-one years ago he had lodged there as Oliver Cromwell's Guest and Gossip; and now he comes as Archdeacon, — with a very strange set of Annals written in his old head, poor Downhall! He died "at Cottingham in Northamptonshire, his native region, in the winter-time of 1669;" and so, with his Ashmole Letter, ends. **

No. 2.

AT ELY.

[Vol. i. p. 98.]

THERE is at Elv a Charitable Foundation now above four centuries old: which in Oliver's time was named the Elu Feoffees' Fund, and is now known as Parsons' Charity; the old Records of which, though somewhat mutilated during those years, offer one or two faint but indubitable vestiges of Oliver, not to be neglected on the present occasion.

This Charity of ancient worthy Thomas Parsons, it appears, had, shortly before Oliver's arrival in Ely, been somewhat remodelled by a new Royal Charter: To be henceforth more specially devoted to the Poor of Ely; to be governed by Twelve Feoffees; namely, by Three Dignitaries of the Cathedral, and

* Vol. i. p. 86.
** Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, iii. 187; and Ms. communicated by Mr. Cooper, resting on the following formidable mass of documentary Authorities:

Cole MSS. (which is a Transcript of Baker's History of St. John's College), 166. 358. Rymer's Fodera, xix. 261. Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesics Anglicance, pp. 160. Kennet's Register and Chromicle, pp. 207. 251. Walker's Sufferings ii. 129, 130. Wood's Athenæ (2d edition, passage wanting in both the 1st and 3d), ii. 1179.

by Nine Townsmen of the better sort, who are permanent, and fill up their own vacancies, * - of which latter class, Oliver Cromwell Esquire, most likely elected in his Uncle's stead, was straightway made one. The old Books, as we say, are specially defective in those years; "have lost 40 or 50 leaves at the end of Book I., and 12 leaves at the beginning of Book II.," - leaves cut out for the sake of Oliver's autograph, or as probably for other reasons. Detached Papers, however, still indicate that Oliver was one of the Feoffees, and a moderately diligent one, almost from his first residence there. Here, under date some six or seven months after his arrival, is a small Entry in certain loose Papers, labelled "The Accompts of Mr. John Hand and Mr. Wm. Crauford, Collectors of the Revenewes belonging to the Towne of Ely" (that is, to Parsons' Charity in Ely); and under this special head, "The Disbursements of Mr. John Hand, from the — of August 1636 unto the — of — 1641:

"Given to divers Poore People at ye Work-"house, in the presence of Mr. Archdeacon "of Ely,** Mr. Oliver Cromwell, Mr. John > £16 14 "Goodricke and others, 10th February "1636, as appeareth . .

And under this other head, "The Disbursements of Mr. Crauford," which unluckily are not dated, and run vaguely from 1636 to 1641:

"Item to Jones, by Mr. Cromwell's consent. 0."

Twice or thrice elsewhere the name of Cromwell is mentioned, but not as indicating activity on his part, indicating merely Feoffeeship and passivity; *** - except in the following instance, where there is still extant a small Letter of his. "Mr. Hand," as we have seen, is one of the "Collectors", himself likewise a Feoffee or Governor, the Governors (it would appear) taking that office in turn.

Report of the Commissioners concerning Charities (London, 1837):

^{**}Report of the Commissioners concerning Charities (London, 1887): distinct account of it there, § (*ambridgeshire*, pp. 216-20.

**A One "Wigmore;" the Dean was "William Fuller;" the Bishop "Matthew Wren, 'very famous for his Popish Candles and other fripperies, who lay long in the Tower afterwards. These were the three Clerical Feoffces in Oliver's time.

^{***} Excerpts of Documents obligingly communicated by the Dean of Ely, - now penes Mr. Cooper of Cambridge.

1641.]

LETTER TO CAMBRIDGE.

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'To Mr. Hand, at Ely: These.'
MB. HAND. 'Ely,' 13th September 1638.

I doubt not but I shall be as good as my word for your Money. I desire you to deliver Forty Shillings of the Town Money to this Bearer, to pay for the physic for Benson's cure. If the Gentlemen will not allow it at the time of account, keep this Note, and I will pay it out of my own purse. So I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL, &

Poor "Benson" is an old invalid. Among Mr. Hand's Disbursements for the year 1636 is this,

"For phisicke and surgery for old Benson £2 7 4."

And among Crauford's, of we know not what year,

"To Benson at divers times £0 15 0."

Let him have forty shillings more, poor old man; and if the Gentlemen won't allow it, Oliver Cromwell will pay it out of his own purse.

No. 3.

Cambridge: Corporation (1641); Whelocke (1643).

[Vol. i. pp. 122; — 128, 139.]

Two vestiges of Oliver at Cambridge, in his parliamentary and in his military capacity, there still are.

- 1. The first, which relates to a once very public Affair, is his Letter (his and Lowry's) to the Cambridge Authorities, in May 1641; Letter accompanying the cel®brated "Protestation and Preamble" just sent forth by the House of Commons, with earnest invitation to all constituencies to adopt the same.
- "A Preamble, with the Protestation made by the whole House of "Commons, the 3d of May 1641, and assented unto by the Lords "of the Upper House, the 4th of May.
- "We, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the Commons "House, in Parliament, finding, to the grief of our hearts, That "the designs of the Priests and Jesuits, and other Adherents to
- § Memoirs of the Protector, by Oliver Cromwell, a Descendant &c. (London, 1822), i. 351; where also (p. 350) is found, in a very indistinct state, the above-given Entry from Hand's Accompts, misdated '1641', instead of 10th February 1636-7. The Letter to Hand "has not been among the Feoffees' Papers for several years;" and is now (1846) none knows where.

"the See of Rome, have been of late more boldly and frequently "put in practice than formerly, to the undermining, and danger "of ruin, of the True Reformed Religion in his Majesty's Domi-"nions established: And finding also that there hath been, and "having cause to suspect there still are even during the sitting "in Parliament, endeavours to subvert the Fundamental Laws "of England and Ireland, and to introduce the exercise of an "Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, by most pernicious and "wicked counsels, plots and conspiracies: And that the long "intermission, and unhappier breach, of Parliaments hath occa-"sioned many illegal Taxations, whereupon the Subjects have been prosecuted and grieved: And that divers Innovations "and Superstitions have been brought into the Church; multi-"tudes driven out of his Majesty's dominions; jealousies raised "and fomented between the King and People; a Popish Army "levied in Ireland, " and Two Armies brought into the bowels of "this Kingdom, to the hazard of his Majesty's royal Person, the "consumption of the revenue of the Crown, and the treasure of "this Realm: And lastly, finding great causes of jealousy that "endeavours ** have been and are used to bring the English "Army into misunderstanding of this Parliament, thereby to "incline that Army by force to bring to pass those wicked

"Have therefore thought good to join ourselves in a declara-"tion of our united affections and resolutions; and to make this ensuing

"PROTESTATION.

"I, A. B., do in the Presence of Almighty God promise, vow "and protest, To maintain and defend as far as lawfully I may, "with my life, power and estate, the True Reformed Protestant "Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, "against all Popery and Popish Innovations, and according to "the duty of my allegiance to his Majesty's royal Person, Honour "and Estate: as also the Power and Privilege of Parliament, the "Lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subjects; and every Person "that maketh this Protestation in whatsoever he shall do in the "lawful pursuance of the same. And to my power, as far as "lawfully I may, I will oppose, and by good ways and means en-

By Strafford lately, against the Scots and their enterprises.
This is the important point, nearly shaded out of sight: "finding the great causes of jealousy, endeavours have" &c. is the tremulous, indistinct and even ungrammatical phrase in the Original.

"deavour to bring to condign punishment, all such as shall, by "force, practice, counsel, plots, conspiracies or otherwise, do "anything to the contrary in this present Protestation con-"tained.

"And further I shall, in all just and honourable ways, en-"deavour to preserve the union and peace betwixt the Three "Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland: and neither for "hope, fear nor other respect, shall relinquish this Promise, Vow "and Protestation."*

This is on Monday, 3d May 1641, while the Apprentices are bellowing in Palacevard: Cromwell is one of those that take the Protestation this same Monday, present in the House while the redacting of it goes on. Long lists of Members take it, - not John Lowry, who I conclude must have been absent. On Wed-

nesday, 5th May, there is this Order:

"Ordered, That the Protestation made by the Members of "this House, with the Preamble, shall be together printed;" Clerk to attest the copies; all Members to send them down to the respective Sheriffs, Justices, to the respective Cities, Boroughs, and "intimate with what willingness the Members "made this Protestation; and that as they justify the taking of "it in themselves, so they cannot but approve it in them that "shall likewise take it."

Strict Order, at the same time, That all Members "now in Town and not sick shall appear here Tomorrow at Eight of Clock," and take this Protestation: non-appearance to be "accounted a contempt of this House," and expose one to be expelled, or worse; - in spite of which John Lowry still does not sign, not till Friday morning, after even "Philip Warwick" and "Endymion Porter" have signed; whence I infer he was out of Town or unwell. ** — This Letter, which seems to be of Cromwell's writing, still stands on the Corporation Books of Cambridge; read in Common Council there on the 11th of May; at which time, said Letter being read, the Town Authorities did one and all zealously accept the same, and signed the Protestation on the spot. The Letter is not dated; but as Lowry signed on Friday, and the Corporation meeting is on Tuesday the 11th, we may safely guess the Letter to have arrived on Monday, and to have been written on Saturday.

 Commons Journals, ii. 132 (3d May 1641). ** Ibid. ii. 133, 5, 6, 7. Rushworth, iv. 241 ct seqq. To the Right Worshipful the Mayor and Aldermen of Cambridge, with the rest of that Body: Present these.

GENTLEMEN, 'London, 8th' May 1641.

We heartily salute you; and herewith, according to the directions of the House of Commons in this present Parliament assembled, send unto you a Protestation; — the contents whereof will best appear in the thing itself. The Preamble therewith printed doth declare the weighty reasons inducing

them, in their own persons, to begin "making it."

We shall only let you know that, with alacrity and willingness, the Members of that Body entered thereinto. It was in them a right honourable and necessary act; not unworthy your imitation. You shall hereby as the Body Represented avow the practice of the Representative. The conformity is in itself praiseworthy; and will be by them approved. The result may, through the Almighty's blessing, become stability and security to the whole Kingdom. Combination carries strength with it. It's dreadful to adversaries; especially when it's in order to the duty we owe to God, to the loyalty we owe to our King and Sovereign, and to the affection due to our Country and Liberties,—the main ends of this Protestation now herewith sent you.

We say no more: but commit you to the protection of Him who is able to save you; desiring your prayers for the good success of our present affairs and endeavours, — which indeed are not ours but the Lord's and yours. Whom we desire to serve in integrity: and bidding you heartily Farewell, rest,

Your loving friends to be commanded,

OLIVER CROMWELL JOHN LOWRY. §

2. The second is a small antiquarian relic (date, Spring 1643); dim and of little worth in its detached form, but capable of lighting itself up, and the reader's fancy along with it, when set in the right combination.

"Mr. Abraham Whelocke," whose name and works are still well enough known, was, later in that century, "the celebrated

§ Cambridge Corporation Day-Book: in Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, iii. 311. Printed also, with errors, in O. Cromwell's Memoirs of the Prolector, i. 406.

1643.]

LETTER TO NORFOLK.

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Professor of Arabic at Oxford;" and is now, we perceive, in this Spring 1643, a Student at Cambridge; of meditative peripatetic habits; often walking into the country with a little Arabic Volume in his pocket;— apt to be fluttered at the Town Gates by these new military arrangements. In this difficulty he calls on Colonel Cromwell; and — But his little Volume itself is still extant, and tells its own story and his. A thin duodecimo, in white hogskin binding now grown very brown; size handy for the smallest coat-pocket:— and on the fly-leaf, in Oliver's hand, stands written (signed successively by three other Committeemen whom Whelocke would soon search out for the feat):

4th April 1643.

Suffer the Bearer hereof, Mr. Abraham Whelocke, to pass your guards so often as he shall have occasion, into and out of Cambridge, towards Little Shelford or any other place; and this shall be your warrant.

THO. COOKE.

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 4.

EASTERN ASSOCIATION: THREATERN RISING OF PAPISTS IN NORPOLK.

[Vol. i. p. 127.]

Two Committee-Letters, both of Oliver's writing; illustrations of his diligent procedure in the birth-time of the Eastern Association.

To our noble Friends, Sir John Hobart, Sir Thomas Richardson, Sir John Potts, Sir John Palyrave, 'Sir' John Spelman, Knights and Buronets, and the rest of the Deputy-Lieutemants for the County of Norfolk: Present these.

Gentlemen.

'Cambridge, 26th January 1642.'

The Parliament and the Lord General have taken into their care the peace and protection of these Eastern parts of

§ Whelocke's Arabic Volume (a version into Arabic of one of Bellar. min's Books, by some Armenian Patriarch, for benefit of the Heathen, Rome, 1627,—with slight marks of Whelocke on the other fiy-leaves): Volume now in the possession of Dr. Lee, Hartwell, Buckinghamshire, who has kindly given me sight of it.—Next year, under this Pass of Oliver's, lower half of the same fiy-leaf, there is a Renewal of it, or Copy in almost precisely the same terms, written and signed by the Earl of Manchester (in ink now grown very pale, while Oliver's has changed to strong red-brown), of date '27th February 1643'-4, when his Lordship again for a time (see antea, vol. i. p. 181) had become chief Authority in Cambridge. (Note of 1857.)

the Kingdom; and to that end have sent down hither some part of their Forces, — as likewise a * Commission, with certain Instructions to us and others directed; all which do highly concern the peace and safety of your County. Therefore we intreat that some of you would give us a meeting at Mildenhall ** in Suffolk, on Tuesday the 31st of this instant January. And in the mean time that you would make all possible speed to have in a readiness, against any *** notice shall be given, a considerable force of Horse and Foot to join with us, to keep any Enemy's force from breaking-in upon your yet peaceable Country. For we have certain intelligence that some of Prince Rupert's forces are come as far as Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, and that the Papists in Norfolk are solicited to rise presently upon you.

Thus presenting all our neighbourly and loving respects, we rest.

Your respective friends to serve you,

TERRELL JOCELYN. WILLM. MARCHE. EDW. CLENCHE. JAMES THOMPSON. MILES SANDYS.
FRANC. RUSSELL.
OLIVEE CROMWELL.
THOMAS SYMONS.
ROBERT CLERKE. §

To our worthy Friends, Sir John Hobart, Sir Thomas Richardson, Sir John Putts, Sir John Palgrave, Sir John Spelman, Knights and Baronets: Present these.

GENTLEMEN,

Cambridge, 27th January 1642.

The grounds of your Jealousies are real. They concur with our intelligences from Windsor; the sum whereof we give unto you:

From a prisoner taken by Sir Samuel Luke (one Mr. Gandy, a Captain of Dragooners) this confession was drawn, That the Papists by direction from Oxford should rise in Norfolk. Whereupon it was desired from thence That Sir Henry Benningfield and Mr. Gandy, their persons should be seized,

^{* &}quot;the" erased.

** "Millnall" he writes.

** "Millnall" he writes.

** "Millnall" he writes.

** "Millnall" he writes.

[§] Original in Tanner Mss. lxiv. 116.

1643.] LETTER TO NORFOLK.

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and that we * should do our ** endeavour to make stay of the Person and Letter which contained this encouragement to them, — he being described by his horse and clothes. But we believe 'he' was past us before we had notice, for our Scouts could not light on him.

As for the other consideration of his Majesty's forces being invited into these parts, we have confirmation thereof from all hands; - and there is this reason to doubt it will be so, Because his Majesty is weary of Oxford: there being little in those parts left to sustain his Army, — and surely the fulness of these parts and fitness of them for Horse are too-too good arguments to invite him *** hither. Thus we agree in the grounds of our doubt and fear.

The next thought is of Remedy. And in this we account it our happiness to consult with you of common safety, to be had either by the Association you speak of, or by + any other consideration by communication of assistance, according to necessity. Wherein I hope you shall find all readiness and cheerfulness in us, to assist you to break any strength that shall++ be gathered; or to prevent it, if desired, - having timely notice given from you thereof. The way will be best settled, if you give us a meeting, according to our desire by a Letter particularly prepared +++ before we received yours, and now sent unto you for that purpose together with these.

This is all we can say for the present: but that we are.

Your friends and servants.

MILES SANDYS.

THOM. MARTYN. FRANC. RUSSELL. TERRELL JOCELYN.

OLIVER CROMWELL. THOS. SYMONS. WILLM. MARCHE. ROBERT CLERKE. Edw. CLENCHE. JAMES THOMPSON.

'P.S.' We sent to Sir William Spring to offer him our as-

^{** &}quot;my " erased. " I" erased. sea "them" erased. All the corrections in Cromwell's hand.
+ Comes to the end of the sheet, and turns to the margin.
++ "may" erased, and "shall" substituted.
++ "and di" (meaning "directed") erased.

sistance for the apprehension of Sir H. Benningfield, &c. * We have not yet received any answer. — We knew not how to address ourselves to you. It's our desire to assist you in that or any other public service. §

Nr. 5.

GAINSBOROUGH FIGHT.

[Vol. i. p. 155.]

HERE are other details concerning Gainsborough Fight; Two Letters upon it that have successively turned up.

1. The first is a Letter two days earlier in date; evidently not written by Cromwell, though signed by him and two chief Lincolnshire Committee-men, as he passes through their City on his way to Huntingdon. Sir Edward Ayscough, or "Ayscoghe" as he here signs himself, — probably a kinsman of Sir George the Sailor's, possibly the father of the "Captain Ayscoghe" mentioned here, — he and John Broxholme, Esq., both of the Lincolnshire Committee, ** are clearly the writers of the present Letter.

"For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons
House of Parliament: These.

"Lincoln, 29th July 1643 (Six o'clock at night), "Noble Sir, — We, having solicited a conjunction of Forces "towards the raising of the Siege of Gainsborough, did appoint "a general rendezvous at North Scarle to be upon Thursday the "27th of July. To the which place, Sir John Meldrum with "about Three-hundred Horse and Dragoons, and Colonel Crom-"well with about Six or Seven Troops of Horse and about One-"hundred Dragoons, came. With these they marched towards "Gainsborough; and meeting with a good party of the Enemy about a mile from the Town, beat them back, — but not with "any commendations to our Dragoons. We advanced still to-"wards the Enemy, all along under the Cony-Warren, which is "upon a high Hill above Gainsborough. The Lincoln Troops "had the van, two Northampton, and three small Troops of Not-"tingham the battle, and Colonel Cromwell the rear; the "Enemy in the mean time with his body keeping the top of the "Hill.

[&]quot; "and" erased; "&c." substituted.

[§] Original, in Cromwell's own hand throughout, in Tanner Mes. lxiv. 129.

^{**} Husband, ii. 171.

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"Some of the Lincoln Troops began to advance up the Hill; "which were opposed by a force of the Enemy: but our men re-"pelled them, until all our whole body was got up the Hill. The "Enemy kept his ground; which he chose for his best advan-"tage, with a Body of Horse of about Three Regiments of Horse, "and a reserve behind them consisting of General Cavendish his "Regiment, which was a very full regiment. We presently put "our Horse in order; which we could hardly do by reason of the "cony-holes and the difficult ascent up the Hill; the Enemy "being within musket-shot of us, and advancing towards us be-"fore we could get ourselves into any good order. But with "those Troops we could get up, we charged the greater Body of "the Enemy; came-up to the sword's point; and disputed it so "a little with them, that our men pressing heavily upon them, "they could not bear it, but all their Body ran away, some on "the one side of their Reserve, others on the other. Divers of "our Troops pursuing had the chase about six miles.

"General Cavendish with his Regiment standing firm all the "while, and facing some of our Troops that did not follow the "chase, - Colonel Cromwell, with his Major Whalley and one "or two Troops more, were following the chase, and were in the "rear of that Regiment. When they saw the body stand un-"broken, 'they' endeavoured, with much ado, to get into a body "those three or four Troops which were divided. Which when "they had done, - perceiving the Enemy to charge two or three "of the Lincoln scattered Troops, and to make them retire by "reason of their being many more than they in number; and the "rest being elsewhere engaged and following the chase, -"Colonel Cromwell with his three Troops followed them in the "rear; brake this Regiment; and forced their General, with "divers of their men, into a quagmire in the bottom of the Hill. "Where one of Colonel Cromwell his men cut General Caven-"dish on the head; by reason whereof he fell off his horse; and "the Colonel's Captain-Lieutenant thrust him into the side, "whereof within two hours he died; —the rest chasing his Regi-"ment quite out of the field, having execution of them, so that "the field was left wholly unto us, not a man appearing. Upon "this, divers of our men went into the Town; carrying-in to my "Lord Willoughby some of the Ammunition we brought for "him; - believing that our work was at an end; saving to take

[•] Original has "his," and for "General Cavendish" in the foregoing line, "him."

[29 July

"care how to bring further provisions into the Town, to enable "it to stand a siege in case my Lord Newcastle should draw-up "with his Army to attempt it.

"Whilst we were considering of these things, word was "brought us That there was a small remainder of the Enemy's "force not yet meddled with, about a mile beyond Gainsborough "with some Foot, and two pieces of Ordnance. We having no "Foot, desired to have some out of the Town; which my Lord "Willoughby granted, and sent us about Six-hundred Foot: "with these we advanced towards the Enemy. When we came "thither to the top of the hill, we beat divers Troops of the "Enemy's Horse back: but at the bottom we saw a Regiment "of Foot; after that another (my Lord Newcastle's own Regiment, consisting of nineteen colours) appearing also, and many "Horse; — which indeed was his Army. Seeing these there so

"unexpectedly, we advised what to do."

"Colonel Cromwell was sent to command the Foot to retire, "and to draw-off the Horse. By the time he came to them, the "Enemy was marching up the hill. The Foot did retire dis-"orderly into the Town, which was not much above a quarter of "a mile from them; upon whom the Enemy's Horse did some "small execution. The Horse also did retire in some disorder, "about half a mile, — until they came to the end of a field where "a passage was; where, by the endeavour of Colonel Cromwell, "'of' Major Whalley and Captain Ayscoghe, a body was drawn With these we faced the Enemy; stayed their pursuit; "and opposed them with about four Troops of Colonel Crom-"well's and four Lincoln Troops; the Enemy's body in the mean "time increasing very much from the Army. But such was the "goodness of God, giving courage and valour to our men and "officers, that whilst Major Whalley and Captain Ayscoghe, "sometimes the one with four Troops faced the Enemy, some "times the other, to the exceeding glory of God be it spoken, "and the great honour of those two Gentlemen, they with this "handful forced the Enemy so, and dared them to their teeth in "at the least eight or nine several removes, - the Enemy fol-"lowing at their heels; and they, though their horses were ex-"ceedingly tired, retreating in order, near carbine-shot of the "Enemy, who thus followed them, firing upon them; Colonel "Cromwell gathering-up the main body and facing them behind "those two lesser bodies, - that, in despite of the Enemy, we "brought-off our Horse in this order, without the loss of two men.

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"Thus have you a true Relation of this notable service, "wherein God is to have all the glory. And care must be taken "speedily to relieve this noble Lord from his and the State's "Enemies, by a speedy force sent unto us, — and that without "any delay; or else he will be lost, and that important Town, "and all those parts; and way made for this Army instantly to "advance into the South. Thus resting upon your care in "speeding present Succours hither, we humbly take our leaves "and remain,"

"Your humble servants,

"EDW. AYSCOGHE.

"Jo. Broxolme.

"OLIVER CROMWELL."*

2. The Second Letter, the Original of which still exists, is of much greater interest; being from Cromwell's own hand, and evidently thrown-off in a quite familiar and even hasty fashion. Written, as would appear, on the march from Lincoln to Huntingdon; no mention precisely where; but probably at the Army's quarters on the evening of their first day's march homewards. In the Original the surname of the "Sir John" to whom the Letter addresses itself has been, probably by some royalist descendant (of mixed emotions), so industriously crossed out with many strokes of the pen, that not only is it entirely illegible, but the polite possessor of the Autograph cannot undertake to guess for me how many letters may have been in the word. On other grounds I pretty confidently undertake, nevertheless, to read Wray: Sir John Wray of Glentworth, member for Lincolnshire, and on the Committee of that County; at present, I suppose, attending his duty in London. Glentworth House is almost within sight and sound of these transactions; the well-affected Knight of the Shire, for many reasons, may fitly hear a word of them, while we rest from our march. Sir John's Mother, I find by the Dryasdust records** was a Montague of Boughton; so that "your noble Kinsman" near the end of this Letter will mean my Lord of Manchester, "Sergeant-Major of the Association," a man well qualified to give information.

** Burke's Extinct Baronetage, § Wray.

^{*} Tanner MSS. lxii. 194; and, with little or no variation, Baker MSS. XXVIII. 434.

To my noble Friend Sir John 'Wraye,' Knight and Baronet: Present these. 'Eastern Association,' 30th July 1643.

The particular respects I have received at your hands do much oblige me, but the great affection you bear to the Public much more: for that cause I am bold to acquaint you with some late Passages wherein it hath pleased God to favour us: - which, I am assured, will be welcome to you.

After Burleigh House was taken, we went towards Gainsborough to a general rendezvous, where met us Lincolnshire Troops; so that we were Nineteen or Twenty Troops, when we were together, of Horse and Foot, and about Three or Four Troops of Dragooners. We marched with this force to Gainsborough. Upon Friday morning, being the 28th of July, we met with a forlorn-hope of the Enemy, and with our men brake it in. We marched on to * the Town's end. The Enemy being upon the top of a very steep Hill over our heads, some of our men attempted to march up that Hill; the Enemy opposed; our men drove them up, and forced their passage. By the time ** we came up, we saw the Enemy well set in two bodies: the foremost a large fair body, the other a reserve consisting of six or seven brave Troops. Before we could get our force into order, the great body of the Enemy advanced; they were within musket-shot of us when we came to the pitch of the Hill: we advanced likewise towards them; and both charged, each upon the other: Thus advancing, we came to pistol and sword's point, both in that close order that it was disputed very strongly who should break the other. But our men pressing a little heavily upon them, they began to give back; which our men perceiving, instantly forced them, - brake that whole body; some of them flying on this side, some on the other side. of the reserve. Our men, pursuing them in great disorder, had the execution about four, or some say six miles. With much ado this done, and all their force being gone, not one man standing, but all beaten out of the field, - we drew up our body together, and kept the field, - the half of our men being well worn in the chase of the Enemy.

[#] Means "towards."

^{** &}quot;that time," in orig.

Upon this we endeavoured the Business we came for; which was the relief of the Town with Ammunition. We sent-in some Powder, which was the great want of that Town. Which done, word was brought us that the Enemy had about Six Troops of Horse, and Three-hundred Foot, a little on the other side of the Town. Upon this we drew some musketeers out of the Town, and with our body of horse marched towards them. We saw two Troops towards the Mill; which my men drove down into a little village at the bottom of the Hill: when we [we emphatic] came with our horse to the top of that hill, we saw in the bottom a whole regiment of Foot, after that another and another, — and, as some counted, about Fifty Colours of Foot. Which indeed was my Lord Newcastle's Army; — with which he now besieges Gainsborough.

My Lord Willoughby commanded me to bring off the Foot and Horse: which I endeavoured; but the Foot (the Enemy pressing on with the Army) retreated in some disorder into the Town, being of that Garrison. Our Horse also, being wearied, and unexpectedly pressed by this new force, so great, — gave off, not being able to brave the charge. But, with some difficulty, we got our Horse into a body, and with them faced the Enemy; and retreated in such order that though the Enemy followed hard, they were not able to disorder us, but we got them off safe, to Lincoln, from this fresh force, and lost not one man. The honour of this retreat, equal to any of late times, is due to Major Whalley and Captain Ayscough, next under God.

This Relation I offer you for the honour of God (to whom be all the praise); as also to let you know you have some servants faithful to you, to incite to action. I beseech you let this good success quicken your continuing to this Engagement! It's great evidence of God's favour. Let not your business be starved. I know, if all be of your mind, we shall have an honourable return. It's your own business: — a reasonable strength now raised speedily, may do that which much more will not do after some time. Undoubtedly, if they succeed here, you will see them in the bowels of your Association!

'As' for the time, you will hear it from your noble Kinsman and Colonel Palgrave: if we be not able in ten days to relieve Gainsborough, a noble Lord will be lost, many good Foot, and a considerable Pass over Trent in these parts. — The Lord prosper your endeavours and ours. I beseech you present my humble service to the high honourable Lady. Sir, I am

Your faithful servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

P.S. — I stayed, 'from the chase after our first encounter,' two of my own Troops, and my Major stayed his; in all three. There were in front of the Enemy's reserve, three or four of the Lincoln Troops yet unbroken: the Enemy charged those Troops; utterly broke and chased them; so that none of the Troops on our part stood, but my three. Whilst the Enemy was following our flying Troops, I charged him on the rear with my three Troops; drove him down the Hill, brake him all to pieces; forced Lieutenant-General Cavendish into a Bog, who fought in this reserve: one Officer cut him on the head; and, as he lay, my Captain-Lieutenant Berry thrust him into the short ribs, of which he died, about two hours after, in Gainsborough. §

By this Postscript is at last settled the question, Who killed Charles Cavendish? It was "my Captain-Lieutenant Berry;" he and no other, if any one still wish to know. Richard Baxter's friend once; and otherwise a known man.

No. 6.

LETTER TO FAIRFAX, ON THE ACTION AT ISLIP-BBIDGE AND BLETCHINGTON.

[Vol. i. p. 203.]

WRITTEN the night before that in the Text, on the same subject.

'For the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Army:
These.'

RIGHT HONOURABLE, 'Bletchington,' 24th April 1645.
I met at my rendezvous at Watlington, on Wednesday

[§] Original in the possession of Dawson Turner, Esq., Great Yarmouth; printed in Papers of Norfolk Archaeological Society (Norwich, Jan. 1848), pp. 45-50.

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last; where I stayed somewhat long for the coming-up of the Body of Horse, which your Honour was pleased to give me the command of. After the coming whereof, I marched with all expedition to Wheatley-Bridge; having sent before to Major-General Browne, for what intelligence he could afford me of the state of affairs in Oxford (I being not so well acquainted in those parts), — of the condition, and number, of the Enemy in Oxford. Who himself informed me by letters, That Prince Maurice his forces were not in Oxford, as I supposed; and that, — as he was informed by four very honest and faithful Gentlemen that came out of Oxford to him a little before the receipt of my letter, — there were Twelve pieces of Ordnance with their carriages and wagons, ready for their march; and in another place Five more pieces with their carriages, ready to advance with their Convoy.

After I received this satisfaction from Major-General Browne, I advanced this morning,—being Thursday, the twenty-fourth of April,—near to Oxford. There I lay before the Enemy; who perceiving it at Oxford, and being in readiness to advance, sent out a party of Horse against me: part of the Queen's Regiment, part of the Earl of Northampton's Regiment, and part of the Lord Wilmot's Regiment;—who made an infall upon me.

Whereupon, I drew forth your Honour's Regiment, — lately mine own, — against the Enemy (who had drawn themselves into several Squadrons, to be ready for action); — and commanded your Honour's own Troop therein, to charge a Squadron of the Enemy. Who performed it so gallantly that, after a short firing, they entered the whole Squadron, and put them to a confusion. And the rest of my Horse presently entering after them, they made a total rout of the Enemy; and had the chase of them three or four miles; — and killed Twohundred; took as many prisoners, and about Four-hundred horses. 'Also' the Queen's colours, richly embroidered, with the Crown in the midst, and eighteen flower-de-luces wrought all about in gold, with a golden cross on the top. — Many escaped to Oxford, and divers were drowned.

Part of them likewise betook themselves to a strong House in Bletchington; where Colonel Windebank kept a Garrison, with near Two-hundred horse and foot therein. Which, after surrounding it, I summoned: — but they seemed very dilatory in their answer. At last, they sent out Articles to me of Surrender, — which I have sent your Honour enclosed: — and after a large treaty thereupon, the Surrender was agreed upon between us. They left behind them between Two and Three hundred muskets, Seventy horses; besides other arms and ammunition. — I humbly rest,

Your honour's humble servant, OLIVER CROMWELL.S

No. 7.

BATTLE OF NASEBY. BURIAL OF COLONEL PICKERING. Two LETTERS CONCERNING ELY.

[Vol. i. pp. 212, 236.]

(a.) The following very rough Notes of a studious Tourist will perhaps be acceptable to some readers. Notes dashed down evidently in the most rough-and-ready manner, but with a vigilant eye both on the Old Books and on the actual Ground of Naseby; taken, as appears, in the year 1842.

"Battle of Naseby, 14th June 1645: From Sprigge (London, "1647); Rushworth, vi. (London, 1701); Old Pamphlets; and "the Ground.

"Fairfax's Stages towards Naseby (Sprigge, p. 30 et seqq.).
"Wednesday, 11th June, a rainy day: Marched 'from Stony "Stratford to Wootton,' — three miles south of Northampton.
"Bad quarters there: 'but the Mayor came,' &c. — Thursday, "12th June: From Wootton to (not 'Guilsborough four miles "west of Northampton,' as Sprigge writes, but evidently) "Kislingbury and the Farmsteads round. The King 'lies en-"camped on Burrough Hill' (five miles off); has been 'hunting,' "this day: 'his horses all at grass.' The night again wet; "Fairfax, riding about, all night, on the spy is stopped by one "of his own sentries, &c.; 'at Flower' (near Weedon), sees the "King's Forces all astir on the Burrough Hill, about four in the "morning; 'firing their huts;' rapidly making off, — North-

Given in Rushworth, vi. 24.
 King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 203, § 7.

"ward, as it proved. At six, a Council of War. Cromwell, "greatly to our joy, has just come-in from the Associated "Counties, — 'received with shouts.' Major Harrison, with "horse, is sent towards Daventry to explore; Ireton, also with "horse, to the Northward, after the King's main-body. 'We,' "Fairfax's main-body, now set forward 'towards Harborough,' "flanking the King; and that night, — Friday, 13th June, — "arrive (not at 'Gilling,' as Sprigge has it, — is there any such "place? — but) at Guilsborough." Which is the last of the "Stages.

"The King's van is now, this Friday night, at Harborough; "his rear is quartered in Naseby, — where Ireton beats them up "(probably about half-past nine), 'taking prisoners,' &c.: and "so the fugitives rouse the King out of his bed 'at Luben-"ham;'** — who thereupon drives-off to Prince Rupert at "Harborough; arrives about midnight; calls a Council ('rest-"ing himself in a chair in a low room,' till Rupert and the rest get on their clothes); and there, after debate,*** determines "on turning back to beat the Roundheads for this affront. — "Ireton lies at Naseby, therefore; 'we' (Fairfax and the Army),

"at Guilsborough, all this night.

"Battle of Naseby. Saturday, 14th June 1645. Starting "at three in the morning, we arrive about five at Naseby. King "reported to be at Harborough," uncertain whitherward next: "behold, 'great bodies of his troops are seen coming over the "Hill from Harborough towards us;" — he has turned, and is "for fighting us then! We put our Army in order, — 'large "fallow field northwest of Naseby,' 'the brow of the Hill running "east and west' 'for something like a mile:' King has sunk out "of sight in a hollow; but comes up again nearer us,† and "now evidently drawn-out for battle. We fall back, 'about a "hundred paces, from the brow of the Hill,' to hide ourselves "and our plans: he rushes on the faster, thinking we run "('much of his ordnance left behind'): the Battle joins on the "tes our Strength.

"About Three-hundred Musketeers of ours on the Left Wing, "are advanced a little, as a forlorn, down the steep of the Hill;

Rushworth, vi. 46 (Despatch from the Parliament Commissioners).
 See Iter Carolinum, to.
 ** See Clarendon, &c.
 * "At Sibbertoft" (Rushworth).

"they retire firing, as Rupert charges up: Ireton and Skippon "command in this quarter; 'Lantford Hedges,' a kind of "thicket which runs right down the Hill, is lined with Colonel "Okcy and his dragoons, — all on foot at present, and firing "lustily on Rupert as he gallops past. — Cromwell is on the extreme Right (casternmost part of the Hill): he, especially "Whalley under him, dashes down before the Enemy's charge "upwards (which is led by Langdale) can take effect; scatters "said charge to the winds; not without hard cutting: a good "deal impeded 'by furze-bushes' and 'a cony-warren." These "Royalist Horse, Langdale's, fled all behind their own Foot, "'a quarter of a mile from the Battle-ground,' — i. e. near to the "present Farm of Dust Hill, or between that and Clipstow; — "and never fought again. So that Cromwell had only to keep "them in check; and aid his own Main-battle to the left of him:

"which he diligently did.

"Our Right Wing, then, has beaten Langdale. But Rupert. "on the other side of the field, beats back our Left: - over "'Rutput Hill,' 'Fenny Hill' (Fanny Hill, as the Old Books call "it); towards Naseby Hamlet; on to our Baggage-train (which "stands on the northwest side of the Hamlet, eastward of said "'Rutput' and 'Fenny,' but northward of 'Leane Leafe Hill,'
"very sober 'Hills,' I perceive!). Our extreme Left was "'hindered by pits and ditches' in charging, at any rate, it lost "the charge; fled: and Rupert now took to attacking the Bag-"gage and its Guard. - in vain, and with very wasteful delay. "For our Main-battle too was in a critical state; and might have "been overset, at this moment. Our Main-battle, - our Horse "on the Left of it giving way; and the King's Foot 'coming up "into sight,' over the brow of the Hill, 'with one terrible "volley," and then with swords and musket-butts, — 'mostly all "fled." Mostly all: except the Officers, who 'snatched the "colours,' 'fell into the Reserves with them,' &c. And then, "said Reserves now rushing on, and the others rallying to them: "and Cromwell being victorious and diligent on the Right, and "Rupert idle among the Baggage on the Left, - the whole "business was erelong retrieved; and the King's Foot and other "Force were all driven pell-mell down the Hill: towards Dust "Hill (or eastward of the present Farm-house, I think). There "the King still stood, - joined at last by Rupert, and strug-"gling to rally his Horse for another brush; but the Foot would "not halt, the Foot were all off: and the Horse too, seeing 1645.]

"Cromwell with all our Horse and victorious Foot now again "ready for a second charge, would not stand it; but broke; and "dissipated, towards Harborough, Leicester, and Infinite "Space.

"The Fight began at ten o'clock; * lasted three hours: ** "there were some Five-thousand Prisoners; how many Slain I

"cannot tell."

(b.) Colonel Pickering, a distinguished Officer, whose last notable exploit was at the storm of Basing House, has caught the epidemic, "new disease" as they call it, some ancient influenza very prevalent and fatal during those wet winter-operations; and after a few days' illness, "at Autree" (St. Mary Ottery) where the headquarter was, is dead. Sir Gilbert, his brother, is a leading man in Parliament, with much service yet before him; - Cousin Dryden, one day to be Poet Dryden, is in Northamptonshire, a lad of fourteen at present. Sprigge (p. 156) has a pious copy of "sorrowful verse over dear Colonel Pickering's hearse:" and here is a Note concerning his funeral.

To Colonel Cicely at Pendennis Castle: These.

Sir.

Tiverton, 10th December 1645.

It's the desire of Sir Gilbert Pickering that his deceased Brother, Colonel Pickering, should be interred in your Garrison: and to the end his Funeral may be solemnised with as much honour as his memory calls for, you are desired to give all possible assistance therein. The particulars will be offered to you by his Major, Major Jubbs, *** with whom I desire you to concur herein.

And believe it, Sir, you will not only lay a huge obligation upon myself and all the Officers of this Army, but I dare assure you the General himself will take it for an especial favour, and will not let it go without a full acknowledgment. - But what need I prompt him to so honourable an action whose own ingenuity will be argument sufficient herein? Whereof rests assured Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Clarendon.

*** Cromwell's Letter.

*** "Gubbs," he writes.

** Polwhele's Traditions and Recollections (London, 1826), i. 22: with a Note on Ciccity, and reference to "the Original among the Family Papers of the Rev. G. Moore, of Grampound."

(c.) A Couple of very small Letters, which have now (May, March, 1846) accidentally turned up, too late for insertion in the Text, may find their corner here.

1. The First, which is fully dated (just eight days before the Battle of Naseby), but has lost its specific Address, may without much doubt be referred to Ely and the "Fortifications" going on there.*

'To Captain Underwood, at Ely: These.'

CAPTAIN UNDERWOOD, Huntingdon, 6th June 1645.

I desire the guards may be very well strengthened and looked unto. Let a new breastwork be made about the gravel, ** and a new work half-musket-shot behind the old work; all storm-ground ** stuff. Tell Colonel Fothergill to take care of keeping strong guards. — Not having more, I rest, Yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL. &

2. "Sir Dudley North," Baronet, of Catlidge Hall near Newmarket, is Member for Cambridgeshire; sits too, there is small doubt, in the Ely Committee at London; — is wanted now

for a small County business.

The "30th of March," as we know, is but the fifth day of the then New Year: Oliver, — I find after some staggering, for his date will not suit with other things, — takes the cipher of the Old Year, as one is apt to do, and for 1647 still writes "1646." As this Entry, abridged from the Commons Journals,*** will irrefragably prove, to readers of his Letter: "John Hobart Esq. "dismissed from being Sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon "Shires, and Tristram Dyamond Esq. appointed in his place, 1st "January 1646," which, for us, and for Cromwell too on the 30th of March following, means 1647.

For the Honourable Sir Dudley North: These.

Sir, 'London,' 30th March 1646 [error for 1647.]

It being desired to have the Commission of the Peace renewed in the Isle of Ely,—with some addition, as you may perceive; none left out; only Mr. Diamond, now High

^{*} Commons Journals, iv. 161, 5; Cromwelliana, p. 16.

Word uncertain to the Copylst.
 Original now (May 1846) in the Baptist College, Bristol.
 7. 36 (1st Jan. 1646-7).



1647.]

Sheriff of the County, and my Brother Desborow, added, there being great want of one in that part of the Isle where I live, — I desire you to join with me in a Certificate; and rest,

Your humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL. *

No. 8.

LANGPORT BATTLE (10th July 1645). SUMMONS TO WINCHESTER.
[Vol. i. p, 233.]

HERE is Oliver's own account of the Battle of Langport, mentioned in our Text:

'To --.'

DEAR SIR, 'Langport, - July 1645.'

I have now a double advantage upon you, through the goodness of God, who still appears for us. And as for us, we have seen good things in this last mercy, — it is not inferior to any we have had: — as followeth.

We were advanced to Long-Sutton, near a very strong place of the Enemy's, called Langport; far from our Garrisons, without much ammunition, in a place extremely wanting in provisions, — the Malignant Clubmen interposing, who are ready to take all advantages against our parties, and would undoubtedly take them against our Army, if they had opportunity. — Goring stood upon the advantage of strong passes, staying until the rest of his recruits came up to his Army, with a resolution not to engage until Grenvile and Prince Charles his men were come up to him. We could not well have necessitated him to an Engagement, nor have stayed one day longer without retreating to our ammunition and to conveniency of victual.

In the morning, word was brought us, That the Enemy drew out. He did so, with a resolution to send most of his cannon and baggage to Bridgewater, — which he effected, — but with a resolution not to fight, but, trusting to his ground, thinking he could make away at pleasure.

The pass was strait between him and us; he brought two

§ Original in the possession of the Rev. W. S. Spring Casborne, of Pakenham, Suffolk; a descendant of the North Family.

cannons to secure his, and laid his Musketeers strongly in the hedges. We beat-off his cannon, fell down upon his Musketeers, beat them off from their strength, and, where our Horse could scarcely pass two abreast, I commanded Major Bethel to charge them with two Troops of about one-hundred-andtwenty Horse. Which he performed with the greatest gallantry imaginable; - beat back two bodies of the Enemy's Horse, being Goring's own Brigade; brake them at sword'spoint. The Enemy charged him with near 400 fresh Horse; set them all going, — until, oppressed with multitudes, he brake through them, with the loss not of above three or four men. Major Desborow seconded him, with some other of those Troops, which were about three. Bethel faced about; and they both routed, at sword's point, a great body of the Enemy's Horse. Which gave such an unexpected terror to the Enemy's Army, that it set them all a-running. Our Foot, in the mean time, coming on bravely, and beating the Enemy from their strength, we presently had the chase to Langport and Bridgewater. We took and killed about 2000, - brake all his Foot. We have taken very many Horses, and considerable Prisoners. What are slain we know not. We have the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance; Colonel Preston, Colonel Heveningham, Colonel Slingsby, we know of, besides very many other Officers of quality. All Major-General Massey's party was with him, seven or eight miles from us. - and about twelve-hundred of our Foot, and three Regiments of our Horse. So that we had but Seven Regiments with us.

Thus you see what the Lord hath wrought for us. Can any creature ascribe anything to itself? Now can we give the glory to God, and desire all may do so, for it is all due unto Him!— Thus you have Long-Sutton mercy added to Naseby mercy. And to see this, is it not to see the face of God! You have heard of Naseby: it was a happy victory. As in this, so in that, God was pleased to use His servants; and if men will be malicious, and swell with envy, we know Who hath said, If they will not see, yet they shall see, and be ashamed for their envy at His people.— I can say this of Naseby, That when I saw

Γ.

SIR.

the Enemy draw up and march in gallant order towards us, and we a company of poor ignorant men, to seek how to order our battle, — the General having commanded me to order all the Horse, — I could not, riding alone about my business, but smile out to God in praises, in assurance of victory, because God would, by things that are not, bring to naught things that are. Of which I had great assurance; and God did it. O that men would therefore praise the Lord, and declare the wonders that He doth for the children of men!

I cannot write more particulars now. I am going to the rendezvous of all our Horse, three miles from Bridgewater; we march that way. — It is a seasonable mercy. I cannot better tell you than write, That God will go on! — We have taken two guns, three carriages of ammunition. In the chase, the Enemy quitted Langport; when they ran out of one end of the Town, we entered the other. They fired that at which we should chase; which hindered our pursuit: but we overtook many of them. I believe we got near Fifteen-hundred Horse.

Sir, I beg your prayers. Believe, and you shall be established. I rest,

Your servant, 'Oliver Chomwell.' §

A couple of months after this battle, Oliver is before Winchester, and makes this Summons:

To the Mayor of the City of Winchester.

'Before Winchester,' 28th September 1645, 5 o'clock at night.

I come not to this City but with a full resolution to save it, and the Inhabitants thereof, from ruin.

I have commanded the soldiers, upon pain of death, That no wrong be done: — which I shall strictly observe; only I expect you give me Entrance into the City, without necessitating me to force my way; which if I do, then it will not be

[§] Pamphlet in Lincoln College, Oxford, no. 10: "Battles of Sieges." Letter entitled "The Copy of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's Letter to a worthy Member of the House of Commons, published by Authority, London, 1645."

in my power to save you or it. I expect your Answer within half an hour; and rest

Your humble servant, OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 9.

ARMY TROUBLES IN 1647.

[Vol. i. p. 274.]

THE Vote "that Field-Marshal Skippon, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, Commissary-General Ireton and Colonel Fleetwood," all Members of this House, "shall proceed to their charges in the Army," and endeavour to quiet all distempers there, — was passed on the 30th of April: day of the Three Troopers and Army-Letter, and directly on the back of that occurrence.* They went accordingly, perhaps on the morrow, and proceeded to business; but as nothing specific came of them, or could come, till the 8th of May, that day is taken as the date of the Deputation. — Here are Three Letters from them; one prior and one posterior; which, copied from the Tanner Mss., have got into print, but cannot throw much light on the affair.

1. "'To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These.'

"'Saffron Walden, 3d May 1647.

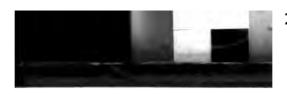
"SIR, — We have sent out orders to summon the Officers of "the several Regiments to appear before us on Thursday next; "to the end we may understand from them the true condition "and temper of the Soldiers in relation to the Discontents "lately represented; and the better to prepare and enable them, "— by speaking with them, and acquainting them with your "Votes, "* — to allay any Discontents that may be among the "Soldiers.

"We judged this way most likely to be effectual to your "service; though it ask some time, by reason of the distance of "the quarters. When we shall have anything worthy of your

[§] History and Antiquities of Winchester (London, 1773), ii. 127.

Commons Journals, v. 158: see antea, vol. i. p. 272.

Votes passed that same 30th of April: That the Soldiers shall have Indemnity; that they shall have Pay, — and in short, Justice (Commons Journals, v. 158). "Thursday next" is the 6th of May.



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ARMY TROUBLES IN 1647.

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"knowledge, we shall represent it; — and in the mean time "study to approve ourselves,

"Your most humble servants.

"Ph. Skippon.

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"H. IRETON." *

2. "'To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These.

"Saffron Walden, 8th May 1647.

"SIR, - According to our orders sent out to the Officers of "the Army, many of them appeared at the time appointed. The "greatest failing was of Horse Officers; who, by reason of the "great distance of their quarters from this place (being some of "them above three-score miles off), could not be here: yet "there were, accidentally, some of every Regiment except "Colonel Whallev's present at our Meeting; - which was upon "Friday morning, ** about ten of the clock.

"After some discourse offered unto them, About the oc-"casion of the Meeting, together with the deep sense the Parlia-"ment had of some Discontents which were in the Army, and of "our great trouble also that it should be so, - we told them, "We were sent down to communicate the House of Commons' "Votes unto them; whereby their, 'the Parliament's,' care of "giving the Army satisfaction might appear: desiring them "'furthermore' To use their utmost diligence with all good "conscience and effect, by improving their interests in the "Soldiers, for their satisfaction; and that they would communi-"cate to their Soldiers the Votes, together with such informa-"tions as they received then from us, to the end their distemper "might be allayed. — After this had been said, and a Copy of "the Votes delivered to the Chief Officer of every respective "Regiment, to be communicated as aforesaid, - we desired "them To give us a speedy account of the success of their "endeavours; and if in anything they needed our advice or "assistance for furthering the work, we should be ready here at "Saffron Walden to give it them, upon notice from them.

"We cannot give you a full and punctual account of the par-

^{* &}quot;A Letter from Major-General" (elsewhere called Field-Marshal) "Skippon, Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commissary General Ireton, was this day read" (Commons Journals, 4th May 1647).

** Friday, yesterday; not "Thursday," as at first proposed.

"ticular distempers, with the grounds of them: because the "Officers were desirous to be spared therein by us, until they "might make a further inquiry amongst the Soldiers, and see "what effect your Votes and their endeavours might have with "them. We desire as speedy an account of this business as "might well be: but, upon the desire of the Officers, thought it "necessary for the service to give them until Saturday next* "to bring us an account of their business, by reason the Regi-"ments were so far distant.

"As anything falls out worthy of your knowledge, we shall "represent it; and in the mean time study to approve ourselves,

"Your most humble servants,

"PH. SKIPPON. "OLIVER CROMWELL.

"H. IRETON.

"Charles Fleetwood."

8. "'To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These.

"Walden, 17th May 1647. "SIR, — We having made some progress in the Business you "commanded us upon, we are bold to give you this account. "Which, although it come not with that expedition you may "expect and your other affairs require, yet we hope you will be "pleased to excuse us with the weight of the Affair: in com-"parison whereof nothing that ever yet we undertook was, at "least to our apprehension, equal; and wherein, whatever the "issue prove, our greatest comfort is. That our consciences bear "us witness we have, according to our abilities, endeavoured "faithfully to serve you and the Kingdom.

"The Officers repaired to us at Saffron Walden upon Satur-"day last, according to appointment, to give us a return of "what they had in charge from us at our last Meeting; which "was, To read your Votes to the Soldiers under their respective "commands for their satisfaction, and to improve their interest "faithfully and honestly with them to that end; and 'then' to "give us a perfect account of the effect of their endeavours, and "a true representation of the temper of the Army.

This day week; the 15th. "Letter from the General Officers," "from Walden, of 8th Maii 1647, was this day read" (Commons Journals, Tuesday, 11th May 1647). The Letter seems to be of Cromwell's writing. *** Means "response to."

1648. WELSH DISTURBANCES IN 1648.

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"At this Meeting, we received what they had to offer to us. "Which they delivered to us in writing, by the hands of some "chosen by the rest of the Officers then present, and in the "name of the rest of the Officers and of the Soldiers under their "commands. Which was not done till Sunday in the evening. "At which time, and likewise before upon Saturday, we ac"quainted them all with a Letter from the Earl of Manchester,
"expressing That an Act of Indemnity, large and full, had passed "the House of Commons;" and that two weeks' pay more was "voted to those that were disbanded, as also to them that "undertook the service of Ireland. And, thinking fit to dismiss "the Officers to their several commands, — all but some that "were to stay here about further business, — we gave them in "charge To communicate these last Votes to their Soldiers, and "to improve their utmost diligence and interest for their best "satisfaction."

"We must acknowledge, we found the Army under a deep "sense of some sufferings, and the common Soldiers much un"settled; whereof, that which we have to represent to you will
"give you a more perfect view. Which, because it consists of
"many papers, and needs some more method in the representa"tion of them to you than can be done by letter, and forasmuch
"as we were sent down by you to our several charges to do our
"best to keep the Soldiers in order, — we are not well satisfied,
"any of us, to leave the place nor duty you sent us to, until we
"have the signification of your pleasure to us. To which we

"shall most readily conform; and rest,

"Your most humble servants,

"PH. SKIPPON.

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"H. IRETON.

"Charles Fleetwood."**

Nr. 10.

Welsh Disturbanceş in 1648.

[Vol. ii. p. 8.]

- 1. Some charge of Welsh misbehaviour, perhaps treachery, in the late May revolt; charge which, if founded, ought to be made good against "Edwards!" Colonel Hughes has been Governor of Chepstow, from the time when it was first taken in
 - * Commons Journals, v. 174 (14th May 1647).
 - ** Tanner Mss. (in Cary, i. 205-16.)

autumn 1645;* and, we may infer, has returned to his post since Ewers (25th May 1648) retook the Castle. Of Edwards, and his misdeeds, and his accusers, no other clear trace has occurred to me. But in Moyne's Court, Monmouthahire, the seat of this Colonel Thomas Hughes, the following old Note had turned up, and was printed in 1791.

'To Colonel Hughes, Chepstow Castle.'

COLONEL HUGHES, 'Before Pembroke,' 26th June 1648.

It's of absolute necessity that Collington and Ashe do attend the Council of War, to make good what they say of Edwards. Let it be your especial care to get them into Monmouthshire thereunto. What Mr. Herbert and Mrs. Cradock hath (sic) promised to them in point of indemnity, I will endeavour to have it performed; and I desire you to certify as much to them for their encouragement. I pray do this speedily after receipt hereof, and I shall remain

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. &

2. A short Letter to the Committee of Carmarthen. The ancient "Iron-furnaces" at Carmarthen, the "Committee" sitting there, the "Paper" or Proclamation from the Leaguer: these, and the other points of this Letter, will be intelligible to the reader.

For my nuble Friends the Committee of Carmarthen: These.

GENTLEMEN, The Leaguer before Pembroke, 9th June 1648.

I have sent this Bearer to you to desire we may have your furtherance and assistance in procuring some necessaries to be cast in the Iron-furnaces in your county of Carmarthen, which will the better enable us to reduce the Town and Castle of Pembroke.

The principal things are: Shells for our Mortarpiece; the depth of them we desire may be of fourteen inches and three-quarters of an inch. That which I desire at your hands is, To cause the service to be performed, and that with all possible

^{*} Commons Journals, iv. 321 and v. 115.

[§] The Topographer, edited by Sir E. Brydges (London, March 1791), iv. 125-9.

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expedition; that so, if it be the will of God, the service being done, these poor wasted countries may be freed from the burden of the Army.

In the next place, we desire some D cannon-shot, and some culverin-shot, may with all possible speed be cast for us, and hasted to us also.

We give you thanks for your care in helping us with bread and [word lost]. You do herein a very special service to the State; and I do most earnestly desire you to continue herein, according to our desire in the late Letters. I desire that copies of this Paper * may be published throughout your county, and the effects thereof observed; for the ease of the county, and to avoid the wronging of the country men.

Not doubting the continuance of your care to give assistance to the Public in the services we have in hand, I rest,

Your affectionate servant,

O. Cromwell. §

3. In the Town Archives of Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, are the following three Papers; footmarks, still visible, of Oliver's transit through those parts. Twelfth July, date of the first Paper, is the morrow after Pembroke surrendered.

(a.) "To the Mayor and Aldermen of Haverfordwest.

"We being authorised by Parliament to view and consider "what Garrisons and Places of Strength are fit to be de"molished; and we finding that the Castle of Haverford is not
"tenable for the services of the State, and yet that it may be
"possessed by ill-affected persons, to the prejudice of the peace
"of these parts: These are to authorise you to summon-in the
"Hundred of Roose and the inhabitants of the Town and
"County of Haverfordwest; and that they forthwith demolish
"the several walls and towers of the said Castle; so as that the
"said Castle may not be possessed by the Enemy, to the en"dangering of the peace of these parts.

"Given under our hands, this 12th of July 1648.
"ROGER LORT. JOHN LORT

"Roger Lort. John Lort.
"Samson Lort. Thomas Barlowe.

^{*} Some Proclamation seemingly, — of the conceivable sort.

§ Brayley's Graphic and Historical Illustrator (London, 1834), p. 355.

"Original in the hands of Richard Williams, Esq., Stapleton Hall, Hornaed."

"We expect an account of your proceedings, with effect, in "this business, by Saturday being the 15th of July instant."

To which Oliver appends:

If a speedy course be not taken to fulfil the commands of this Warrant, I shall be necessitated to consider of settling a Garrison.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

(b.) "For the Honourable Lieutenant-General Crommell at Pembroke.
"Haverfordwest, 13th July 1648.

"HONOURED SIR, — We received an Order from your "Honour and the Committee, for the demolishing of the Castle "of Haverfordwest. According to which we have this day set "some workmen about it: but we find the work so difficult to "be brought about without powder to blow it by, that it will "exhaust an 'huge' sum of money, and will not in a long time "be effected.

"Wherefore we become suitors of your Honour that there "may a competent quantity of Powder be spared out of the "Ships, for the speedy effecting the work, and the County "paying for the same. And we likewise desire that your "Honour and the Committee be pleased that the whole County "may join with us in the work; and that an Order be considered for the levying of a competent sum of money on the "several Hundreds of the County, for the paying for the Powder, "and defraying the rest of the charge.

"Thus being over-hold to be troublesome to your Honour;

"desiring to know your Honour's resolves, — we rest,
"Your Honour's humble servants,

"JOHN PRYNNE, Mayor.
"JENKIN HOWELL. WILLIAM WILLIAMS.
"WILLIAM BOWEN, JOB DAVIES.

"Roger Bevans. Etheldred Davies."

Gunpowder cannot be spared on light occasion; and "levying of competent sums" have had their difficulties before now: here is the handier method:

(c.) To the Mayor and Aldermen of Haverfordwest.

Whereas upon view and consideration with Mr. Roger Lort, Mr. Samson Lort, and the Mayor and Aldermen of Haverfordwest, it is thought fit, for the preserving of the peace of this County, that the Castle of Haverfordwest should be speedily demolished:

These are to authorise you to call unto your assistance, in the performance of this exercise (?), the Inhabitants of the Hundreds of Dungleddy, Dewisland, Kemis, Roose and Kilgerran; who are hereby required to give you assistance.

Given under our hands this 14th of July 1648.

OLIVER CROMWELL ['and the two Lorts in a corner of the Paper'].§

No. 11.

LETTER TO THE DERBY-HOUSE COMMITTEE AFTER PRESTON BATTLE.

[Vol. ii. p. 39.]

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the Letter in the Text to the York Committee to help in pursuit of Duke Hamilton, Oliver writes home for fresh Supplies.

To the Right Honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons at Derby House: These. Haste, haste.

My Lords and Gentlemen, Wigan, 23d August 1648.

I did not (being straitened with time) send you an account of the great blessing of God upon your Army: -I trust it is satisfactory to your Lordships that the House had

it so fully presented to them.

My Lords, it cannot be imagined that so great a business as this could be without some Loss; — although I 'confess' very little compared with the weightiness of the Engagement; there being on our part not an Hundred Slain, yet many Wounded. And to our little it is a real weakening, for indeed we are but a handful. I submit to your Lordships. whether you will think fit or no To recruit our Loss; we having but Five poor Regiments of foot, and our horse so exceedingly battered as I never saw them in all my life. - It is not to be doubted but your Enemy's designs are deep: this Blow will make them very angry: the principles they went on were such as should a little awaken Englishmen; for I have

[§] Printed in Welshman Newspaper (Carmarthen, 29th Dec. 1848).

heard it from very good hands of their own party, that the Duke made this the argument to his Army, That the Lands of the Country and - [illegible the next line or two, from ruin of the paper; the words lost mean clearly, "That the Scots were to share our lands among them, and come to inhabit the conquered country:" a very high figure of rumour indeed! which accordingly is done in part, there being a Transplantation of many women and children and of whole families in Westmoreland and Cumberland, as I am credibly informed [for the moment!] - Much more might be said; but I forbear. I offer it to your Lordships that Money may be 'sent' to pay the foot and horse to some equality. Some of those that are here seventy days before I marched from Windsor into Wales have not had any pay; and amongst the horse, my own Regiment and some others are much behind. I wish your Lordships may manage it for the best advantage, and not be wanting to yourselves in what is necessary: which is the end of my offering these things to you. My Lords, Money is not for Contingencies so as were to be wished; we have very many things to do which might be better done if we had wherewithal. Our Foot want Clothes. Shoes and Stockings; these ways and weather have shattered them all to pieces: that which was the great blow to our Horse was (beside the weather and incessant marches) our March ten miles to fight with the Enemy, and a Fight continuing four hours in as dirty a place as ever I saw horse stand in; and, upon the matter, the continuance of this Fight two days more together in our following the Enemy, and lying close by him in the mire — [moths again and mildew until at length we broke him at a near a great party of our horse having miles towards Lancaster; who came up to us, and were with us in all the Action]. - These things I thought fit to intimate, not knowing what is fit to ask, because I know not how your Affairs stand, nor what you can supply.

I have sent Major-General Lambert, upon the day I received the Enclosed, with above Two-Thousand horse and ragoons and about Fourteen-Thousand foot in prosecution

of the Duke and the Nobility of Scotland with him; who will, I doubt not, have the blessing of God with him in the business. But indeed his horse are exceeding weak and weary.— I have sent to Yorkshire and to my Lord Grey to alarm all parts to a prosecution: and if they be not wanting to the work, I see not how many can escape. I am marched myself back to Preston;— and so on towards Monro or otherwise, as God shall direct.

As things fall out, I shall represent them to you; and rest, My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your most humble 'servant,'
OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 12.

LETTER TO THE DERBY-HOUSE COMMITTEE IN 1648.
[Vol. ii. p. 64.]

RECAPITULATING what is already known in the Text; finds its place here.

To the Right Honourable the Committe of Lords and Commons at Derby House.

My Lords and Gentlemen, Norham, 20th Sept. 1648.

I did, from Alnwick, write to Sir William Armyn* an account of our condition; and recommended to him divers particular considerations about your affairs here in the North,—with a desire of particular things to be done by your Lordships' appointment, in order to the carrying-on of your affairs. I send you here a copy of the Summons that was sent to Berwick** when I was come as far as Alnwick; as also of a Letter written to the Committee of Estates of Scotland:***—I mean those who we did presume were convened as Estates, and were the men that managed the business of the War. But there being, as I learned since, none such; the Earl of Roxburgh and some others having deserted, so that they are not

[§] Tanner wss. lvii. (1.) 229. Original signed inside and out by Cromwell: much injured by mildew and moths.

Original Member for Grantham; one of the Committee, and from of old busy in those International concerns.
 Letter LXX. (vol. il. p. 51.)
 *** Letter LXXII. (vol. il. p. 54.)

able to make a Committee: — I believe the sail Letter is suppressed, * and retained in the hands of Colonel Bright and Mr. William Rowe. For whom we "had" obtained a safe Convoy to go to the Estates of that Kingdom with our sail Letter: the Governor of Berwick's Answer to our Summons leading us thereunto. By advantage whereof we did instruct them to give all assurances to the Marquis of Argyle and the Honest Party in Scotland. — who we heard were gathered together in a considerable Body about Edinburgh, to make opposition to the Earl of Lanark. Monro, and their Armies. — of our good affection to them. Wherewith they went the 16th of this month.

Upon the 17th of this month Sir Andrew Ker and Major Strahan, with divers other Scots Gentlemen, brought me this enclosed Letter, signed by the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, as your Lordships will see. They also showed me their Instructions, and a Paper containing the matter of their Treaty with Lanark and Monro; as also an Expostulation upon Lanark's breach with them. — in falling upon Argyle and his men, contrary to agreement, wherein the Marquis hardly escaped, they having hold of him, but Seven-hundred of his men were killed and taken.** These Papers I also send here enclosed to your Lordships.

So soon as those Gentlemen came to me. I called a Council of War; the result whereof was the Letter directed to the Lord Chancellor:*** a Copy whereof your Lordships have here enclosed. Which I delivered to Sir Andrew Ker and Major Strahan; with which they returned upon the 18th, being the next day.

Upon private discourse with these Gentlemen. I do find the condition of their Affairs and their Army to be thus: The Earl of Lanark, the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay. Monro, and their Army, hearing of our advance, and understanding the condition and endeavours of their Adversaries, — marched with all speed to get possession of Stirling-Bridge: that so

Not "suppressed," though it cannot be received except unofficially (vol. ii. p. 56.)

** Bishop Guthry's Memoirs.

*** Letter LXXIII. vol. ii. p. 56.)

1648.] DERBY-HOUSE COMMITTEE.

they might have three parts in four of Scotland at their backs, to raise men, and to enable themselves to carry on their designs. They were about 5,000 Foot, and 2,500 Horse. The Earl of Leven, who is chosen General; the Marquis of Argyle, with the Honest Lords and Gentlemen, David Lesley being the Lieutenant-General: "these," having about 7,000 Foot, but very weak in Horse, — lie about six miles this side the Enemy. I hear that their Infantry consists of men who come to them out of conscience; and are generally of the Godly People of that Nation, which they express by their piety and devotion in their quarters; and indeed I hear they are a very godly and honest body of men.

I think it is not unknown to your Lordships what directions I have received from you for the prosecution of our late Victory. Whereof I shall be bold to remember a clause of your Letter; which was, "That I should prosecute the re-maining Party in the North, and not leave any of them, wheresoever they go, to be a beginning of a new Army; nor case to pursue the Victory till I finish and fully complete it with the rendition of those Towns of Berwick and Carlisle, which most unjustly, and against all obligations, and the Treaties then in force, they surprised and garrisoned against us."

In order whereunto, I marched to the Borders of Scotland: where I found the whole Country so harassed and impoverished by Monro and the Forces with him, that the Country was no way able to bear us on the English side; but we must necessarily have ruined both your Army and the Subjects of this Kingdom, who would not have had bread for a day if we had continued among them. In prosecution of your Orders, and in answer to the necessities of your friends in Scotland, and their desires; and considering the necessity of marching into Scotland, to prevent the Governor of Berwick from putting of provisions into his Garrisons on the Scots side, whereof he is at present in some want, as we are informed,—I marched a good part of the Army over Tweed yesterday about noon, the residue being to come after as conveniently as we may.

Thus have I given your Lordships an account of our present condition and engagement. And having done so, I must discharge my duty in remembering to your Lordships the Desires formerly expressed in my Letters to Sir William Armyn and Sir John Evelyn, for supplies; and in particular for that of Shipping to be upon these Coasts, who may furnish us with Ammunition or other necessaries wheresoever God shall lead us; there being extreme difficulty to supply us by land, without great and strong convoys, which will weary-out and destroy our Horse, and cannot well come to us if the Tweed be up, without going very far about.

Having laid these things before you, I rest,
Your Lordships' most humble servant,
OLIVER CROKWELL.

P.S. Whilst we are here, I wish there be no neglect of the Business in Cumberland and Westmoreland. I have sent Orders both into Lancashire and to the Horse before Pontefract. I should be glad your Lordships would second them, and those other considerations expressed in my Desires to Sir William Armyn thereabouts. §

No. 13.

LETTER ON BEHALF OF YOUNG CHOLMELY.

[Vol. ii. p. 78.]

WRITTEN on the march from Carlisle to Pontefract.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the House of Commons: These.

SIR, Boroughbridge, 28th October 1648.

I do not often trouble you in particular businesses; but I shall be bold now, upon the desire of a worthy Gentleman, Lieutenant-Colonel Cholmely, to entreat your favour in his behalf.

The case stands thus. His son Major Cholmely, who was bold in the Fight against the Scots at Berwick,* was Custom-

[§] Old Pamphlet: in Parliamentary History, xvii. 481.

Against Monro, I suppose, when he ended his maraudings in that quarter (vol. li, p. 47).

master at Carlisle; — the Gentleman 'had' merited well from you. Since his death, his aged Father, having lost this his Eldest Son in your service, did resolve to use his endeavours to procure the place for a Younger Son, who had likewise been in your service. And resolving to obtain my Letter to some friends about it, did acquaint an undertenant of the place for his Son with this his purpose To come to me to the borders of Scotland to obtain the said Letter; — which the said servant 'or undertenant' did say, Was very well.

And when the said Lieutenant-Colonel was come for my Letter, this tenant immediately hastens away to London; where he, in a very circumventing and deceitful way, prefers a Petition to the House of Commons; gets a reference to the Committee of the Navy; who approve of the said man, 'the undertenant,' by the mediation of some gentlemen: — but I hear there is a stop of it in the House.

My humble suit to you is, That if Colonel Morgan do wait upon you about this business, — I having given you this true information of the state of it, as I have received it, — you would be pleased to further his desire concerning Lieutenant-Colonel Cholmely's youngest Son, that he may have the place conferred upon him; and that you would acquaint some of my friends herewith.

By which you will very much oblige,
Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 14.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE MAYOR OF WATERFORD.
[Vol. ii. p. 214.]

PRESERVED in the anonymous Fragment of a Narrative, more than once referred to, are these Letters and Replies:

LETTER 1. To the Moyor and Aldermen of the City of Waterford.

Gentlemen, Kilbarry, near Waterford, 21st November 1649.

I have received information that you hitherto refuse a Garrison of the Enemy to be imposed upon you; as also that some

§ Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 46.)

Factions in the Town are very active still, notwithstanding your refusal, to persuade you to the contrary.

Being come into these parts, not to destroy people and places, but to save them, that men may live comfortably and happily by their trade, if the fault be not in themselves; and purposing also, by God's assistance, to reduce this City of Waterford to its due obedience, as He shall dispose the matter, by Force, or by Agreement with you upon Terms wherein your own good and happiness, and that of your wives, children and families may consist, notwithstanding 'what' some busy-headed persons may pretend to the contrary; 'and' knowing that if after all this you shall receive a Garrison, it will probably put you out of a capacity to make any such Accord for yourselves, which was the cause of the ruin of the Town and people of Wexford, — I thought fit to lay these things before you; leaving you to use your own judgment therein.

And if any shall have so much power upon you as to persuade you that these are the counsels of an enemy, I doubt it will hardly prove, in the end, that they gave you better. You did once live flourishingly under the power (sic) and in commerce with England. It shall be your own faults if you do not so again. I send these intimations timeously to you: weigh them well; it so behoves you. I rest,

Your loving friend, OLIVER CROMWELL.

Reply 1. "For General Cromwell, General of the Parliament Forces in Ireland.

"Waterford, 23d November 1649.

"My LORD, — Your Letter of the 21st, directed to me and "my Aldermen, we have, by your Trumpet, received. Your "Lordship's advice, as we do all others, we weigh with the con"dition of our safety; and so far shall make use thereof as it "contributes to the same.

"For your intentions of reducing this City, by Force or "Agreement: — as we will by all possible means endeavour our "natural defence against the first, so happily will we not be "averse to the latter, — if we shall find it not dishonourable nor

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"destructive. And for that purpose 'we' do desire your Lord-"ship will grant us a Cessation, for fifteen days, from all acts of "hostility; and send us Safe-conducts, with blanks for the men "we shall employ, to treat with your Lordship; and in the in-"terim bring your Army no nearer this City than now it is.

"We have learned not to slight advice, if we find it whole"some, even from an enemy's hands; nor to deny him such
"thanks as it merits. And if your Lordship should deny us the
"time we look for, we doubt not, — with the men we have
"already in Town, though we should receive no more, — to
"make good this Place, till the Power of the Kingdom re"lieves us.

"To signify which to your Lordship, the Council and Com-

"mons have laid their commands on me,

"My Lord,

"Your very loving friend,
"John Lyvett, Mayor of Waterford."

LETTER 2. For the Mayor, Aldermen, or other Governor or Governors of the City of Waterford.

Gentlemen, From my Camp before Waterford, 24th November 1649.

I expected to have heard from you before this, by my Trumpet; but he not coming to me, I thought fit to send, That I might have an account given me, how you have disposed of him. And to save farther trouble, I have thought fit—

Hereby to summon you To surrender the City and Fort into my hands, to the use of the State of England.

o my hands, to the use of the State of England.

I expect to receive your answer to these things, and rest,

Your servant, OLIVER CROMWELL.

REPLY 2. "For the Lieutenant-General Cromwell.

"Waterford, 24th November 1649.

"My LORD, — Your Letter of the 24th I have received even "now; in which you desire an account of your Lordship's Trum"peter, sent with a former Letter to us; and summon us to de"liver your Lordship this City and Fort.

"Your Lordship's former Letter by your Trumpeter we have "answered yesterday morning; and do doubt, by the Trum-

"peter's not coming to you, he might have suffered some "mischance by going the County-of-Kilkenny way. We there"fore now send you a Copy of that Answer;* to which we "desire your Lordship's resolution. Before we receive which, "we cannot make further answer to the rest of your Letter.

"We therefore desire you will despatch the Safe-conduct "desired, and forbear acts of hostility during the Treaty; — and "you shall be very soon attended by Commissioners from, "My Lord,

"My Lord,
"Your Lordship's servant,
"John Lyvett, Mayor of Waterford."

LETTER 3. To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Waterford.

SIES, 'Before Waterford,' 24th November 1649.

My first Trumpet not being yet come to me, makes me suspect that, as you say, he has suffered some mischance going by the way of the County of Kilkenny.

If I had received your Letter sooner, I should nevertheless, by the help of God, have marched up to this place, as I have done. And as for your desire of a Treaty, I am more willing to that way, for the prevention of blood and ruin, than to the other of Force;— although if necessitated thereunto, you and we are under the overruling Power of God, who will dispose of you and us as He pleaseth.

As to a Cessation for Fifteen Days, I shall not agree thereunto; because a far shorter time may bring this Business to a conclusion as well. But for Four or Five Days I am content that there be a Cessation of all acts of hostility betwixt your City and this Army: — provided you give me assurance That, in the mean time, no soldiers not now in your City be received into it, during the Cessation, nor for Twenty-four hours

after.

I expect to have your present answer hereto: because, if this be agreed-to, I shall forbear any nearer approach during the said Cessation.

> Your servant, OLIVER CROMWELL.

^{*} Reply 1; already given.



1649.]

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

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I have by this Bearer returned a Safe-convoy, as you desire, for what Commissioners you think fit to send out to me.§

No. 15.

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS: RENEGADO WOGAN.

[Vol. ii. p. 219 et seqq.]

THE Narrative Fragment above cited has these words, in reference to the affair at Passage and its consequences: "At that "time, there being one Captain Caufield a prisoner at Clonmel, "a stranger to the General, but being a prisoner on an English "account, the Army concerned themselves for him, and at a "Council of War certain Votes were passed," which we shall soon read:

'For Lieutenant-General Farrell, Governor of Clonmel.

'Cork, 4th January 1649.'

"At the Council of War held at the City of Cork, the Fourth "day of January, Anno Domini 1649, whereat the Lord-Lieu-"tenant of Ireland, the Lord President of Munster,* Sir Har-"dress Waller knight, and divers other chief Officers of the

"Army were present, it was resolved as followeth:

"1. That a Letter be sent, by Lieutenant-General Farrell's "Trumpet, to let him know, That for every private Foot-soldier "of our party, prisoner with him, whom he shall release, he "shall have so many of his private soldiers, prisoners with us, "released for them; and for every Trooper of ours which he "shall release, he shall have Two private Foot-soldiers released "for him.

"2. That the Lord-Lieutenant is ready to release Officers of "like quality for such Officers of ours as are in their power; and "that he will deliver a Major of Foot for a Captain of Horse, and Two Captains of Foot for a Captain of Horse; and so proportionably."

"3. Or that he will deliver Major-General Butler, the Earl of Ormond's Brother, for those Officers of ours now in their

"custody."

SIR,

Having lately received an advertisement, that some of the principal Officers of the Irish Army did send menacing Orders

§ Fragment of Narrative: in Ayscough MSS. no. 4769, p. 95 et seqq. a Ireton.

Carlyle, Cromwell. IV.

to the Governor of Clonmel, to be communicated to the Lord Broghil, That if we did put to death Colonel Wogan, they were ready to put Captain Caufield to death, - I thought fit to offer to you the equal Exchanges before mentioned; leaving you to your election. Which when you perform, there shall be just and honest performance on my part. And withal to let you know, That if any shall think to put such conditions on me that I may not execute a Person so obnoxious as Wogan, - who did not only betray his trust in England, but counterfeited the General's hand, thereby to carry his men (whom he had seduced) into a Foreign Nation, * to invade England. under whom he had taken pay, and from whose service he was not discharged; and with the said Nation did invade England; and hath since, contrary to the said trust, taken up arms here: - That 'then, I say,' as I am willing to the Exchanges aforesaid; so, 'if' that equality be denied me, I would that all concerned should understand, That I am resolved to deal with Colonel Wogan as I shall see cause, and be satisfied in my conscience and judgment to do. And if anything thereupon shall be done to Captain Caufield as is menaced. I think fit to let you know, That I shall, as God shall enable me, put all those that are with me at mercy for life. into the same condition.

> Your servant, OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 16.

IRELAND: ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE THERE.

[Vol. ii. p. 222.].

For my very worthy Friend John Sadler, Esq., one of the Masters of the Chancery in England: These.

IR, Cork, 31st Dec. 1649.

To put a business of weight suddenly to your consideration may perhaps beget so much prejudice as may cause you either not to think of it at all, or to incline to the worser part

^{*} Scotland: to join Hamilton and his Ennagement.

[&]amp; Fragment of Narrative: in Ayscough Mss. no. 4769, ubi supra.



1649.] ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE; IRELAND.

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when you resolve. The thing I have to offer hath been thought upon by us, as you will perceive by the reasons wherewith we enforce it; and we do willingly tender it to you; desiring God,

not you, may give us the answer.

That a Divine Presence hath gone along with us in the late great transactions in this Nation. I believe most good men are sensible of, and thankful to God for; and are persuaded that He hath a farther end; and that as by this dispensation He hath manifested His severity and justice, so there will be a time wherein He will manifest grace and mercy, in which He so much delights. To us who are employed as instruments in this work the contentment that appears is, That we are doing our Master's work; that we have His presence and blessing with us: — and that we live in hope to see Him cause wars to cease, and bringing in that Kingdom of Glory and Peace which He hath promised. This being so, as the hope thereof occasions our comfort, so the seeing some way made already cannot but 'raise' hope that goodness and mercy intends to visit this poor Island. Therefore in what we may as poor instruments, 'we' cannot but be endeavouring to answer the mind of God as any opportunity offers itself.

First let me tell you, in divers places where we come, we find the people very greedy after the Word, and flocking to Christian meetings; much of that prejudice that lies upon poor people in England being a stranger to their minds. And truly we have hoped much of it is done in simplicity; and I mind you the rather of this because it is a sweet symptom, if

not an earnest, of the good we expect.

In the next place, our condition was such at our arrival here, — by reason of the War, and prevalency of the Enemy, — that there was a dissolution of the whole frame of Government; there being no visible authority residing in persons entrusted to act according to the forms of law, except in two corporations [Dublin and Derry at our arrival], in this whole Land. And although it hath pleased God to give us much territory, yet how to fall suddenly into that way again, I see not; nor is it for the present practicable. Wherefore I am

constrained, of my own authority, to issue out Commissions to persons to hear and determine the present controversies that do arise, as they may.

Sir, it seems to me we have a great opportunity to set up, until the Parliament shall otherwise determine, a way of doing justice amongst these poor people, which, for the uprightness and cheapness of it. may exceedingly gain upon them, - who have been accustomed to as much injustice, tyranny and oppression from their landlords, the great men, and those that should have done them right, as (I believe) any people in that which we call Christendom. And indeed 'they' are accounted the bribing'st [so to speak!] people that are; they having been inured thereto. Sir, if justice were freely and impartially administered here, the foregoing darkness and corruption would make it look so much the more glorious and beautiful; and draw more hearts after it! - I am loath to write what the consequences might be, or what may be said upon this subject; — and therefore I shall let you know my desire in a word.

There uses to be a Chief-Justice in the Province of Munster, who having some others with him in assistance uses to hear and determine Causes depending there; you are desired by me to accept of that employment. I do believe that nothing will suit your mind better than having a standing Salary for the same; that so you may not be troubled with common allowances, which have been to others (I doubt) but a colour to their covetous practices. I dare assure you 'of' £1,000 a-year, half-yearly, to be paid by even parts, as your allowance; — and although this be more than hath usually been allowed, yet shall we have wherewith readily to make performance, if you accept.

I know not how far this desire of mine will be interpreted by you as a call: but sure I am I have not done anything with a clearer breast, nor wherein I do more approve my heart to the Lord and His people in sincerity and uprightness;—the Lord direct you what to do. I desire a few things of you: let my Letter be as little seen as you may;—you know what

constructions are usually put upon some men's actings; and (were it fit to be committed to paper) would 'be' if I should say That this business, by the blessing of God, might be so managed as might abate much superfluity. I desire you not to discourse of the allowance but to some choice friends. Next I could desire, if you have any acquaintance with Mr. Graves the Lawyer, you would move him to the acceptance of a place here, which should be honourable, and not to his outward disadvantage. And any other godly and able man you know of. Let me have your mind so soon as conveniently you may; and whether you have tried any as is desired, and whom, and what return they make.

Desiring your prayers, I rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant. OLIVER CROMWELL.S

No. 17.

IRELAND: OPERATIONS IN TIPPERARY.

[Vol. ii. p. 256.]

COLONEL PHAYR is in Cork, "with near Five-hundred foot," since November last; Broghil, Fenton, and their relation to him, were also indicated in the Text.*

For Colonel Phayr, Governor of Cork: These, Haste, haste. SIR. Fethard, 9th February 1649.

It hath pleased God to be very gracious to us hitherto, in the possessing of Cashel, Fethard and Roghill Castle, without any blood. Callan cost us at least four or five men; but we are possessed of it also, and of divers other places of good importance. We are in the very bowels of Tipperary; and hope, will lie advantageously (by the blessing of God) for further attempts.

§ General Dictionary (by Birch, Bernard &c., London, 1739), vol. ix. 19-20, § SADLER (materials furnished by "Thos. Sadler, Deputy Clerk of the Pells," a descendant of this Sadler's).
Sadler did not go; John Cooke, Advocate famed in the King's trial, went. Of Graves I know nothing. Sadler has left some Books; indicating went. Of Green's fallow nothing. Sadier has lets some Books; indicating a strange corner of dreamy imaginativeness, in his otherwise solid, lucid and plous mind. A man much esteemed by Hartlib, Milton's friend, and by the world legal and other. He continued one of the Masters in Oliver's new Chancery, when the number was reduced to six.

* Letters CXIV. CXV. vol. ii. pp. 201, 203.

Many places take up our men: wherefore I must needs be earnest with you to spare us what you can. If you can send Two Companies more of your Regiment to Mallow,* do it. If not, One at the least: that so my Lord Broghil may spare us Two or Three of Colonel Ewers's, to meet him with the rest of his ** Regiment at Fermoy.

Give Colonel Ewers what assistance you can in the Business I have sent to him about. Salute all my Friends with you. My service to Sir William Fenton. Pray for us. I rest,

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

'P.S.' Sir, if you think that we draw you too low in men whilst we are inactive, - I presume you are in no danger; however. I desire you would make this use of it. To rid the Town of Cork of suspicious and ill-affected persons as fast as vou can. And herein deal with effect. &

No. 18.

HASELEIG AND DUNBAR BATTLE.

[Vol. ii. p. 347.]

HERE, by the kindness of R. Ormston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne, are now (for our Third and all other Editions) the Letters themselves. This Gentleman, Grandson of the "Steward of the Haselrigs" mentioned at p. 345, vol. ii., possesses all the Four Cromwell Letters alluded to by Brand; and has now (May 1847) beneficently furnished an exact copy of them, privately printed. Letter CXXXIX. alone is autograph; the other Three are in a Clerk's hand. Letter CXXXIX., Letter CXII., these and the Two which follow here, it appears, Mr. O.'s Grandfather" begged "from the fire, on a day when much destruction of old Letters "and waste Papers was going on at Nosely Hall," - Letter CXXXIX. and all England are somewhat obliged to him! Here are the other Two:

^{* &}quot;Mayallo" in orig.

§ Gentleman's Magazine for March 1843, p. 266. Endorsed, by Phayr,
"The Lo. Leu's Letter to mee the ninth of Febi 1649; About sending men."
By another hand there is also written on the outside. "Mallo posest," meaning, probably for Phayr's information, Mallow possessed (got, laid hold of).



1. For the Honourable Sir Arthur Haselrig , Governor of Newcastle: These.

1650.]

Sir. Dunbar, 5th September 1650. After much deliberation, we can find no way how to dispose of these Prisoners that will be consisting with these two ends (to wit, the not losing them and the not starving them, neither of which would we willingly incur) but by sending them into England; where the Council of State may exercise their wisdom and better judgment in so dispersing and disposing of them, as that they may not suddenly return to your prejudice.

We have despatched away near 5,000 poor wretches of them; very many of which, it's probable, will die of their wounds, or be rendered unserviceable for time to come by reason thereof. I have written to the Council of State, desiring them to direct how they shall be disposed of: and I make no question but you will hasten the Prisoners up Southwards, and second my desires with your own to the Council. I know you are a man of business. This, not being every-day's work, will willingly be performed by you; especially considering you have the commands of your Superior.

Sir, I judge it exceeding necessary you send us up what Horse and Foot you can, with all possible expedition; especially considering that indeed our men fall very sick; and if the Lord shall please to enable us effectually to prosecute this Business, to the which He hath opened so gracious a way, no man knows but that it may produce a Peace to England, and much security and comfort to God's People. Wherefore, I pray you, continue to give what furtherance you can to this Work, by speeding such supplies to us as you can possibly spare. — Not having more at present, I rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,
Oliver Cromwell.§

2. For the Honourable Sir Arthur Haselrig , Governor of Newcastle: These:
Haste, haste.

SIR, Edinburgh, 9th September 1650. I cannot but hasten you in sending-up what Forces possions of R. Ormston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne.

sibly you can. This enclosed was intended to you on Satur-

day, but could not come.

We are not able to carry on our business as we would. until we have wherewith to keep Edinburgh and Leith, until we attempt, and are acting, forwards. We have not, in these parts, 'at such a season of the year,' above two months to keep the field. Therefore expedite what you can! And I desire you to send us free Masons; - you know not the importance of Leith.

I hope your Northern Guests are come to you, by this time. I pray you let humanity be exercised towards them; I am persuaded it will be comely. Let the Officers be kept at Newcastle. some sent to Lynn, some to Chester. - I have no more; Your affectionate servant,

but rest.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

I desire, as forces come up, I may hear from time to time what they are, how their marches are laid, and when I may expect them.

My service to the dear Lady. §

No. 19.

LETTER TO THE SPEAKER IN BEHALF OF COLONEL MALEVERER'S FAMILY.

[Vol. iii. p. 29.]

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

RIGHT HONOURABLE, Edinburgh, 28th December 1650.

It having pleased God to take away by death Colonel John Maleverer, a very useful member of this Army, I thought it requisite to move you on the behalf of his sad Widow and seven small Children.

I need not say much. His faithfulness in your service. and his cheerfulness to be spent in the same, is very well known. And truly, he had a spirit very much beyond his natural strength of body, having undergone many fits of

[§] Original in the possession of R. Ormston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne. Besides the Signature, "My service to the dear Lady" is also autograph.

JOHN ARUNDEL OF TRERICE.

sickness during this hard service in your field, where he was constant and diligent in his charge; and, notwithstanding the weakness of his body, thought himself bound in conscience to continue to the utmost, preferring the Public service before his private relations. And (as I have been credibly informed) his losses by the Royal and Malignant Party have been very great; being occasioned by his appearing with the first in his Country for the Parliament.

I have therefore made bold to represent these things before you, that you may timely consider of those that he hath left behind him, and bestow some mark of favour and respect upon them towards their comfortable subsistence. I rest.

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

1.

No. 20.

LETTER TO THE SPEAKER IN BEHALF OF JOHN ARUNDEL OF TRERICE.
[Vol. iii. p. 63.]

OLIVER is now in Scotland, busy enough with great matters; must not neglect the small either. "This Enclosed"* is from an Ex-Royalist Gentleman, Mr. John Arundel of Trerice in Cornwall; and relates to what is now an old story, the Surrender of Pendennis Castle to Fairfax's people (August 1646); in which Mr. John, by the arbitrary conduct of a certain Parliamentary Official, suffers huge damage at this time, — a fine of no less than £10,000, "quite ruinous to my poor estate," and clear against bargain at the rendition of Pendennis, being now laid upon him by the arbitrary Parliamentary Official in those parts. As not only human justice, but the honour of the Army is concerned, Mr. John has written to the Lord General, — the Trerice Arundels, he alleges furthermore, having once "had the "honour to stand in some friendship, or even kinship, with your "noble family." Oliver writes in consequence:

'To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.'

Sir, Glasgow, 25th April 1651.

Receiving this Enclosed, and finding the contents of it to expostulate for justice and faith-keeping, and the direction

[§] Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 243.)

not improper to myself from the Party interested, forasmuch as it is the word and the faith of the Army engaged unto a performance; and understanding by what steps it hath proceeded, which this enclosed Letter of the Gentleman's will make manifest unto you: — I make bold humbly to present the Business to the Parliament.

If he desires that which is not just and honourable for you to grant, I shall willingly bear blame for this trouble, and be glad to be denied: but if it be just and honourable, and tends to make good the faith of your servants, I take the boldness then to pray he may stand or fall according to that. And this desire, I hope, is in faithfulness to you; and will be so judged. I take leave; and rest,

Sir.

Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 21.

LETTER TO THE SPEAKER IN BEHALF OF COLONEL CLAYTON.
[Vol. iii. p. 67.]

'To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.'

SIR, Edinburgh, 10th May 1651.

I am very desirous to make an humble motion unto you on the behalf of Colonel Randall Clayton; — who, being taken prisoner* when I was in Ireland, was with some other Officers judged to die, as those that had formerly served the Parliament, but were then partakers with the Lord Inchiquin in his Revolt: and although the rest suffered, according to the sentence passed upon them, yet, with the advice of the chief Officers, I thought meet to give him, the said Colonel Randall Clayton, his life, as one that is furnished with large abilities for the service of his Country: and indeed there was the appearance of such remorse, and of a work of grace upon his spirit, that I am apt to believe be will hereafter prove an useful member unto the State, upon the best account.

[§] Tanner Mss. (in Cary, ii. 270.)

^{*} See Letter CXXX. and Whitlocke, p. 432.

Having thus given him his release, and observing his Christian candour, I then promised him to negotiate with the Parliament for the taking-off the sequestration that is upon his estate, which indeed is but very small. I do therefore humbly entreat you To pass such a special act of favour towards him, whereby he will be engaged and enabled to improve his interest the more vigorously, in his place, for the advantage of the Public.

I would not address such an overture to you, did I not suppose that the placing of this favour upon this person will be of very good use, and an act of much charity and tender-

ness. I rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 22.

LETTER TO THE SPEAKER IN BEHALF OF COLONEL BORLACE.
[Vol. iii. p. 68.]

'To the Hononrable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.'

Sir, Edinburgh, 13th June 1651.

Having received the enclosed Petition and Letter from the Officers of a Court of War at Whitehall, representing unto me that the faith of the Army concerning the Articles of Truro,* in the particular case of Colonel Nicholas Borlace, is violated; and the Petitioner himself having come hither to Scotland, desiring me to be instrumental that the said Articles be performed, and that the faith of the Army thereupon given might be made good:— I do therefore humbly desire That the Parliament will take his case into consideration, and that his Business may receive a speedy hearing (he being already almost quite exhausted in the prosecution thereof); that so justice

[§] Tanner MSS. (in Cary, il. 272.)

Hopton's Surrender, 14th March 1645-6 (Antea, i. 233); a hurried Treaty, which gave rise to much doubting and pleading, in other instances than this.

may be done unto him, and that the faith of the Army may be preserved. I crave pardon for this trouble; and rest, Sir.

Your most humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 23.

MARCH TO WORCESTER.

(Vol. iii. p. 83.)

OLIVER, in his swift March from Scotland towards Worcester, takes Ripon and Doncaster as stages: Provision for us must be "in readiness against our coming."

'To the Mayor and Corporation of Doncaster: These.'

GENTLEMEN, Ripon, 18th August 1651.

I intend, God willing, to be at Doncaster with the Army on Wednesday * night or Thursday morning: and forasmuch as the Soldiers will need a supply of victual, I desire you to give notice to the country, and to use your best endeavours to cause bread, butter, cheese and flesh to be brought in, and to be in readines there against our coming; for which the country shall receive ready money. Not doubting of your care herein, I rest,

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL. SS

No. 24.

AFTER WORCESTER BATTLE: LETTERS TO THE SPEAKER.
[Vol. iii, p. 95.]

'To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.'

Sir, Evesham, 8th September 1651.

The late most remarkable, seasonable and signal Victory, which our good God (to whom alone be ascribed all the glory) was pleased to vouchsafe your servants against the Scottish Army at Worcester, doth, as I conceive, justly engage me humbly to present in reference thereunto this consideration:

[§] Tanner was. (in Cary, ii. 276.)

Wednesday is 20th.

^{§§} Original in the possession of Pudsey Dawson, Esq., Hornby Castle, Lancashire (communicated, 19th October 1850).

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1651.] AFTER WORCESTER BATTLE.

That as the Lord appeared so wonderfully in His mercies towards you, so it will be very just to extend mercy to His people, our Friends that suffered in these parts upon this occasion; and that some reparation may be made them out of the Sequestration or Estates of such as abetted this Engagement against you. The town being entered by storm, some honest men, promiscuously and without distinction, suffered by your Soldier: — which could not at that time possibly be

prevented, in the fury and heat of the battle.

I also humbly present to your charity the poor distressed Wife and Children of one William Guise, of the city of Worcester, who was barbarously put to death by the Enemy for his faithfulness to the Parliament. The man (as I am credibly informed) feared the Lord; and upon that account likewise deserveth more consideration. Really, Sir, I am abundantly satisfied, that divers honest men, both in city and country, suffered exceedingly (even to the ruin of their families), by these parts being the seat of the War: and it will be an encouragement to honest men, when they are not given over to be swallowed-up in the same destruction with enemies.

I hope the Commissioners of the Militia will be very careful and discerning in the distribution of your charity. I cannot but double my desires, that some speedy course may be taken

herein.

I have sent the Mayor and Sheriff of Worcester to Warwick Castle, there to attend the pleasure of Parliament concerning their Trial; I having not opportunity to try them by Court Martial. I have also taken security of the other Aldermen who remained in the city, to be forthcoming when I shall require them.

It may be well worthy your consideration, That some severity be shown to some of those of this Country, as well of quality as meaner ones, who, having been engaged in the former War, did now again appear in arms against you. I rest, Sir.

Your most humble servant, OLIVER CROMWELL. &

§ Tanner Mss. (in Cary, ii. 378.)

'To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

SIR. Chipping Norton, 8th September 1651.

I have sent this Bearer, Captain Orpyn, with the Colours taken in the late Fight; — at least as many of them as came to my hands, for I think very many of them have miscarried. I believe the number of these sent will be about an Hundred: the remainder also being Forty or Fifty, which were taken at the Engagement in Fife.* lask pardon for troubling you herewith; and rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant. OLIVER CROMWELL. &

No. 25.

LETTER TO SISTER ELIZABETH.

[Vol. i. p. 20, note; iii. p. 116.]

By accident, another curious glimpse into the Cromwell family. "Sister Elizabeth," of whom, except the date of her birth and that she died unmarried, ** almost nothing is known, comes visibly to light here; "living at Ely," in very truth (as Noble had guessed she did); quietly boarded at some friendly Doctor's there, in the scene and among the people always familiar to her. She is six years older than Oliver; now and then hears from him, we are glad to see, and receives "small tokens of his love" of a substantial kind. For the rest, sad news in this Letter! Son Ircton is dead of fever in Ireland: the tidings reached London just a week ago.

For my dear Sister Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, at Doctor Richard Stand his house at Ely: These.

'Cockpit,' 15th December 1651. DEAR SISTER,

I have received divers Letters from you; I must desire you to excuse my not writing so often as you expect: my burden is not ordinary, nor are my weaknesses a few to go thorough therewith; but I have hope in a better Strength. - I have herewith sent you Twenty Pounds as a small token of my

^{*} Inverkeithing Fight in July: see Letter CLXXV.

[§] Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 380).

1651.]

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

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love. I hope I shall be mindful of you. I wish you and I may have our rest and satisfaction where all saints have theirs. What is of this world will be found transitory; a clear evidence whereof is my Son Ireton's death. I rest,

Dear Sister.

Your affectionate Brother. OLIVER CHOMWELL. &

P.S.* My Mother, Wife, and your friends here remember their loves.

No. 26.

LETTER TO THE COMMITTEE FOR SEQUESTRATIONS IN BEHALF OF MR. AND MRS. FINCHAM.

[Vol. iii. p. 120.]

THOMAS FINCHAM, Esquire, of Oatwell, Isle of Elv. is on the List of Delinquents: Oliver, as an old friend or at least neighbour, will do what he can for him.

To the Commissioners for Sequestration, at Goldsmiths' Hall: These.

GENTLEMEN,

Cockpit, - December 1651.

I formerly recommended unto you the Petition of one Mr. Fincham and his Wife, desiring that if it were in your power to give remedy in their case, you would be pleased to hear them, according to the equity of their case. And forasmuch as they have waited long in Town for a hearing, to their great charge and expenses, which their present condition will not well bear. I again earnestly desire that you will grant them your favour of a speedy hearing of their business, and to relieve them according to the merits and justice of their case: whereby you will very much oblige,

Gentlemen.

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL. 88

§ Original shown me, and copied for me (26th October 1853), by Mr. Puttick, Auctioneer, 191 Piccadilly, — who sold it, with another (Letter to Dick, 2d April 1650, Currick, our Letter CLXXXII.), next day, "for 9 guineas, to Mr. Holloway, Bedford Street:" the Dick, a long letter, in very good keeping, went "for 26 guineas, to Mr. John Young, 6 Sise Lane, Bucklersbury."

On the margin. 88 Composition Papers, in State-Paper Office.

No. 27.

To Oxford and Cambridge.

[Vol. iii. p. 122.]

FROM those nine months of 1652 remain certain other small vestiges or waymarks; relating, as it happens, to the Universities, of one of which Oliver was Chancellor. The first is a Letter to Oxford.

"Greenwood" we have already scen: "Goodwin" is the famed Independent, at this time President of Magdalen College. Of "Zachary Maine," and his wishes and destinies, the reader can find an adequate account in Wood, with express allusion to the Letter which follows." Zachary's desire was complied-with. A godly young man, from Exeter City; not undeserving such a favour; who lived seven years in profitable communion with Goodwin, Owen and the others; then, at the Restoration, fell into troubles, into waverings; but lended peaceably as Master of the Free school of Exeter, the Mayor and Chamber favouring him there.

1. To the Reverend my very loving Friend Dr. Greenwood, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

Sir. Cockpit, 12th April 1652.

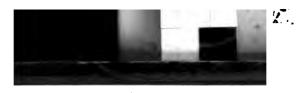
Mr. Thomas Goodwin hath recommended unto me one Zachary Maine, Demy of Magdalen College, to have the favour To be dispensed-with for the want of two or three terms in the taking of his Degree of Bachelor. I am assured that he is eminently godly, of able parts, and willing to perform all his exercises. Upon which account (if it will not draw along with it too great an inconvenience) I desire that he may have the particular favour to be admitted to the said Degree. Which I intend not to draw into a precedent, but shall be very sparing therein.

I remain, Sir,

Your very loving friend, OLIVER CROMWELL. S

^{*} Athens, iv. 411.

From the Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev.
Dr. Bliss.



1652.]

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

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The Second an official Protection to Cambridge:

2. To all Officers, Soldiers under my command, and others whom it may concern.

These are to charge and require you, upon sight hereof: Not to quarter any Officers or Soldiers in any of the Colleges, Halls or other Houses belonging to the University of Cambridge; Nor to offer any injury or violence to any of the Students or Members of any of the Colleges or Houses of the said University. As you shall answer the contrary at your peril.

Given under my hand and seal, the First of July 1652.
OLIVER CROMWELL. §

Note. In the Archives of Trinity College Cambridge is a Patent duly signeted, and superscribed "Oliver P.," of date "Whitehall, 21st October 1654;" appointing Richard Pratt, "who, as we are informed, is very poor and necessitous," a Bedesman (small pensioner for life) of that College. Which merely official Piece, as Richard Pratt too, except this of being poor, is without physiognomy for us, we do not insert here.*

The Third and Fourth are for Oxford again:

3. By his Execulency the Lord General Cromwell, Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

Whereas divers applications have been made unto me, from several of the Members of the University of Oxford, concerning differences which have arisen between the Members of the said University about divers matters which fall under my cognisance as Chancellor: And forasmuch as differences and complaints of the like nature may 'again' happen and arise between them: And considering that it would be very trouble-some and chargeable to the parties concerned to attend me at this distance about the same: And the present burden of public affairs not permitting me so fully to hear and understand the same as to be able to give my judgment and determination therein:

I do hereby desire and authorise Mr. John Owen, now Vicechancellor of the University, and the Heads of the several

§ Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, iii. 452. Copy penes me.

Carlyle, Cromwell. 1V.

Colleges and Halls there, or any Five or more of them (whereof the said Vicechancellor to be one), To hear and examine all such differences and complaints which have 'arisen,' or shall arise, between any of the said Members; giving them as full power and authority as in me lies to order and determine therein as, in their judgments, they shall think meet and agreeable to justice and equity. And this Power and Commission to continue during the space of Six Months now next ensuing.

Given under my hand and seal, the 16th day of October 1652.

OLIVER CRONWELL.

4. By his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

Whereas within the University of Oxford there frequently happen several things to be disposed, granted and confirmed, wherewith the Vicechancellor, Doctors-Regent, Masters and others of the said University, in their Delegacies and Convocations, cannot by their statutes dispense, grant or confirm, without the assent of their Chancellor: And forasmuch as the present weighty affairs of the Commonwealth do call for and engage me to reside, and give my personal attendance, in or near London; so that the Scholars of the said University and others are put to much charge and trouble by coming to London to obtain my assent in the cases before mentioned: Therefore, taking the premises into consideration, For the more ease and benefit of the said Scholars and University, and that I may with less avocation and diversion attend the councils and service of the Commonwealth:

I do by these presents ordain, authorise, appoint and delegate Mr. John Owen, Dean of Christchurch and Vicechancellor of the said University; Dr. Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College; Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Warden of Merton College; Mr. Thomas Goodwin, President of Magdalen College; and Mr. Peter French, Prebend of Christchurch, or any Three or more of them, To take into consideration all and every matter of dispensation, grant or confirmation whatsoever which requires my assent as Chancellor to the said University, and thereupon

to dispense, grant, confirm, or otherwise dispose thereof, as to them shall seem meet; and to certify the same to the Convocation. And all and every such dispensation, grant, confirmation or disposition made by the aforesaid Mr. John Owen, Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Mr. Thomas Goodwin, and Mr. Peter French, or any Three or more of them, shall be to all intents and purposes firm and valid, in as full, large and ample manner as if to every such particular act they had my assent in writing under my hand and seal, or I had been personally present and had given my voice and suffrage there-

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the 16th day of October 1652.

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

No. 28.

LETTER TO LORD WHARTON ABOUT HENRY CROMWELL'S MARRIAGE.

[Vol. iii. p. 86.]

"Poor foolish Mall," whom we guessed in the Text to be on a visit at Winchington, was then busy there, it would seem, and is now again busy, on a very important matter: scheme of marriage between her Brother Henry, now in Ireland, and her fair Friend here, Lord Wharton's Daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, his eldest, as may be clearly inferred from the genealogies." The Lord General approves; match most honourable; shall not fail for want of money on his part. Unless, indeed, "the just scruples of the Lady" prove unsurmountable? Which, apparently, they did. Both parties afterwards married: the Lady Elizabeth to "the third Earl Lindsay;" Henry Cromwell a "Russel of Chippenham;" on which latter event, the "Dalby and Broughton," here mentioned, were actually settled upon Henry. Burleigh and Pakham went to his brother Richard.

'For the Right Honourable the Lord Wharton: These.'

My DEAR LORD, 'Cockpit,' 30th June 1652.
Indeed I durst not suddenly make up any judgment what

f From the Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Rijss.

Rev. Dr. Bliss.

* Lipscomb's History and Antiquities of Buckinghamshire (London, 1847), 1. 544.

would be fit for me to do or desire, in the Business you know of. But being engaged to give you an account upon our last conference, I shall be bold to do that, and add a word or two therewith.

For the Estate I mentioned, I cannot now (by reason my Steward is not here) be so exact as I would: but the Lands I design for this occasion are Burleigh, Oakham, and two other little things not far distanf; in all about 1900/. per annum. Moreover Dalby 'and' Broughton, 1600/. per annum. Burleigh hath some charge upon it, which will in convenient time be removed. This is near twice as much as I intended my Son: yet all is unworthy of the honourable Person.

My Lord, give me leave to doubt that the Lady hath so many just scruples, which if not very freely reconciled may be too great a tentation to her spirit, and also have after-inconveniences. And although I know your Lordship so really.* yet I believe you may have your share of difficulties to conflict with; which may make the Business uneasy: - wherefore, good my Lord, I beg it, If there be not freedom and cheerfulness in the noble Person, let this Affair slide easily off, and not a word more be spoken about it, - as your Lordship's 'own' thoughts are. So hush all, and save the labour of little Mall's fooling, - lest she incur the loss of a good Friend indeed. My Lord, I write my heart plainly to you, as becomes, my Lord. Your most affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL. &

No. 29.

SCRAPS FROM 1653.

[Vol. iii. p. 181.]

1. In a volume of the Annual Register are given certain Letters or Petitions concerning the printing of Dr. Walton's Polyglott Bible. At the end of the Petitions is the following:

'Whitehall,' 16th May 1653.

I THINK fit that this work of printing the Bible in the Ori-

[&]quot;resililye" in oriq.

§ Original in Bodleian Library; endorsed by Lord Wharton, "My Lord Generall to mee about his Sonne." Printed in liturated London News, 7th November 1856.

ginal and other Languages go on without any let or interruption.

OLIVER CROMWELL. §

- "By favour of whose Government," as Walton in his Preface furthermore records, "we had our paper free of duty, quorum favore chartam a vectigalibus immunem habuimus," with perhaps other furtherances. See Irwell's Life of Pocock (reprint. London, 1816), pp. 209-211.
- 2. Here, lest any one should be again sent hunting through "Pegge's Manuscripts," take the following highly insignificant Official Note. Date, four weeks after the Dismissal of the Rump; when the "Committee of the Army," and Oliver "Commander of all the Forces raised and to be raised," are naturally desirous to know the state of the Army-Accounts. Where Mitchell commands at present, I do not know; nor whether he might be the "Captain Mitchell" who was known some years ago in a disagreeable transaction with the Lord-General's Secretary, and whose Accounts may be rather specially a matter of interest.

For Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell.

SIR, Whitehall, 18th May 1658.

You are desired with all expedition to prepare and send to the Committee for the Army an Account of all Moneys by you received upon their Warrants between the Fifteenth of January 1647 and the Twentieth of October 1651, for the use of the Forces within the time aforesaid under your command, or for the use of any other Regiment, Troop or Company, by or for whom you were entrusted or appointed to receive any money.

And in case you cannot perfect your Account, and send the same, as you are hereby directed, before the Seventh of June next, you are desired by that time at the farthest to send in writing under your hand to the said Committee, What Moneys by you received as foresaid do remain in your hands.

Hereof you are not to fail.

OLIVER CROMWELL. §§

[§] Annual Register, xxxvi. 373-4.

Newspapers (in Cromwelliana, p. 61), 22d-29th June 1649.
Pegge's MSS. (in the College of Arms, London), vii. 425.

3. Among the State-Papers in Paris there have lately been found Three small Notes to Mazarin, not of much, if indeed of almost any moment, but worth preserving since they are here. Two of them belong to this Section. The first, which exists only in French, apparently as translated for Mazarin's reading. would not be wholly without significance if we had it in the original. It is dated just three days after that Summons to the Puritan Notables; * - and the Lord General, we see, struggles to look upon himself as a man that has done with Political Affairs.

'A Son Eminence, Monsieur le Cardinal Mazarin.'

MONSIEUR. De Westminster, ce 9-19 Juin 1653. J'ai été surpris de voir que votre Eminence ait voulu penser à une personne si peu considérable que moi, vivant en quelque façon rétiré du reste du monde. Cet honneur a fait avec juste raison une si forte impression sur moi, que je me sens obligé de servir votre Eminence en toutes occasions: et comme je m'estimerai heureux de les pouvoir rencontrer, j'espère que M. de Bourdeaux en facilitera les moyens à celui qui est,

Monsieur.

De votre Eminence

Le très-humble serviteur,

OLIVER CROMWELL.&

Of which take this Version:

"Westminster, 9th June 1653. "SIR, - I have been surprised that your Eminency was "pleased to remember a person so inconsiderable as myself, "living as it were withdrawn from the rest of the world. "honour has justly such a resentment with me that I feel myself "bound, by all opportunities, to be serviceable to your Eminen-"cy; and as I shall be happy to meet with such, so I hope M. de "Bourdeaux," the Ambassador, "will help to procure them to,
"Sir,

"Your Eminency's most humble servant, "OLIVER CROMWELL."

Nay here now (Edition 1857) is the Original itself; politely forwarded to me, three years ago, by the Translator of M.

Antea, vol. iii. p. 139.
 From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris. Communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq. F. S. A. &c.



1653.]

SCRAPS FROM 1653.

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Guizot's English Commonwealth, where doubtless it has since appeared in print:

Westminster. the 9th of June 1653.

It's surprise to me that your Eminency should take notice of a person so inconsiderable as myself, living, as it were, separate from the world. This honour has, as it ought, 'made' a very deep impression upon me, and does oblige 'me' to serve your Eminency upon all occasions: and as I shall be happy to find out 'such,' so I trust that very honourable person, Monsieur Burdoe, will therein be helpful to,

Your Eminency's thrice-humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

4. The negotiations with Whitlocke for going on that perilous Embassy to Sweden have left for us the following off hand specimen of an Official Note from Oliver. Oliver and Pickering had already been earnestly dealing with the learned man that he would go: at their subsequent interview, Oliver observed to Whitlocke, "Sir Gilbert" Pickering "would needs write a very fine Letter; and when he had done, did not like it himself. I then took pen and ink, and straightway wrote that to you:"

'To Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke, Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal.'
My Lord, Whitehall, 2d September 1653.

The Council of State having thoughts of putting your Lordship to the trouble of being Extraordinary Ambassador to the Queen of Swedeland, did think fit not to impose that service upon you without first knowing your own freedom thereunto. Wherefore they were pleased to command our service to make this address to your Lordship; and hereby we can assure you of a very large confidence in your honour and abilities for this employment. To which we begging your answer, do rest,

My Lord,
Your humble servants,
OLIVER CROMWELL.
GILBERT PICKERING. 8

§ From Whitlocke's Account of his Embassy (quoted in Forster, iv. 319).

5. The Little Parliament has now dismissed itself, and Oliver has henceforth a new Signature.

'To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin.'

My Lord. 'Whitehall,' 26th January 1653.

Monsieur de Baas* hath delivered me the Letter which your Eminency hath been pleased to write to me; and also communicated by word of mouth your particular affections and good disposition towards me, and the affairs of these Nations as now constituted. Which I esteem a very great honour; and hold myself obliged, upon the return of this Gentleman to you, to send my thanks to your Eminency for so singular a favour; my just resentment whereof I shall upon all occasions really demonstrate; and be ready to express the great value I have of your person and merits, as your affairs and interest shall require from,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you, OLIVER P. 8

6. "The Corporation of Lynn Regis," it appears, considered that the navigation of their Port would be injured by the works now going on for Draining the great Bedford Level of the Fens. They addressed the Protector on the subject; and this is his Letter in answer thereto. Nothing came of it farther.

To the Mayor and Aldermen of Lynn Regis.

Whitehall, 30th January 1653. GENTLEMEN. I received yours; and cannot but let you know the good resentments I have of your respects; — assuring you that I shall be always ready to manifest a tender love and care of you and your welfare, and in particular of that concernment of yours relating to navigation. - Commending you to the grace of God. I remain.

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P. SS

The new Envoy, or Agent; of whom in the next No.
 From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris.
 Communicated by Thomas Wright. Esq. F. S. A. &c.
 History of the Ancient and Present State of the Navigation of the

Port of King's Lynn and of Cambridge (London, fol. 1766), p. 55.

1654.]

VOWEL'S PLOT.

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No. 30.

From 1654-1655: Vowrl's Plot; Rectory of Houghton Conquest; Penruddock's Plot; New England.

[Vol. iii. p. 205.]

1. Another wholly insignificant Official Note to Mazarin, in regard to Vowel's Plot, and the dismissal of M. De Baas for his complicity in it. De Baas, whom some call Le Baas, or rightly Le Bas, was a kind of subsidiary Agent despatched by Mazarin early in the Spring of 1653-4 "to congratulate the new Protector," - that is, to assist Bourdeaux, who soon after got the regular title of Ambassador, in ascertaining how a Treaty could be made with the new Protector, or, on the whole, what was to be done with England and him. Hitherto, during the Dutch War and other vicissitudes, there had been a mixed undefinable relation between the two Countries, rather hostile than neutral. The "Treaty and firm Amity," as we know, had its difficulties, its delays; in the course of which it occurred to M. Le Bas that perhaps the Restoration of Charles Stuart, by Vowel and Company, might be a shorter cut to the result. Examination of Witnesses, in consequence: examination of Le Bas himself by the Protector and Council, in consequence; mild hint to Le Bas that he must immediately go home again. *

'Eminentissimo Cardinali Mazarino.'

EMINENTISSIME CARDINALIS.

In Litteris Nostris ad Regem datis, causas et rationes recensuimus quare Dominum De Baas ex hâc Republicâ excedere jussimus, et Mujestatem Suam certam fecimus, Nos, non obstante hâc dicti de Baas machinatione, cujus culpane i solummodo imputamus, in eâdem adhuc sententià perstare, firmam arctamque Pacem et Amicitiam cum Gallià colendi et paciscendi. Aque hâc occasione gratum nobis est priora illa propensæ nostræ erga vos et res vestras voluntatis indicia et testimonia renovare; quam etiam, datâ subinde occasione, palam facere et luculenter demonstrare parati erimus. Interea Eminentiam vestram Divinæ benignitatis præsidio commendamus.

Dab. ex Alba Aula, vicesimo nono Junii an. 1654.

OLIVERIUS P.S

Depositions concerning him (April, May, 1654), Thurloe, ii. 309, 351-3: notice of his first arrival (February 1653-4), ib. 113. See also ib. 379, 437. § From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris. Communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq. F. S. A. &c.

Of which, if it be worth translation, this is the English:

"Most Eminent Cardinal, — In our Letter to the King "we have set forth the grounds and occasions moving us to "order M. De Baas to depart from this Commonwealth; and "have assured his Majesty, that notwithstanding this deceit of "the said De Baas, the blame of which is imputed to him alone, "we persist as heretofore in the same purpose of endeavouring "and obtaining a firm and intimate Pcace and Amity with "France. And it gives us pleasure, on this occasion, to renew "those former testimonies of our good inclination towards you "and your interests; which also, as opportunity offers, we shall "in future be ready to manifest and clearly demonstrate. In "the mean while, we commend your Eminency to the keeping of "the Almighty.

"OLIVER P."

"Whitehall, 29th June 1654."

2. PRESENTATION TO THE RECTORY OF HOUGHTON CONQUEST.
"Communicated to me" (Thomas Baker, the Cambridge Antiquary), "by my
"worthy friend Brown Willis Esq., of Whaddon Itali in Com. Bucks, from
"the original Presentation in the hands of a friend of his."

OLIVER P.

OLIVER, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to the Commissioners authorised by a late Ordinance for Approbation of Public Preachers, or 'to' any five of them, greeting. We present John Pointer to the Rectory of Houghton Conquest in the county of Bedford, void by the death of the late Incumbent, and to our presentation belonging; to the end he may be approved-of by them, and admitted thereunto, with all its rights, members and appurtenances whatsoever, according to the tenor of the aforesaid Ordinance.

Given at Whitehall, the 29th of September 1654. †

3. Design against the Spanish West Indies. [Vol. iii. pp. 274, 323.]

OUR great Design against the Spaniards in the West Indies is still called only "a Design by Sea," and kept very secret.

§ Harl. MSS. no. 7053, f.153.

Proper, however, as the rumours probably are loud, to give the Parliament, now sitting, some hint of it. Hence this Letter; of no moment otherwise. Unluckily "the right-hand border of the Paper is now much worn away;" so that several words are wanting, - conjecturally supplied here, in italics.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament.

Mr. Speaker, Whitehall, 22d September 1654.

I have, by advice of the Council, undertaken a Design by Sea, very much (as we hope and judge) for the honour and advantage of the Commonwealth; and have already made the preparations requisite for such an undertaking. But before I proceed to the execution thereof, the Parliament being now convened, I thought it agreeable to my trust to communicate to them the aforesaid resolution, and not to desire the delay thereof any longer (although I suppose you may be engaged. at the present, in matters of greater weight); because many miscarriages will fall out in this Business through delay, as well in providing of the charge as otherwise; the well-timing of such a Design being as considerable as anything about it. And therefore I desire you to take your first opportunity to acquaint the House with the contents of this Letter, wherein I have forborne to be more particular, because there are several persons in Parliament who know this whole Business, and can inform the House of all particulars, if the House do judge it to be consistent with the nature of the Design to have it offered to them particularly: — which I refer to their consideration; and rest. Your assured friend.

4. NEW APPOINTMENTS; ANNOUNCEMENT OF THEM TO THE PARLIAMENT.

OLIVER P.

To Our right trusty and right well-belived William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament.

RIGHT TRUSTY AND RIGHT WELL-BELOVED,

We greet you well. It being expressed in the Thirty-fourth

§ "Autograph Letter throughout." Copy penes me; reference (Tanner uss. no doubt) is unfortunately lost. — See Commons Journals, vii. 369 (22d September 1654), for the Return made.

Article of the Government, That the Chancellor, Keeper or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the Chief Justices of both the Benches, shall be chosen by the approbation of Parliament, and in the intervals of Parliament by the approbation of the major part of the Council, - to be afterwards approved by the Parliament; and several Persons of integrity and ability having been appointed by Me (with the Council's approbation) for some of those Services before the meeting of the Parliament; - I have thought it necessary to transmit unto you, in the enclosed Schedule, the names of those Persons, to the end that the resolution of the Parliament may be known concerning them: which I desire may be with such speed as the other public occasions of the Commonwealth will admit. And so I bid you heartily farewell.

Given at Whitehall, this Fifth day of October 1654.8

Enclosure is endorsed: "The Schedule inclosed in his Highnes Letter of y. 5th of October 1654." - "Read October 5th, 1654; and again, 6th Oct." CHARLES FLEETWOOD, Esquire. . .

Deputy of Ireland.

of Common Pleas.

BULSTRODE WHITLOCKE, Esquire .) Commissioners of SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON, Knt. . Great Seal of England. John Lisle, Esquire The Three Commissioners of the Great Seal above-named THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE ROLLE . Commissioners of THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE ST. JOHN Treasury. Edward Montague, Esquire . . . WILLIAM SYDENHAM, Esquire. Chief Justice of the Court HENRY ROLLE of Upper Bench. Chief Justice of the Court OLIVER ST. JOHN

5 and 6. The following Two Letters, one of which is clearly of Thurloe's composition, have an evident reference to Penruddock's affair; they find their place here.

§ Original, with the Great Seal attached, in Tanner MSS., lii. 135. — See Commons Journals, vii. 378 (24th October 1654).

PENRUDDOCK'S PLOT.

1654.]

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Sergeant Wilde, now more properly Lord Chief Baron Wilde is a Worcester man; sat in the Long Parliament for that City. very prominent all along in Law difficulties and officialities, in particular, directly on the heel of the Second Civil War, Autumn 1648, he rode circuit, and did justice on offenders, without asking his Majesty's opinion on the subject; which was thought a great feat on his part.* Shortly after which he was made Chief Baron, and so continues, - holding even now the Spring Assizes at Worcester, I think. Thurloe, as we said. appears to have shaped this Letter into words; only the signature and meaning can be taken as Oliver's. Unluckily too, either Mrs. Warner the Editress must have misread the date "25th" for 24th, or else Thurloe himself in his haste have miswritten, forgetting that it was New Year's Day overnight, that it is not now 1654 but 1655. We will take the former hypothesis; and correct Mrs. Warner's "25th," which in this case makes a whole year of difference.

For Sir John Wilde, Sergeant-at-Law, and the rest of the Justices of Peace for the County of Worcester, or any of them, to be communicated to the rest; or, in his absence, to Nicholas Lechmere, Esq., Worcester.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 24th March 1654.

We doubt not but you have heard before this time of the hand of God going along with us, in defeating the late rebellious Insurrection. And we hope that, through His blessing upon our labours, an effectual course will be taken for the total disappointment of the whole Design. Yet knowing the resolution of the common Enemy to involve this Nation in new calamities, we conceive ourselves, and all others entrusted with preserving the peace of the Nation, obliged to endeavour in their places to prevent and defeat the Enemy's intentions: and therefore, as a measure especially conducing to that end,

We do earnestly recommend to you To take order that diligent Watches (such as the Law hath appointed) be daily kept, for taking a strict account of all strangers in the Country. Which will not only be a means to suppress all loose and idle persons; but may probably cause some of those who come from abroad to kindle fires here, to be apprehended and

^{*} Thanked by the Parliament (Commons Journals, vi. 49, 10th October 1648).

seized-upon, especially if care be taken to secure all them that cannot give a good account of their business; — and may also break all dangerous meetings and assemblings together. Herein we do require, and shall expect, your effectual endeavours; knowing that, if what by Law ought to be done were done with diligence in this respect, the contrivance of such dangerous Designs as these would be frustrated in their bud, or kept from growing to a maturity. I rest,

Your affectionate friend.

OLIVER P. 8

This second Letter, to the Gloucester Authorities, on the same subject, we judge by the style of it to be mostly or altogether the Protector's own.

For Major Wade, Major Creed, and the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Gloucester.

GENTLEMEN.

Whitehall, 24th March 1654.

We doubt not but you have heard before this time of the good hand of God going along with us in defeating the late rebellious Insurrection; so that, as we have certain intelligence from all parts, the Risings are everywhere suppressed and dissolved, and some hundreds of prisoners in custody, and daily more are discovered and secured. And we hope that, through the blessing of God upon our labours, an effectual course will be taken for the total disappointment of the whole Design.

The readiness of the Honest People to appear hath been a great encouragement to us, and of no less discouragement to the Enemy; who, had he prevailed, would, without doubt, have made us the most miserable and harassed Nation in the world. And therefore we hold ourselves obliged to return you our hearty thanks for your zeal and forwardness in so readily appearing and contributing your assistance; wherein, although your Country and your own particular as to outward and in-

[§] Rebecca Warner's Epistolary Curiosities: First Series (Bath, 1818), pp. 51-3.

ward happiness were concerned, yet we are fully persuaded that a more general Principle respecting the glory of God, and the good of all these Nations, hath been the motive to incite you: and therefore your account goes upon the higher and more noble account.**

You have desired that we would consider of ways how to find money to carry-on this work. If the Business had not been allayed, we must have found out a way and means to allay that want. But otherwise indeed we make it, as we hope we ever shall, our design to ease this Nation, and not to burden it; and are tender, - as we conceive yourselves have been, - of putting the good people thereof to any unnecessary charge. And therefore, as you shall have fitting opportunity, you may recommend our thankfulness to your honest willing Countrymen, as we hereby do to yourselves, for this their forwardness; and let them know That when any danger shall approach, as we shall be watchful to observe the Enemy's stirrings, we will give you timely notice thereof: and we trust those good hearts will be ready, 'on' being called out by you, to appear upon all such occasions. In the mean time they may continue at their homes, blessing God for His mercy, and enjoying the fruit and comfort of this happy deliverance, and the other benefits of Peace.

And I do hereby let you know that Letters are directed to the Justices of Peace of several Counties, ** That Watches be kept, such as the Law hath appointed for taking a strict account of all strangers, especially near the Coast. Which will not only be a means to suppress all loose and idle persons, but may probably cause some of those that come from abroad 'in order' to kindle fires here, to be apprehended and seized, — especially if care be taken to secure all them that cannot give a good account; and may also break all dangerous meetings and assemblings together. And indeed if what by Law ought to be done were done with diligence in this respect, the continuance of such dangerous Designs as these would be frustrated in the birth, or kept from growing to maturity.

^{**} Foregoing Letter, To Wilde, for one.

Having said this, -- with remembrance of my hearty love to you, I rest.

Your very affectionate friend.

OLIVER P. §

Of the same date, the same Letter (with insignificant variations), bearing the address, For Colonel Humphrey Brewster and the rest of the Commissioners for the Militia for the County of Suffolk, and dated as well as signed in Oliver's hand, is now in the possession of Charles Meadows, Esq., Great Bealings, Woodbridge, a kinsman or representative of this Humphrey Brewster.

The one considerable variation is as follows. Paragraph second, of the Copy given here, and the first two sentences of paragraph third, are suppressed in Brewster's Copy, and there stands instead, - after "Design:" "And now forasmuch as it "hath pleased God thus to allay this Business; and making it, "as we hope we soon (sic) shall, our design to ease this Na-"tion:" &c. — after and before which the two Copies almost exactly correspond. (MS. penes me.)

By the City Records just cited from, it appears that, on the eve of the Battle of Worcester, in 1651, "Eighteen Gloucester "Bakers had sent to Tewkesbury for the Lord General Crom-"well's Army, Thirteen-hundred and odd Dozens of Bread at a "Shilling the dozen, amounting to £66.58.; and that the Mayor "and others, on the 1st September 1651, sent Forty barrels of "strong Beer to the Lord General, 'praying your favourable ac-"ceptance thereof, as an argument of the good affection of this "Corporation, who doth congratulate your seasonable coming "into these parts, for the relief thereof against the violence of "the common Enemy, and wish prosperous success to you and "your Army."*

Furthermore, that on the 11th October 1651, directly after the said Battle, Gloucester did itself the honour of appointing the Lord General Oliver Cromwell, "in consideration of the singular favour and benevolence which his Excellency hath manifested to us and to this City," High Steward of the same, "with an annual rent of 100 shillings, issuing out of our Manors;" -

[§] Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis (Gloucester, 1825; - see antea, vol. i. p. 164), p. 412: — from the City Records of Gloucester.

* Ib. p. 406.



1655.]

NEW ENGLAND.

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for at least one payment of which there exists the Lord General's receipt, in this form:

23 Novemb 1652

Recd of the Maior and Burg of Glouc by the hands of Mr. Dorney Townclerke of the said City, the day and year aboves the some of flive pounds as being a fee due to me as Lord High Steward of the said Citty, I say Recd

£ s. d. 05 00 00

O. CROMWELL. §

7. and 8. Two poor American scraps, which our New-England friends ought to make more lucent for us; worth their paper and ink in this place.

To Our trusty and well-beloved the President, Assistants and Inhabitants of Rhode Island, tagether with the rest of the Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay in New England.

GENTLEMEN.

'Whitehall,' 29th March 1655.

Your Agent here hath presented unto us some particulars concerning your Government, which you judge necessary to be settled by us here. But by reason of the other great and weighty affairs of this Commonwealth, we have been necessitated to defer the consideration of them to a further opportunity.

In the mean while we were willing to let you know, That you are to proceed in your Government according to the tenor of your Charter formerly granted on that behalf; taking care of the peace and safety of these Plantations, that neither through any intestine commotions, or foreign invasions, there do arise any detriment or dishonour to this Commonwealth or yourselves, as far as you by your care and diligence can prevent. And as for the things which are before us, they shall, as soon as the other occasions will permit, receive a just and fitting determination.

And so we bid you farewell; and rest,

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P. SS

§ Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis (Gloucester, 1825:—), p. 411. §§ Original in the Rhode-Island Archives: Printed in Hutchinson's Collection, and elsewhere. Towards the end of the Dutch War, during that undefinable relation with France, "hostile rather than neutral," which did not end in Treaty till October 1655,* Oliver's Major Sedgwick, whom we have since known in Jamaica, had laid hold of certain "French Forts," and indeed of a whole French region, the region now called Nova Scotia, then called Acadie; of which Forts and of the region they command, it is Oliver's purpose, for the behoof of his New-Englanders, to retain possession; **— as the following small document will testify:

To Captain John Leverett, Commander of the Forts lately taken from the French in America.

WE have received an account from Major Sedgwick of his taking several Forts from the French in America, and that he hath left you to command and secure them for Us and this Commonwealth: And although We make no doubt of your fidelity and diligence in performance of your trust, yet We have thought it necessary to let you know of how great consequence it is, that you use your utmost care and circumspection, as well to defend and keep the Forts abovesaid, as also to improve the regaining of them into Our hands to the advantage of Us and this State, by such ways and means as you shall judge conducible thereunto. And as We shall understand from you the state and condition of those places, We shall from time to time give such directions as shall be necessary.

Given at Whitehall, this 3d of April 1655.

OLIVER P. §

To which there are now, from this side of the Water, the following small excerpts to be added:

* Thurloe, iv. 75.

** In Bancroft's History of the United States (Boston, 1837), i. 445, is some faint and not very exact notice of the affair.

§ Original in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society: Printed in their Third Sries, vii. 121. — In Vol. il. of the same Work (Boston, 1820), pp. 323-364, is an elaborate Notice of certain fragmentary MS. Hecords of the Long Parliament still extant at New York, — which Notice ought to be cancelled in subsequent editions! The amazing various "Records" at New York turn out to be nothing but some odd volumes of the Commons Journals of that period; the entire Set of which, often enough copied in manuscript, was printed here about fifty years ago, and is very common indeed, in the Buttershops and elsewhere.

Grant of Privy Seal: "6th June 1655, To Major Robert Sedg-"wick, £1,793.7s.8d., in full of his Account for service done "against the French." And

Ditto, "28th July 1656, to Captain John Leverett, £4,482. "3s. $11\frac{1}{2}d$., in full satisfaction of all sums of money due to him "upon Account of his receipt and disbursements about the "Forts taken from the French in America, and of his Salary for "760 days, at 15s. per diem."*

Oliver kept his Forts and his Acadie, through all French Treaties, for behoof of his New-Englanders: not till after the Restoration did the country become French again, and continue such for a century or so.

9. Is a small domestic matter:

For Colonel Alban Cox, in Hertfordshire.

Sir, Whitehall, 24th April 1655. Having occasion to speak with you upon some Affairs relating to the Public, I would have you, as soon as this comes

lating to the Public, I would have you, as soon as this comes to your hands, to repair up hither; and upon your coming, you shall be acquainted with the particular reasons of my sending for you.

I rest, your loving friend, OLIVER P. &

At Blackdown House in Sussex, now and for long past the residence of a family named Yaldwin, are preserved two Letters Patent signed "Oliver P.," of date 3d December 1656, appointing "William Yaldwin Esq." High Sheriff of Sussex. Printed in Dallaway's Rape of Arundel (p. 363); need not be reprinted here.

No. 31.

[Vol. iii. p. 343.]

SUFFOLK YEOMANRY.

THE Suffolk Commission for a select mounted County-Militia, still remains; one remaining out of many that have perished.

Fourth Report of Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (London, 1843), Appendix ii. p. 192; Fifth Report (London, 1844), Appendix ii. p. 260.
 Gentleman's Magazine London, 1788), Iviii. 379.

Addressed to the Humphrey Brewster whom we have occasionally met with before.*

Instructions unto Colonel Humphrey Brewster, commissionated by his Highness the Lord Protector to be Captain of a Troop of Horse to be raised within the County of Suffolk, for the service of his Highness and the Commonwealth.

1. You shall forthwith raise, enlist, and have in readiness under your command as Captain, and such Lieutenant, Cornet and Quarter-Master as his Highness shall commissionate for that purpose, One-hundred able Soldiers, the three Corporals included, well mounted for service, and armed with one good sword and case of pistols, holsters, saddle, bridle, and other furniture fit for war, to serve as a Troop of Horse in the service of the Commonwealth, as is hereafter required.

2. You shall use your utmost endeavour that the said Troops shall be men of good life and conversation; and before their being listed shall promise that they will be true and faithful to his Highness the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth, against all who shall design or attempt any thing against his Highness's Person, or endeavour to disturb the public Peace. And the like engagement shall be taken by the Lieutenant, Cornet and Quarter-Master of the said Troop.

3. You shall be ready to draw forth and muster the said Troop, armed and fitted as aforesaid, upon the 25th day of December next ensuing, from which time the said Troop, Officers and Soldiers, shall be deemed to be in the actual service of his Highness and the Commonwealth, and be paid accordingly. And you shall also draw forth the said Troops four times in every year within the county of Suffolk, completely furnished as before mentioned, to be raised and mustered by such persons as shall from time to time be appointed by the Protector.

4. You shall also at all other times have the said Troops in all readiness as aforesaid at forty-eight hours' warning, or sooner if it may be, whensoever his Highness, or such as he shall appoint for that purpose, shall require the same for the suppressing of any invasion, rebellion, insurrection, or tumult,

or performing of any other service within England and Wales. And in case that any of the said service shall continue above the space of Twenty-eight days in one year, the said Officers and Soldiers shall, after the expiration of the said Twenty-eight days, be paid according to the establishment of the Army then in force, over and besides what is agreed to be paid unto them by these presents, for so long as they shall continue in

the said service.

5. That in case any shall make default in appearance, without just and sufficient cause, or shall not be mounted, armed and provided as aforesaid, or shall offend against good manners or the laws of war; that every person so offending shall be liable to such punishment as the Captain or chief Officer present with the Troops, with advice of the persons appointed to take the said musters, shall think fit: provided the said punishment extends no further than loss of place or

one year's pay.

6. That in consideration of the service to be performed as aforesaid, you shall receive for the use of the said Troop the sum of One-thousand pounds per annum, to be paid out of the public revenue by quarterly payments, to be distributed according to the proportions following: To yourself, as Captain, one-hundred pounds per annum; to the Lieutenant fifty pounds per annum; to the Quarter-Master thirteen pounds six shillings and eight-pence per annum; to each of the three Corporals, two pounds 'additional' per annum; one Trumpet, five pounds six shillings and four-pence per annum; and to each Soldier eight pounds per annum.

Whitehall, 26th October 1655.

OLIVER P. §

No. 32.

TITLE OF KING ERASED. SPEECH SHOULD-BE 'XV.' [Vol. iv. p. 134.]

FINAL Speech on that matter of the Kingship (concerning which it is gracefully altogether silent); that is to say, Speech on accepting the Humble Petition and Advice, with the Title of

§ In the possession of Charles Meadows, Esq., Great Bealings, Woodbridge; a descendant of Brewster's.

King withdrawn, and that of Protector substituted as he had required: Painted Chamber, Monday, 25th May 1657.*

Mr. Speaker. — I desire to offer a word or two unto you: which shall be but a word. I did well bethink myself, before I came hither this day, that I came not as to a triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that ever I had in all my life, to undertake one of the greatest tasks that ever was laid upon the back of a human creature. And I make no question but you will, and so will all men, readily agree with me that without the support of the Almighty I shall necessarily sink under the burden of it; not only with shame and reproach to myself, but with that its more a thousand times, and in comparison of which I and my family are not worthy to be mentioned, - with the loss and prejudice of these Three Nations. And, that being so, I must ask your help, and the help of all those that fear God, that by their prayers I may receive assistance from the hand of God. His presence, going along, will enable to the discharge of so great a duty and trust as this is; and nothing else 'will.'

Howbeit, I have some other things to desire you, I mean of the Parliament:—That seeing this is but, as it were, an introduction to the carrying-on of the government of these Nations, and forasmuch as there are many things which cannot be supplied, for the enabling to the carrying-on of this work, without your help and assistance, I think it is my duty to ask your help in them. Not that I doubted; for I believe the same spirit that hath led you to this will easily suggest the rest to you. The truth is, and I can say 'it' in the presence of God, that nothing would have induced me to have undertaken this insupportable burden to flesh and blood, had it not been that I have seen in this Parliament all along a care of doing all those things that might truly and really answer the ends that have been engaged: for you have satisfied *** your forwardness and readiness therein very fully already.

I thought it my duty, when your Committee which you

· Query, testified?

^{*} Commons Journals, vii. 539, 537 (last entry there).

TITLE OF KING ERASED.

1657.]

were pleased to send to me to give the grounds and reasons of your proceedings to help my conscience and judgment, - I was then bold to offer to them several considerations: which were received by them, and have been presented to you. In answer to which, the Committee did bring several resolves of yours, which I have by me. I think those are not yet made so authentic and authoritative as was desired; and therefore, though I cannot doubt it. vet I thought it my duty to ask it of you, that there may be a perfecting of those things. Indeed, as I said before, I have my witness in the sight of God, that nothing would have been an argument to me, howsoever desirable great places may seem to be to other men; I say, nothing would have been an argument to me to have undertaken this; but, as I said before, I saw such things determined by you as makes clearly for the liberty of the Nations, and for the liberty and interest and preservation of all such as fear God, of all that fear God under various forms. And if God make not these Nations thankful to you for your care therein, it will fall as a sin on their heads. And therefore I say, that hath

been one main encouragement.

I confess there are other things that tend to reformation, to the discountenancing of vice, to the encouragement of good men and virtue, and the completing of those things also, — concerning some of which you have not yet resolved anything; save to let me know by your Committee that you would not be wanting in anything for the good of these Nations. Nor do I speak it as in the least doubting it; but I do earnestly and heartily desire, to the end God may crown your work and bless you and this Government, that in your own time, and with what speed you judge fit, these things may be provided-for. §

& Commons Journals, vii. 439-40.

No. 33.

From 1657. LAST ROYALIST PLOT.

[Vol. iv. p. 198.]

1. To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vicechancellor and Convocation of our University of Oxford.

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, — We greet you well. Amongst the many parts of that Government which is entrusted to us, we do look upon the Universities as meriting very much of our care and thoughts: And finding that the place of Chancellor of our University of Oxford is at present in Ourself; and withal judging that the continuance thereof in our hands may not be so consistent with the present constitution of affairs, —

We have therefore thought fit to resign the said Office, as we hereby do; and to leave you at freedom to elect some such other person thereunto, as you shall conceive meet for the execution thereof.

Our will and pleasure therefore is, That you do proceed to the election of a Chancellor with your first conveniency. Not doubting but you will, in your choice, have a just regard to the advancement and encouragement of Piety and Learning, and to the continuing and further settling of good Order and Government amongst you; which you may easily find your-selves obliged to have principally in your consideration and design, whether you respect the University itself, or the good of the Commonwealth upon which it hath so great an influence. And although our relation to you may by this means in some sort be changed, yet you may be confident we shall still retain a real affection to you, and be ready upon all occasions to seek and promote your good.

Given at Whitehall, this 3d day of July 1657.8

[§] Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss.

2. To Our trusty and well-beloved the Bailiffs and Free Burgesses of our Town of Oswestru: These.

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, — We, being informed that the Free School of our Town of Oswestry is now void of a Head Schoolmaster settled there, by reason of the delinquency and ejection of Edward Paine late Schoolmaster thereof.

Have thought fit to recommend unto you Mr. John Evans, the son of Matthew Evans late of Penegos in the County of Montgomery, as a fit person, both for piety and learning, to be Head Schoolmaster of the said School; and That, so far as in yourselves 'is,' the said Mr. Evans may be forthwith settled and invested there accordingly.

Which Act of yours we shall be ready to confirm, if it be adjudged requisite and proper for us. And not doubting of the performance of this our pleasure, we commit you to God.

Given at Whitehall, this 13th day of July 1657.§

3. To Our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of our City of Gloucester: These.

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, — We greet you well. I do hear on all hands that the Cavalier party are designing to put us into blood. We are, I hope, taking the best care we can, by the blessing of God, to obviate this danger; but our intelligence on all hands being, that they have a design upon your City, we could not but warn you thereof, and give you authority, as we do hereby,

To put yourselves into the best posture you can for your own defence, by raising your Militia by virtue of your Commissioners formerly sent to you, and putting them in a readiness for the purpose aforesaid. Letting you also know that, for your better encouragement herein, you shall have a troop of horse sent you to quarter in or near your Town.

[§] Endowed Grammar Schools, by N. Carlisle (London, 1818), ii. 369, Art. Salop.

We desire you to let us hear from you from time to time what occurs to you touching the Malignant party: and so we bid you farewell.

Given at Whitehall, this 2d of December 1657. §

A Paper of the same date, of precisely the same purport, directed to the Authorities at Bristol, has come to us; another out of many then sent: but of course only one, if even one, requires to be inserted here.

4. Letter written directly on dissolving the Parliament; probably one of many, to the like effect, despatched that day:

For Colonel Cox, Captain of the Militia Troop in our County of Hertford;
These. For our special service.

To be left with the Postmaster of St. Albuns: to be speedily sent.

Sib. Whitehall, 4th February 1657.

By our last Letters to you, we acquainted you what danger the Commonwealth was then in from the old Cavalier Party (who were designing new insurrections within us, whilst their Head and Master was contriving to invade us from abroad);— and thereupon desired your care and vigilancy for preserving the peace, and apprehending all dangerous persons.

Our intelligence of that kind still continues. And we are more assured of their resolutions to put in execution their designs aforesaid within a very short time; 'they' being much encouraged from some late actings of some turbulent and unquiet spirits, as well in this Town as elsewhere, who, to frustrate and render vain and fruitless all those good hopes of Settlement which we had conceived from the proceedings of Parliament before their Adjournment in June last, framed a treasonable Petition to the House of Commons, by the name of the "Parliament of the Commonwealth of England;" designing thereby not only the overthrow of the late Petition and Advice of the Parliament, but of all that hath been done these seven years; hoping thereby to bring all things into con-

[&]amp; City Records of Gloucester (in Bibliotheca Cloucestrensis, p. 419.)

fusion; — and were in a very tumultuous manner procuring subscriptions thereunto, giving out that they were encouraged to it by some Members of the House of Commons.

And the truth is, the Debates that have been in that House since their last meeting have had a tendency to the stirring-up and cherishing such humours; - having done nothing in fourteen days but debate Whether they should own the Government of these Nations, as it is contained in the Petition and Advice, which the Parliament at their former sitting had invited us to accept of, and had sworn us unto; they themselves also having taken an Oath upon it before they went into the House. And we, judging these things to have in them very dangerous consequences to the Peace of this Nation, and to the loosening all the bonds of Government; and being hopeless of obtaining supplies of Money, for answering the exigencies of the Nation, from such men as are not satisfied with the Foundation we stand upon, - thought it of absolute necessity to dissolve this present Parliament; — which I have done this day: — And to give you notice thereof; that you, with your Troop, may be most vigilant for the suppressing of any disturbance which may arise from any party whatsoever. And if you can hear of any persons who have been active to promote the aforesaid treasonable Petition, that you apprehend them, and give an account thereof to us forthwith. And we do further let you know, That we are sensible of your want of pay for yourself and Troop; and do assure you that effectual care shall be taken therein, and that without delay. And so I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P. §

We are informed that the Enemy from Flanders intend to invade us very suddenly, and to that purpose have Twenty-two Ships of War ready in the Harbour of Ostend, and are pre-

^{5.} For the Commanders of the Militia of the City of Gloucester: These.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 11th March 1657.

[§] Gentleman's Magazine (London, 1788), lviii. 313.

paring others also which they have bought in Holland, and some men are ready to be put on board them. And at the same time an Insurrection is intended in this Nation. And the time for the executing these designs is intended by them to be very sudden.

We have therefore thought fit to give you notice hereof; and to signify to you our pleasure, That you put yourselves into the best posture you can for the securing the City of Gloucester, and put the arms into such hands as are true and faithful to us and this Commonwealth. We desire you to be very careful, and to let us hear from you of the receipt of this, and what you shall do in pursuance of this Letter.

I rest,

Your very assured friend,

OLIVER P. 8

No. 34.

[Vol. iv. p. 214.]

Two Mandates to Cambridge University.

1. That John Castle be made Master of Arts:

To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vicechancellor and Senate of Our University of Cambridge.

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, — Whereas by our appointment several Students in our University of Cambridge have been invited abroad to preach the Gospel in our Fleet, and for their encouragement have been by us assured that they should not suffer any prejudice in the University by reason of their absence in the said service: And whereas a petition hath been exhibited on the behalf of Mr. John Castle of Trinity College, showing that whilst he was abroad as Minister in the Newcastle Frigate, he was disappointed of taking his degree of Master of Arts (as by course he ought), and that he cannot now, since his return, commence without the loss of one year's

[#] City Records of Gloucester (in Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis, p. 421).

seniority, by reason of a statute of the University denying degrees to any non-resident:

In performance of our said promise, and for the future encouragement of others in the like service, We do hereby signify unto you, That it is our will and pleasure that the said John Castle be by you created Master of Arts, and allowed the same seniority which, according to the custom of your University, he had enjoyed had he been resident at the usual time of taking degrees.

Given at Whitehall, the 22d day of June 1658.\$

Castle, the Books indicate, had entered Trinity at the same time, and been under the same Tutor, with a very famous person, "John Driden Northampt. admissus Pens." — both, namely, were admitted, "Pensioners," in Sept. 1649.

2. That Benjamin Rogers be made Bachelor of Music, — "a Form of Oliver Cromwell's Mandats," says Baker, who has excerpted this one.

To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vicechancellor and Senate of Our University of Cambridge.

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, — We greet you well. Whereas we are informed that you cannot, by the statutes and according to the customs of your University, admit any to the degree of Bachelor of Music unless he had some years before 'been' admitted in a college: And whereas we are also certified that Benjamin Rogers hath attained to eminency and skill in that faculty: — We, willing to give all encouragement to the studies and abilities of men in that or any other ingenuous faculty, have thought fit to declare our will and pleasure, by these our letters, that, notwithstanding your statutes and customs, you cause Benjamin Rogers to be admitted and created Bachelor in Music, in some one or more of your con-

[§] Cambridge Archives, "Grace-Book H. p. 181." Communicated by Rev. J. Edleston, Fellow of Trinity College.

gregations assembled in that our University; he paying such dues as are belonging to that degree, and giving some proof of his accomplishments and skill in music. And for so doing, these our letters shall be your warrant.

Given at Whitehall, the 28th day of May 1658.8

§ Copy in Harl. MSS. no. 7053, f. 152 (Baker MSS. x. 373); — and as before, in "Grace-Book H. p. 180." — The Originals will never turn up. In the same Register of "Graces," or Decrees of Senate, is one (of date 1661) for burning whatsoever Mandates or Missives there are from Cromwell; whereby doubtless the Originals (with small damage to them, and some satisfaction to the Heads of Houses) were destroyed.



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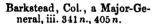
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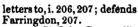
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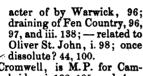
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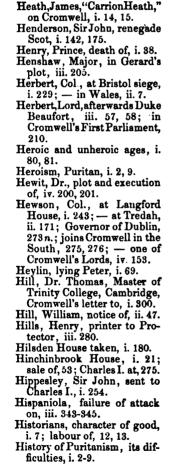
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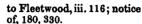
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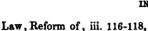
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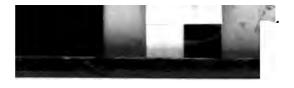
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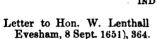
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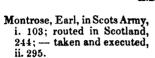
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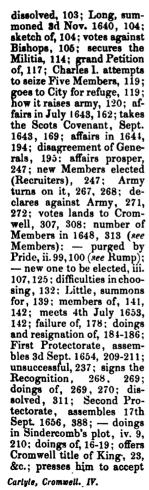
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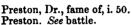
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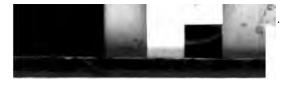
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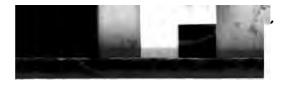
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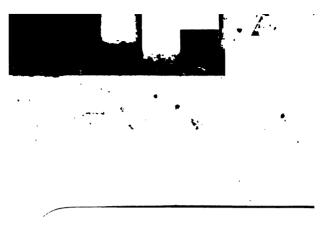
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